

Erik Schreiner (s1942212)
Public Governance across Borders

Bachelor Thesis

The Exit from G8 Upper Secondary School Reform in Germany – a Multiple Case Study

1st Supervisor: dr. Harry de Boer
2nd Supervisor: dr. Peter Stegmaier

03-07-2019

Ethical review request number: 190407
Word count: 19,270

Faculty of Behavioural, Management and Social Sciences
University of Twente
P.O. Box 217
7500 AE Enschede
The Netherlands

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Educational governance structure in Germany.....	2
1.2 Research question.....	3
2. Theory	4
2.1 Theoretical findings.....	4
2.2 Theoretical model.....	6
2.3 The impact of changed ideological positions	7
2.4 The impact of perceived policy failure.....	7
3. Methodology	8
3.1 Research design.....	8
3.2 Case selection	9
3.3 Operationalisation	11
3.4 Data collection.....	13
3.5 Data analysis	14
4. Findings.....	15
4.1 Federal state-specific context of the G8 reform	15
4.1.1 Lower Saxony.....	15
4.1.2 Hesse	16
4.1.3 Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg	17
4.2 Interim findings on Lower Saxony.....	18
4.2.1 Change of ideological positions	18
4.2.2 Perceived policy failure.....	21
4.3 Interim findings on Hesse.....	24
4.3.1 Change of ideological positions	24
4.3.2 Perceived policy failure.....	27
4.4 Interim findings on Hamburg	30
4.4.1 Change of ideological positions	30
4.4.2 Perceived policy failure.....	33
5. Analysis.....	35
5.1 Change of ideological positions	36
5.2 Perceived policy failure.....	39
6. Conclusion.....	42
6.1 Summary	42
6.2 Reflection	44
7. References	46
7.1 Literature	46
7.2 Newspaper articles, online documents and websites.....	47

7.3 Law.....	50
7.4 Election programmes.....	50
7.5 Coalition agreements.....	55
APPENDIX A	57
Lower Saxon election programme positions on the G8 policy	57
Hessian election programme positions on the G8 policy	60
Hamburg election programme positions on the G8 policy.....	65
Lower Saxon coalition agreement positions on the G8 policy.....	68
Hessian coalition agreement positions on the G8 policy.....	69
Hamburg coalition agreement positions on the G8 policy	70
APPENDIX B	71
Interview (Lower Saxon Ministry of Education and the Arts).....	71
Survey (Hessian Ministry of Education and the Arts).....	82
APPENDIX C	85

Abstract

The introduction of the G8 upper secondary school reform in former western Germany between 2001 and 2007 shortened the high school duration from nine to eight years. As the reform policy has been discontinued in many of the western *Bundesländer* in the past decade, this thesis investigates the factors that explain the G8 discontinuation in certain *Bundesländer* by means of a multiple case study. While most research has addressed the issue from a pedagogical perspective, little research has been done on G8 from a governance or policy analysis perspective, particularly in terms of policy termination. Thus, the thesis derives explanations for the extent of changing ideological positions and perceived policy failure to have triggered a decision towards varying outcomes of G8 discontinuation in the selected cases by analysing qualitative data. Whereas perceptions of lacking maturity of Abitur graduates in Lower Saxony and a loss in quality of the school-leaving qualification in Hesse had been predominant and where a decision has been made towards G8 discontinuation, the results suggest that the absence or weaker presence of these factors in Hamburg explain why the G8 reform has not been discontinued here.

1. Introduction

“G8 for all is outdated, as is G9 for all”, the former Bavarian Minister of State for Education, Ludwig Spaenle, emphasised in 2016¹. This citation gives a first hint at the outdatedness of two upper secondary school models in Germany, that have been subject to public debate over the past three decades since German reunification. The G8 upper secondary school reform has been implemented in most of the federal states (*Bundesländer*) in the west of Germany from 2001 up until 2007 (Huebener & Marcus, 2015). Aiming at the reduction of the length of high school from nine to eight school years after alerting results of the OECD’s *Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA), the reform has also been implemented to harmonise educational standards between the *Bundesländer* and within the European Union (Büttner & Thomsen, 2013; Thomsen & Anger, 2018).

However, the introduction of the G8 school reform – where G8 stands for eight years of higher education at the *Gymnasium* in preparation for university – also stimulated further debate on the best possible educational regime for the improvement of high school graduates’ performances and the quality of teaching. In addition, the need for the G8 school reform to be implemented has been seen due to the demographical development, with the reform allowing for an earlier labour market entry of students (Büttner & Thomsen, 2013; Huebener & Marcus, 2015). Since the adoption of G8 in the western *Bundesländer*, the controversial school reform has again been abandoned in these states, with Lower Saxony as the first in 2015. Hence, there has been a trend for G8 discontinuation with a return to the former length of high school (G9) and adjustments in the educational systems after teachers, students and their parents raised complaints about work overload for educational staff on the one hand and increased stress for students, leaving no sufficient time for free time activities, on the other hand (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2014; Huebener & Marcus, 2015).

Some empirical research on the G8 reform effects suggests that the goal of the reform, namely earlier labour market participation of German high school students, has not been achieved, because affected students were found to repeat classes more often (Büttner & Thomsen, 2016; Huebener & Marcus, 2015), to be more likely to give up their studies at university (Meyer & Thomsen, 2016; Marcus & Zambre, 2018), less likely to enrol at university within one year

¹ As stated in the party newspaper of the Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU), the *Bayernkurier*, retrieved from <https://www.bayernkurier.de/inland/16089-mehr-flexibilitaet-fuer-bayerns-gymnasien/> on 26th February 2019.

after high school graduation and more likely to delay enrolment due to higher workload in high school (Marcus & Zambre, 2018).

The goal of the Bachelor thesis is to identify the factors that favour or impede the discontinuation of the G8 upper secondary school reform in relevant *Bundesländer*. While most of the research on the G8 school reform focuses on the impact and consequences of the reform on the educational development of high school students in Germany (Büttner & Thomsen, 2013; Huebener & Marcus, 2015; Marcus & Zambre, 2016; Meyer & Thomsen, 2016; Homuth, 2017), little research has been done on the topic from a governance or policy analysis perspective, especially in terms of the rare issue of policy termination. Further, the discontinuation or policy termination of the G8 upper secondary school reform offers an intriguing example of the difficulties that still arise in the context of the federalisation of education and the attempts to harmonising governance practices between western and eastern *Bundesländer* in Germany.

Due to the fact, that the PISA study results of 2001 have generally been more positive in eastern *Bundesländer*, where G8 used to be the status quo in upper secondary education, the G8 reform was expected to improve the performances and educational development of high school students in former West Germany (Homuth, 2017, p. 19). However, these expected outcomes have strongly been contested after the implementation of the school reform took place in the affected federal states. The societal relevance of the research can also be derived from the fact that there are yearly about 300,000 German high school graduates (Statistisches Bundesamt, n.d.), of which the majority can be assumed to be directly affected by this educational policy. Hence, the Bachelor thesis aims at providing new insights to the topic by analysing the factors that led to discontinuation of the G8 reform in some *Bundesländer*, retrospectively.

1.1 Educational governance structure in Germany

As far as educational policy in the German context is concerned, the authority is entirely distributed to the 16 federal states (Büttner & Thomsen, 2013). In most *Bundesländer*, the primary education encompasses four years, before students will be allocated to three types of secondary schools based on their educational performance and assessment. The exception form schools that are specialised on supporting students with special needs or certain disabilities, commonly referred to as *Förderschule* or *Sonderschule* (cf. Homuth, 2017, p. 22). While the *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* cover intermediary education until grade nine and ten, leading to vocational training in the German apprenticeship system, academic-track secondary education is received through the *Gymnasium*, leading to the Abitur after twelve or thirteen years of school in total, which enables graduate students to enrol at university (Büttner & Thomsen, 2013). In

contrast, the *Gesamtschule* (or *Stadtteilschule* in Hamburg) is an integrated comprehensive school incorporating the different secondary school requirements of educational performance. Thus, the Abitur can be attained at the *Gesamtschule* as well, but the provisions differ from those of the *Gymnasium*. Whereas in former West Germany, the Abitur has typically been received after nine years at the *Gymnasium*, in former East Germany, graduation happened after eight years of high school. With the German reunification of 1990, the debate about harmonising both educational regimes began, and after Saxony and Thuringia kept the policy of graduation after eight years of high school right after unification, four of the eastern *Bundesländer* decided to adopt the G9 school system (Homuth, 2017, p. 17).

However, a second debate followed from the experience of better grade point averages to be found in eastern *Bundesländer* with having one school year less for graduation, thus marking the turning point not only for the four eastern federal states, but also several western *Bundesländer* to reduce the length of high school in the 2000s (Homuth, 2017, p. 18). While there has been experience with G8 in the eastern *Bundesländer*, the western federal states seemed to struggle with the adoption of the G8 reform because graduation after nine years of high school has been the status quo here since 1949 (cf. Homuth, 2017, p. 17). In order to guarantee a certain quality of high school education throughout Germany, the *Kultusministerkonferenz*² decided in 2000 on a common minimum volume of instruction time for granting students access to the Abitur exams, which is independent of the length of high school years in a *Bundesland* (Homuth, 2017, p. 9).

1.2 Research question

Whereas contestation towards the legitimacy of the G8 school system in some federal states in Germany is nothing to speak of, others, especially western *Bundesländer*, seemed to struggle with the shortening of high school duration. Although the decision on implementing G8 came with expectations about promising results, the decision-makers in the respective federal states decided to terminate the reform policy. Therefore, this research is going to focus on the following question: *which factors explain the discontinuation of the G8 upper secondary school reform in certain Bundesländer?* This research question is further going to be investigated by answering the following theoretical and empirical sub-questions:

1. Theoretical sub-question: Which are the factors for enhancing policy termination as found in the literature?

² The *Kultusministerkonferenz* is an informal assembly of the Ministers of Education from each *Bundesland*.

2. Empirical sub-question: To what extent do the factors selected in the theoretical framework explain the termination of the G8 policy?

Whereas the first sub-question will be approached in the theoretical framework, the empirical sub-question will be answered in the subsequent sections based on qualitative data findings.

2. Theory

To explain the G8 discontinuation, this research will analyse the factors that have led to the discontinuation. While most policy-related research focuses on the implementation of new policies or evaluation on the implementation procedures, the discontinuation or termination of existing policies is relatively unexplored (Kirkpatrick et al., 1999; Bauer, 2006; Graddy & Ye, 2008). This stems from the fact, that policy termination is less common than implementing a new policy because it proves more difficult to exit from already existing governance practices (Bardach, 1976; deLeon, 1978).

2.1 Theoretical findings

Bardach (1976, p. 126-128) characterises policy termination as a conflictual process and explains the difficulty of this political process by the investment that went into establishing a policy in the first place, plus the role of ‘powerful anti-termination coalitions’, which seek to maintain the status quo of a policy. Further, he indicates certain conditions which would favour policy termination, such as administrative or government changes and the delegitimization of ideologies that were determining in adopting a certain policy or changing public opinion towards a policy (Bardach, 1976, p. 130). Contemporary policy termination research further stresses that considerations on economics and efficiencies were less decisive in termination decisions than aspects of ideology and values (Bauer, 2006).

Policy termination is further conceptualised by Bauer (2006) as a special phenomenon of political change by distinguishing between the outcomes – from preserving the status quo over substitution to elimination – and objects – inter alia, the policy aim – of policy termination. The model which Bauer (2006) presents further isolates the causal factors each leading to policy termination and formulates preconditions for the probability of termination decisions to increase. Firstly, these include the irrelevance of ‘ideological occupation’, meaning the degree to which a policy is less a subject of ideologically conflicting parties, e.g. government and opposition parties in parliament. Further, Bauer (2006) states the controversy of causal allocation of positive and ‘target-oriented effects’ as a precondition, which can be referred to perceptions of policy success in meeting the goals set by the decision-makers. Also, the

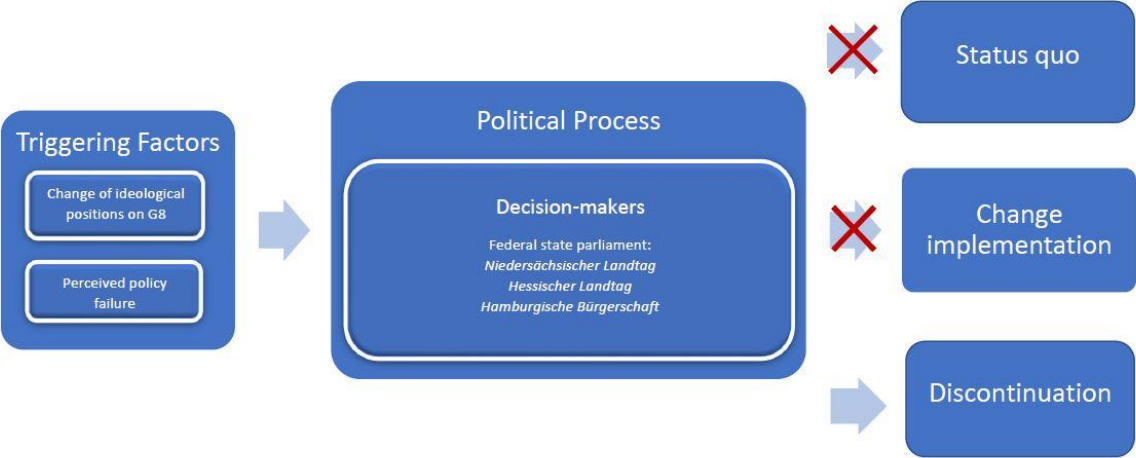
fragmentation of the field of the policy's beneficiaries is stated to have a positive effect on termination decisions, meaning that the less advantaged a group of individuals becomes from a policy, the less it resists a termination decision of that policy. Therefore, policies considered dispensable were characterised by a peripheral ideological occupation of the policy and a weak clientele resistance towards termination.

By incorporating the theoretical assumptions of Bardach (1976) and Bauer (2006), another model on policy termination decision-making is provided by Graddy and Ye (2008) with the example of local hospital services in California. Given the supposition, that it was generally unnecessary to differentiate between policies, programmes or organisations (cf. Bardach, 1976), Graddy and Ye (2008) develop a two-stage model of triggering factors and governance structure to explain the occurrence of policy termination. If those triggering factors were absent, they expect the status quo to prevail. Regarding the political process, it is assumed that the respective decision-makers are influenced by the absence or presence of the theoretical factors in choosing between maintaining the status quo, changing implementation, or terminating policies (cf. Bauer, 2006). However, Graddy and Ye (2008) found policy performance and ideological impacts to have insignificant effects, while financial pressure was a major factor in pushing policy termination. Nevertheless, this has become evident in just one case of public service areas and it is stressed by Graddy and Ye (2008) that policy performance and ideological change can still impact other areas or policies significantly.

In addition, Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) provide three conceptual categories to policy termination, which are inherent characteristics, the political environment, and constraints. For instance, the inherent characteristics include, inter alia, the *raison d'être* and the longevity of policies to be decisive for termination decisions, hinting at the higher probability of a policy to be terminated if it does not strategically solve a particular problem and if it has been implemented for a relatively short time, so that the desired long-term effects have not yet been present. The category of political environment further encompasses factors such as prevailing ideology, and strength and determination of coalitions to negatively affect decision-making towards policy termination. Based on these characteristics, they present a heuristic model which is targeted either at functions, organisations, policies or programmes, while they suggest that for 'lower level targets', such as policies and programmes, fewer variables were of importance than for 'higher level targets', such as functions and organisations. However, they do not mention which particular factors should be necessarily considered for 'lower level targets' (Kirkpatrick et al., 1999).

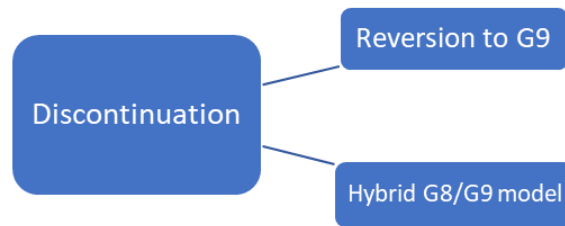
Overall, it can be assumed that all theoretical findings are equally applicable to all sorts of termination objects, whether these are policies, programmes, or organisations (Bardach, 1976; Graddy & Ye, 2008). While the causal factors on policy termination can be analysed independently (Bauer, 2006), these can best be framed in a two-stage model of impacting factors and a governance structure leading to a decision either on the status quo, the change of implementation, or termination (Graddy & Ye, 2008). While it is stressed – in contrast to Graddy & Ye (2008) – that economics and efficiencies have less impact on termination than ideology and values (Bardach, 1976), Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) have also suggested that for so-called ‘lower level targets’ like policies, less factors were sufficient for explaining policy termination. Due to the variety of triggering factors presented in the literature, there is disagreement about which factors best explain policy termination. This research will give more weight to the considerations of Bardach (1976) and Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) by focusing on the impact of ideological change and perceived policy failure on G8 discontinuation, while excluding the impact of financial resources.

2.2 Theoretical model



The theoretical model is based on the two-stage model of Graddy and Ye (2008), which has been adjusted to reflect the theoretical expectations of this research. Both the presence of ideological change in terms of changed ideological positions and perceived policy failure in terms of public perception are expected to have triggered a decision towards G8 discontinuation. The first stage encompasses the triggering factors, while the second stage marks the political process in which the decision-makers decide between three choice options, of which one is the discontinuation of the policy. For this research, two types of G8

discontinuation have further been identified: the reversion to G9 and the introduction of a hybrid G8/G9 model.



2.3 The impact of changed ideological positions

The change of the predominant ideological views that led to the adoption of the G8 upper secondary school reform might explain the efforts to terminate the policy in some *Bundesländer*. There are several indications in the literature on changes of the ideological regime in which a policy has been adopted as factor for fostering policy termination (Bardach, 1976; Graddy & Ye, 2008; Bauer, 2006). As Graddy & Ye (2008) state, ideology was a driving force to overcome the high burdens to policy termination. While Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) regard to ideological change in terms of government leadership, Bauer (2006) refers to the ‘flattening of ideological occupation’ on the policy, meaning that a policy is more likely to be terminated, if it becomes less a subject of highly politicised discourses between different parties with different ideological views. This research will refer to ideological change in terms of changing ideological positions of political parties on the G8 reform. Therefore, both governing and opposition parties of the respective federal state parliament will be examined.

Expectation 1: *The more the ideological positions of political parties on the G8 upper secondary school reform have changed towards termination, the more likely a decision by the respective federal state parliament towards discontinuing the reform policy has become.*

2.4 The impact of perceived policy failure

Graddy & Ye (2008) further present perceived policy failure next to fiscal problems and changes in ideology as a triggering factor for policy termination. The perceived failure of a policy has been found to be significant due to the lack of competing and alternative policies, which would often come with ineffectiveness (Graddy & Ye, 2008). Regarding G8, the public perception of the reform to increase disadvantages for high school students and educational staff in form of increased levels of stress or decreased quality of instruction can be a triggering

factor in some *Bundesländer* towards policy termination. This research will refer to perceived policy failure by the public perception of the G8 reform to not have met the intended goals of the decision-makers. More precisely, representations of teachers, school principals, students and parents as interest groups will be regarded as the speaking tube of public perception.

Expectation 2: *The more there is a public perception of the G8 policy to have failed, the higher the likelihood of its discontinuation as decided by the respective federal state parliament is.*

3. Methodology

In the subsequent section, the underlying research design, case selection, operationalisation of the variables, data collection and data analysis methods will be presented.

3.1 Research design

Since Bauer (2006) emphasised, that there was no empirical or theoretical contribution to policy termination outside the United States, and that empirical evidence has been provided mainly in single case studies, he considers more empirical evidence through comparative case studies important. This research aims at investigating the impact of triggering factors leading to G8 discontinuation throughout units of analysis, the *Bundesländer*, which are also the cases of this research. As setting serves Germany in the time frame between 2001, when G8 has firstly been introduced in a western *Bundesland*, and 2019. Thus, this research is designed as a multiple case study, that tests the deductively derived theoretical expectations on whether the selected independent variables have triggered G8 discontinuation across the respective *Bundesländer*. Given that change in ideological positioning and the perceived policy failure are examined, G8 discontinuation should be considered as an outcome of a process that has its starting point in the implementation of the reform.

As it will be shown in the following subsection on case selection, the cases are selected on the basis of different outcomes of G8 discontinuation as the dependent variable. This still bears the danger of selection bias because the representativeness of the sampled cases is not guaranteed. Nevertheless, it has been argued by advocates of the multiple case study approach that the cases were representative for a theoretical proposition rather than a population (Stewart, 2012). Similarly, it has been argued that selection bias cannot be avoided by the researcher when sampling the cases purposively (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). Still it is stressed that an appropriate choice of cases creates a control mechanism for testing theoretical expectations

(Stewart, 2012). Therefore, selecting cases on the basis of the independent variables of this research would not have seem appropriate, because they are the explanatory variables, and the actual interest lies in the differing outcomes of G8 discontinuation across separate educational systems. By further categorising cases and selecting cases randomly out of these categories, this reduces to some extent the selection bias. Also, in terms of generalisability, the investigation of this research on the effects of triggering factors derived from related literature adds further strengths on the applicability of these theoretical findings for similar cases.

Concerning further threats to validity, requirements of causal inference presume a time order, correlation, and non-spuriousness. Thinking of G8 discontinuation as an outcome of a process, it can be assumed that the change of ideological positions and the perceived policy failure both precede the dependent variable. On the contrary, correlation between the variables and the non-spuriousness cannot be tested, precisely because of the usage of qualitative data instead of statistical measurements. In fact, this appears to generate more suitable answers to the research question than quantitative research, because the aim is not simply to test a causal relationship, but also to study in-depth how the triggering factors explain G8 discontinuation across the selected cases. The latter mentioned also marks an advantage of the multiple case study over a single case study (Stewart, 2012). Thus, the research design of a multiple case study is suitable to answer the research question.

3.2 Case selection

Table 1 gives an overview on the implementation and discontinuation of the G8 upper secondary school reform in the population of 16 *Bundesländer*; two of them, Saxony and Thuringia always had a high school duration of eight years and showed no efforts to terminate the reform. Out of this population, the samples were selected from the ten western *Bundesländer*, that adopted the G8 reform from 2001 until 2008, and according to whether G8 has been discontinued between 2008 and 2019 or not. In addition, this research focuses on G8 discontinuation with regard to the *Gymnasium* only as the G8/G9 debate does not primarily apply for the integrated comprehensive schools of secondary education.

	Decision on implementing G8	First graduation class with G8 reform in effect	G8 discontinuation
Saxony	1990	1990	-
Thuringia	1990	1990	-
Saxony-Anhalt	2003	2007 (Previously 1990 – 1996)	-
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	2004	2008 (Previously 1990 – 2001)	-

Saarland	2001	2009	-
Hamburg	2002	2010	Public debate on the maintenance of the G8 system, but no discontinuation
Bremen	2004	2012	-
Berlin	2006	2012 (East Berlin 1990 – 2000)	-
Brandenburg	2006	2012 (Previously 1990 – 2000)	-
Baden-Wuerttemberg	2004	2012	G9 model testing at 44 high schools with first G9 graduates in 2022 ³ , but G8 remains the status quo
North Rhine-Westphalia	2005	2013	Decision taken in 2018 to return to G9 with one-time choice for schools whether to remain with G8 or not
Schleswig-Holstein	2008	2016	Decision taken in 2017 to return to G9 with only 1 school remaining with G8 and 3 schools adopting a hybrid model ⁴
Hesse	2004	2012 – 2014	Since 2015, schools can decide, whether to adopt G8 or G9
Lower Saxony	2004	2011	Decision taken in 2015 to return to G9 school system, but possibility of G8 for high-performing student
Bavaria	2004	2011	Decision taken in 2017 to return to G9 school system, but possibility of G8 for high performing students ⁵
Rhineland-Palatinate	A decision on adopting G8 comprehensively has never been taken	Some high schools adopted G8 in 2008, but G9 remains the status quo	-

Table 1. Overview of G8 implementation and discontinuation

³ Cf. Huebener, M. & Marcus, J. (2015). Auswirkungen der G8-Schulzeitverkürzung: Erhöhte Zahl von Klassenwiederholungen, aber jüngere und nicht weniger Abiturienten. *DIW-Wochenbericht* 82(18): 447-456.

⁴ Cf. Landesportal Schleswig-Holstein. (n.d.). Zurück zum Abitur nach neun Jahren. Retrieved from https://www.schleswig-holstein.de/DE/Fachinhalte/S/schulsystem/rueckkehr_gymnasium9.html on 24th February 2019.

⁵ Cf. Kain, A. (2017, April 6). Ab 2018/2019: CSU-Landtagsfraktion beschließt Rückkehr zum G9. *Passauer Neue Presse*. Retrieved from https://www.pnp.de/nachrichten/bayern/2463745_Ab-2018-2019-CSU-Landtagsfraktion-beschliesst-Rueckkehr-zum-G9.html on 1st March 2019.

Based on this overview, there are four western *Bundesländer* that decided upon a reversion to the G9 model (**Lower Saxony**, Bavaria, Schleswig-Holstein, North Rhine-Westphalia), one western *Bundesland* that introduced a hybrid G8/G9 model serving as a special case (**Hesse**), and four western *Bundesländer* (Saarland, **Hamburg**, Bremen, Baden-Wuerttemberg), that kept the G8 school reform.

The cases attached to each category are diverse, and “are attended to represent the full range of values characterising X, Y, or some particular X/Y relationship” (Seawright & Gerring, 2008), here the relationship between the triggering factors of policy termination and G8 discontinuation. By choosing one case from each category, the sample has not been selected randomly, thus bearing the danger of selection bias (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). However, they have been selected purposively to generate explanations on the theoretical expectations. Having selected the extreme case of Lower Saxony, where G8 has comprehensively been terminated at the *Gymnasium* without exceptions, this creates an important determinant for the impact of the assumed termination triggering factors. In contrast, Hamburg serves as the opposite case where the status quo of keeping the G8 model at the *Gymnasium* prevailed. In the case of Hesse, the discontinuation has no comprehensive character as upper secondary schools might choose to keep G8 or adopt the G9 model.

For Lower Saxony, the impact of changed ideological positions and perceived policy failure is expected to be strong in having led to a decision towards policy termination, while it is expected to be weaker in the case of Hesse, where the decision-making outcome has been the introduction of a hybrid G8/G9 model. As the G8 model has been kept at upper secondary schools in Hamburg, the triggering factors are expected to be absent or less predominant here than in Lower Saxony or Hesse, thus presuming that explanations for their impact on G8 discontinuation can be provided.

3.3 Operationalisation

Regarding the operationalisation, the theoretical model presents two concepts for the independent variables, (1) *change of ideological positions on G8* and (2) *perceived policy failure*. For the change of ideological positions, the positions of each political party in the respective federal state parliament were to be identified between the time of G8 implementation and G8 discontinuation. This does not only open the possibility to make statements about the changed ideological positions of the decision-makers – usually the governing parties at a certain point in time – but also of the opposition parties. Feldman & Johnston (2014) assume that political actors in two-party-systems should be examined on their relative conservatism or

liberalism, but for a multi-party system like in Germany and its *Bundesländer*, it must be assumed that each party shares further facets of ideology, traditionally being either conservatism, liberalism or socialism. Therefore, it needs to be further assumed, that each party represents its own ideology. The position that each political party takes can either be in support of the G8 reform to be implemented or maintained, for a change of the G8 policy implementation or the discontinuation of the G8 reform, e.g. by proposing the introduction of an alternative model.

For operationalising perceived policy failure, it is important to consider the degree to which the G8 reform has not met its intended goals, with the main goal being an earlier labour market participation of German students and thus an improvement of their competitiveness in international comparison. Secondly, the perceived policy failure can refer to problems regarding the implementation of the reform. This research therefore regards the perceptions of interest groups such as representations of teachers, school principals, students and parents as reference point for the perception of policy failure. Failure itself needs to be regarded as a judgement about a policy event, and thus depends on the context (Bovens and 't Hart, 1996: 21, as cited in McConnell, 2015). Therefore, the state-specific context of the G8 reform needs to be considered in assessing the perceived policy failure of the G8 reform. Despite differing perceptions, this research measures the public perception of policy failure on the basis of semi-structured expert interviews or open surveys, that were to be conducted with bureaucrats from the respective Ministry of Education and the Arts in order to provide objectivity to some degree. Again, the perception on the G8 policy can either be considered as supportive or opposing, while some more weight should be given to the perceptions of teachers, parents and students, since they are the main affected stakeholders of the G8 reform.

Finally, the dependent variable is the decision by the respective federal state parliament on G8 discontinuation, which can be operationalised as a categorical variable that indicates, whether no G8 discontinuation appeared ('status quo') as in the case of Hamburg, whether the implementation of the G8 reform has been changed ('change implementation') or whether it has been discontinued ('termination'), either in the case of Lower Saxony or Hesse. In fact, the latter option encompasses either the comprehensive reversion to the G9 model or the partial maintenance of the G8 reform by the introduction of a hybrid G8/G9 model for upper secondary schools. Although one could argue, that the hybrid G8/G9 model can be considered a change in implementation, it is considered a discontinuation of comprehensive G8 implementation by this research.

3.4 Data collection

In a first step, secondary data have been collected to reconstruct the federal state-specific context of the G8 reform for each case by using online documents, websites, press releases and newspaper articles in the given time setting between 2001 and 2019. As this thesis is designed as a multiple case study, the federal state-specific context provides for a better understanding of the cases (Yin, 2003: 13, as cited in Creswell, 2007). The information has been gathered via Google Search by means of certain key items that relate to the G8 policy in the respective *Bundesland*. Thus, it has been possible to provide a contextual overview over the main stakeholders and the pertinent elements of the respective educational system, before the data collection on the variables of interest took place. Nevertheless, the secondary data collected for each *Bundesland* also contained information that was used to support the assessment of the perceived policy failure from stakeholders such as teachers, school principals, students and parents.

In order to collect data on the changed ideological positions on G8, additional secondary data have been acquired through a content analysis. Therefore, political party statements as in election programmes and coalition agreements have been selected by their explicit or implicit reference to the G8 school reform. More precisely, they have been scanned on certain key items, such as “G8”, “G9”, “Schulzeit”, “Schulzeitverkürzung” or “Abitur nach 12 Jahren”. To provide a better overview of the ideological positions, the selected statements from the political parties have further been translated from German into English and summarised in tables for each political party (Appendix A). While for the *Landtag*, all political parties that have permanently been represented between the time of G8 implementation and G8 discontinuation were considered, the change of ideological positioning has also been assessed by political parties agreeing on forming a coalition government, where two or more political parties might have changed their initial positioning on the G8 reform as stated in their respective election programme.

Furthermore, the intention was to generate primary data for assessing the perceived policy failure by conducting semi-structured expert interviews with bureaucrats at the respective Ministry of Education and the Arts (*Kultusministerium* or *Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung*) for each selected case. For these interviews, several key questions have been prepared which address the public perception on the G8 reform since its implementation, the role of certain interest groups – such as representations of teachers, school principals, students and parents – in the discontinuation process, and the extent to which the expectations regarding

the introduction of the reform have been met. Semi-structured interviews therefore “allow[s] the interviewer or interviewee to diverge in order to pursue an idea or response in more detail” (Gill et al., 2008), while the prepared questions provide some guidance for the respondent in advance. The duration of each interview was expected to take between 15 and 25 minutes and to be conducted either as face-to-face or telephone interview. In fact, only one respondent has been interviewed face-to-face for Lower Saxony, while no interview partner could be found for Hesse and Hamburg. In this case, the respective respondent has been asked to fill out an open survey addressing the same questions as intended for the interview.

However, a survey deprives the possibility to ask the respondent further questions or to go in more detail at one point or another. As a consequence, a survey may eventually provide less information on the topic of interest than an interview. To complement the information given by the interviewee or respondent and ensure the objectivity of the collected data, the federal state-specific context has been taken into consideration and a triangulation of methods has been used (cf. Yin, 2004). In addition, while the Hessian respondent agreed on answering the questions in an open survey, a respondent for the Ministry of Education and the Arts of Hamburg could not be found for the open survey either. Thus, secondary data have additionally been gathered via Google Search with regard to the representations of teachers, school principals, parents and students in Hamburg to compensate for the lack of information.

3.5 Data analysis

The findings on both variables have been generated through a qualitative content analysis. For the change of ideological positions, the statements referring to the G8 reform have been extracted from election programmes and coalition agreements, which have then been translated from German into English (Appendix A). Further, these statements have been coded descriptively and partially in-vivo, and categorised as either supportive towards the G8 reform (‘G8 introduction’ or ‘G8 maintenance’) or opposing the G8 policy (‘G8 discontinuation’ or ‘G9 maintenance’). For Hesse, there has been an additional category, which encompasses statements that are in support of a parallel offer of the G8 and the G9 model. However, not every statement from the considered election programmes and coalition agreements did clearly refer to the introduction, maintenance or discontinuation of the G8 reform, so that categories could not be assigned to each political party for each legislative period.

For the variable on perceived policy failure, the phrases, sentences or words extracted from the interview transcript, open survey or additional documents have been coded descriptively with regard to the considered stakeholders’ perception of the G8 reform in the respective case

(Appendix C). These descriptive codes summarised either a perception of policy failure or perceived success of the G8 reform.

4. Findings

In the following section, the federal state-specific context of the G8 reform and interim findings for each selected case will be presented.

4.1 Federal state-specific context of the G8 reform

The context in which the G8 reform policy has been implemented differs in each *Bundesland*. Therefore, the following sub-sections will briefly provide an overview on the development of the G8 discontinuation process in each case.

4.1.1 Lower Saxony

The *Niedersächsischer Landtag* decided on the G8 upper secondary school reform to be introduced in 2004 under the coalition government of Christian Democrats (CDU) and Liberals (FDP) at that time (Spiegel Online, 2015). Since its introduction, the G8 reform has been highly disputed in Lower Saxony as students, parents and teachers complained about higher stress and work overload (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2014). While the first graduates attained the G8-Abitur in 2011, the termination of the G8 policy and comprehensive reversion to the G9 model has then been decided in 2015 by the *Landtag* under the coalition government of Social Democrats (SPD) and Greens (Spiegel Online, 2015). Nevertheless, this reversion to the G9 model is considered a reform itself and still offers the choice for high-performing students to already attain the Abitur after twelve years of school (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2014). After the federal state government (*Landesregierung*) launched a dialogue process in 2013, a forum called “Gymnasien gemeinsam stärken” clearly voted in favour of attaining the Abitur after 13 years of school again, which then has been approved by an expert commission in 2014 (Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium, 2016). The G9 reform came into effect with the 2015/16 school year comprising the grades five until eight, where the school duration got extended to one additional year while maintaining the subject matter (Spiegel Online, 2014a).

However, the decision towards discontinuing G8 in Lower Saxony is to a larger extent due to the perception of the G8 policy to have failed and representations of teachers (*Philologenverband*), school principals (*Niedersächsische Direktorenvereinigung*) and parents (*Elternräte*) therefore having argued for the reversion to G9 with media effectiveness (Gymnasium Aktuell, 2014). The *Niedersächsische Direktorenvereinigung* has stated that it welcomes the reversion to the nine-year course of upper secondary education, nevertheless

demanding the structural possibility for earlier Abitur attainment of students who favour G8 (Niedersächsische Direktorenvereinigung, 2014). According to the former Minister of Education and the Arts, Frauke Heiligenstadt, there arised no further criticism on the ‘new G9’ during the legislative procedure, which would further underline the legitimacy of the decision (Kohlmaier, 2015). Whereas Heiligenstadt admitted that there was a shortage of teachers that were needed for one additional school year, strengths of the decision to introduce the G9 model would lie in new elements of future-oriented education with regard to digital media and information, the reduction of the mandatory timetable and career guidance including practical training (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2016).

4.1.2 Hesse

In the case of Hesse, the decision on an eight-year *Gymnasium* leading to the Abitur has been made in 2004 by the *Hessischer Landtag* with the absolute majority of the CDU fraction that formed the government at that time (Trautsch, 2014). Although the Hessian philologists’ association (*Hessischer Philologenverband*), the state parent advisory council (*Landeselternbeirat*), and the state pupils’ representative body (*Landesschülerversammlung*) warned in a joined press conference against introducing the G8 reform prior to the decision in 2014, the federal state government has been determined to shorten the schooling duration at the *Gymnasium*. In addition, the Minister President of Hesse from 1999 until 2010, Roland Koch, has been known to defend a position close to business when it comes to education, therefore supporting the transfer of economic standards on educational policy (Trautsch, 2014).

Referring to the international comparison of students and the situation in eastern federal states, the former Hessian Minister of Education and the Arts, Karin Wolff, stated that the G8 reform policy has been well-prepared and negated criticism that suggested the reform would decrease the educational quality level (Trautsch, 2014). When the first G8 cohorts arrived at the 7th grade in 2007, calls from teachers and parents began to be made as there has been no actual concept for the compression of schooling time, no sufficient teaching material, and less time for students to learn an instrument or do sports. In 2008, about 13,000 students protested against the G8 model, to which the Ministry of Education and the Arts (*Kultusministerium*) responded in opening the possibility for cooperative comprehensive schools (*Gesamtschulen*) to offer the Abitur attainment after nine years of secondary education. After most upper secondary schools moved successfully to the G8 model in 2009, a majority of parents still insisted on the reversion to G9 (Trautsch, 2014).

In June 2012, after the first G8 cohorts attained the Abitur, the incumbent Minister President of Hesse, Volker Bouffier, indicated that he wants to allow high schools to offer G9 again (Trautsch, 2014). The first Hessian Abitur graduates with the hybrid G8/G9 model to have come into effect are expected to graduate in 2020 (Huebener & Marcus, 2015). However, while most of the upper secondary schools have returned to the G9 model and some maintained G8, the offer of both G8 and G9 at one school has been viewed as a ‘fissure’ of the school landscape (Wettlaufer-Pohl, 2012). At schools which decided to participate in a parallel offer of G8 and G9, a school experiment provides that all students in the 5th and 6th grade start under G8 conditions and that after a monitoring and orientation phase, a decision on either the eight-year or the nine-year course of education should be made by the parents under advice from the teaching staff (Hessisches Kultusministerium, n.d.).

4.1.3 Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg

The decision to introduce the G8 upper secondary school reform in Hamburg has been made in 2002 by the coalition government of CDU, FDP, and the so-called *Partei Rechtsstaatlicher Offensive* (PRO) under former CDU mayor Ole von Beust (Spiegel Online, 2014b). Since 2010, the Abitur can be attained after eight years at the *Gymnasium* (Huebener and Marcus, 2015) and still after nine years at the so-called *Stadtteilschule*, the integrated comprehensive type of school in Hamburg (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2013). Both the *Gymnasium* and the *Stadtteilschule* form the ‘two pillars’ of secondary education in Hamburg (Norddeutscher Rundfunk, 2019). A people’s initiative called ‘G9-Jetzt-HH’ has been founded by parents in 2014 who demanded that the upper secondary schools should offer free choice between G8 and G9 (Spiegel Online, 2014b). In contrast, the *Elternkammer*⁶ declared itself in favour of the eight-year *Gymnasium* in 2014 stating that investments in the school quality were more important than re-introducing G9 (Elternkammer Hamburg, 2014).

The Senator for Schools, Ties Rabe, proposed to ask the school councils on their opinion regarding the reversion to the G9 model during a negotiation between the SPD parliamentary group and the G9 initiative in March 2014 (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2014a). As the school councils were the most important committees of each school – consisting of democratically elected representatives of parents, students and teachers –, it is highly engaged in the decision-making and implementation processes of school reforms (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2014a). After 53 out of 60 school councils gave their opinion on whether to adopt the G9 model in May 2014, the results showed that 87% of Hamburg’s upper secondary schools

⁶ The *Elternkammer* is the official representation of all parents in Hamburg concerning educational issues.

are against the reversion to G9, while 11% were in favour of it (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2014b). In addition, next to the *Elternkammer*, other representational organs such as the students' chamber (*Schülerkammer*), the teachers' chamber (*Lehrerkammer*), the State School Advisory Board (*Landesschulbeirat*) and both teachers' trade unions gave a statement against the reversion to the G9 model and in favour of maintaining the Abitur after eight years of upper secondary education (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2014b).

Concerning the politicisation of the G8 reform in Hamburg, it is further important to note that the CDU, SPD and the Greens have agreed on the so-called *Schulfrieden* in 2010, which is going to expire in 2020. This agreement forbids the mentioned parties to take any changes in the educational landscape for a time frame of ten years (Meyer, 2017). After a people's initiative on the reversion to G9 failed in 2014 due to the lack of support (Meyer, 2017), the G8/G9 debate is expected to appear as an election issue for the upcoming *Bürgerschaftswahl 2020* again (Norddeutscher Rundfunk, 2018). While the Hamburgian CDU fraction appears to be in favour of G9 reversion, the SPD, Greens and FDP oppose G8 discontinuation at the *Gymnasium*, because they fear a weakening of the *Stadtteilschule*, where the Abitur can still be attained after nine years of high school (Meyer, 2018).

Advocates of the *Schulfrieden* argue for its extension because student performances have improved over the last years and renewed intervention in the form of G9 reversion would do damage to this positively perceived trend (Meyer, 2019). Furthermore, next to the 'G9-jetzt-HH' initiative, the 'Initiative Schulfrieden' has been founded in response to the G9 supporters and argued the case for a maintenance of the G8 model at the Hamburg *Gymnasien* as they profess the 'two pillars' of Hamburg's educational system as best practice and oppose an intervention through further reforms (cf. Initiative Schulfrieden, 2014).

4.2 Interim findings on Lower Saxony

In Lower Saxony, the *Niedersächsischer Landtag* as federal state parliament is the decision-maker on G8 discontinuation. Firstly, the interim findings on the change of ideological positions of the political parties represented in the *Landtag* and the political parties forming the federal state government (*Landesregierung*) will be presented. Secondly, the perceived policy failure with regard to the G8 reform in Lower Saxony will be outlined.

4.2.1 Change of ideological positions

For the change of ideological positions in Lower Saxony, the following paragraphs will at first show the change in positions of the political parties represented in the *Landtag* from 2003 to

the latest elections in 2017 by means of their election programmes. Between 2003, the election before a decision on introducing G8 has been made by the federal state parliament, over 2013, before the discontinuation of G8 has been decided, and 2017, as the latest election, the following parties have been permanently represented in the *Niedersächsischer Landtag*: CDU, SPD, FDP, and the Greens. The considered time frame extends from the 15th (2003 – 2008) to the 18th legislative period (2017 – 2022) of the *Landtag*. Hence, parties that have been represented in the *Landtag* for just one or two legislative periods will be disregarded as they do not allow for a comparison of ideological positions.

The *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* (CDU) of Lower Saxony explicitly demanded the school duration of the *Gymnasium* to be shortened to eight years in their election programme of 2003. In 2008, the CDU stressed its support for the prior restructuring of the educational system including the introduction of G8, although the latter has not explicitly been mentioned. By referring to the OECD's international school performance study with findings on Lower Saxon high school students to have improved in their 2013 election programme, the CDU further assesses the educational policy changes since 2003 as a success. However, in 2015, the SPD-led federal state government changed the school law and reintroduced the G9 model for upper secondary schools. As a consequence, the election programmes of 2017 show how the parties positioned themselves on this decision. Therefore, the CDU firstly proposes concrete measures of how to manage the transition from G8 to G9 with regard to the double cohort in the school year 2020/21. Further, the Lower Saxon CDU proposes measures relating to the 'future prospects of Abitur graduates' (CDU Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 24), in suggesting an increase of schooling time for economic and MINT subjects as well as foreign languages. Also, it has been proposed by the CDU to allow 'high-performing students' to have sufficient support and the possibility to attain the Abitur after eight years at the *Gymnasium*.

In 2003, the Lower Saxon state association of the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD) underlines its support for structural improvements in the educational system and 'increased opportunities to already attain the Abitur after 12 school years' (SPD Niedersachsen, 2003, p. 10 f.) without demanding the latter to become the comprehensive status quo of upper secondary education. In their election programme of 2008, the SPD of Lower Saxony does not mention the G8 reform explicitly but implies that more action was required to improve the educational system in terms of social mobility. Mentioning the opportunity to attain the Abitur after nine years at the *Gesamtschule*, the SPD apparently maintains its position of an eight-year track at the *Gymnasium* in 2013. After the decision on G8 discontinuation took place in 2015,

however, the SPD as the leading federal state government party welcomes the reintroduction of the G9 model in Lower Saxony.

The *Freie Demokratische Partei* (FDP) of Lower Saxony states in its 2003 election programme for the *Landtag* that the PISA studies revealed educational inefficiencies, that require a shift in schooling policy. Thus, its position in 2003 is favouring the introduction of the G8 school reform, although it is not explicitly mentioned. For the elections five years afterwards, in 2008, the FDP clearly refers to the introduction of G8 as ‘the Abitur [that] can now already be achieved after 12 years of school’ (FDP Niedersachsen, 2008, p. 22) to be an improvement to the educational landscape. Since 2013, the FDP took a stance of the best practice for the educational system to not introduce any further reforms, which would apparently include the abolition of an existing practice such as G8, though the policy itself is not mentioned here explicitly either.

The Greens or *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen* of Lower Saxony appear to have opposed the introduction of the G8 upper secondary school reform back in 2003 as they state to reject early selection procedures and ‘turbo classes’ leading up to the Abitur (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen, 2003, p. 6). In 2008, the Greens proposed a major reorganisation of the educational system with the upper school stage (*gymnasiale Oberstufe*) to be redesigned in accordance with new pedagogical concepts of individual and cooperative learning, thus turning away from addressing the G8/G9 debate directly. Referring to the lesser time that students had to voluntarily engage in youth organisations or follow their hobbies, the Greens blame the ‘Abitur after 12 years’ in their 2013 election programme to keep young people from developing themselves freely. By demanding to extend the schooling time again, the Greens take a position in 2013 to terminate the G8 reform policy. This position has been reinforced by the Greens in 2017, stating that with the transition from G8 to G9, they would have created more learning time and dismantled stress at school (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 57).

When it comes to actual decision-making in the *Landtag*, the federal state government (*Landesregierung*) is usually backed by a majority of the *Landtag*, thus empowering the *Landesregierung* to enact, change and terminate policies. Following from the 2003 federal state elections, the *Landesregierung* in the 15th legislative period (2003 – 2008) has been a coalition government of CDU and FDP, which also formed a government coalition in the 16th legislative period (2008 – 2013). After the *Landtag* elections of 2013, Lower Saxony underwent a change in government with the SPD coming into power with a coalition government with the Greens. For the 18th legislative period (2017 – 2022), the SPD still holds the majority of the *Landtag*,

but established a coalition government with the CDU. The respective coalition agreements will demonstrate how the coalition parties have maintained or changed their positions stated in the election programmes, but more importantly, how the respective *Landesregierung* has positioned itself on the G8 upper secondary school reform over time.

The coalition government of CDU and FDP agreed in 2003 on introducing the G8 model for the *Gymnasium* comprehensively. In 2008, the coalition government of CDU and FDP continued and committed itself to the further profiling of each individual school type. In the context of maintaining the G8 model at the *Gymnasium*, the yellow-black *Landesregierung* further aimed at increasing the quality of teaching while also reducing the quantity of mandatory schooling hours per week leading up to the Abitur. The SPD-led coalition government formed in 2013 presents itself with openness towards a reversion to the G9 model at the *Gymnasium*, planning to discuss feasible measurements for a possible transition from G8 to G9 with those affected by the educational reform. The joined position of SPD and Greens in this coalition agreement appears to primarily reflect the statement of the Greens in their 2013 election programme as they have not been in favour of maintaining the ‘Abitur after 12 years’ at the *Gymnasium* due to lesser time for students to develop themselves freely and engage in free-time activities. In contrast, the SPD stated in its 2013 election programme that both G8 and G9 were already available by choosing either the *Gymnasium* or the *Gesamtschule*. After the G8 educational model has been discontinued in 2015, the coalition government of SPD and CDU formed in 2017 professes the G9 reversion at the *Gymnasium*, but also commits itself to establish further possibilities for students to attain the Abitur ‘on an accelerated way’ (SPD Niedersachsen & CDU Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 11).

4.2.2 Perceived policy failure

The interviewee of the Ministry of Education and the Arts of Lower Saxony (*Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium*) has been asked on his assessment of the public perceptions on the G8 reform and generally the transition process from G8 to G9 in Lower Saxony. Firstly, the interviewee underlines that the G9 model that has been introduced in 2015 has been a new and innovative model, which could not be compared to the G9 model that existed before the introduction of G8 in Lower Saxony in 2004 (Appendix B). On the one hand, this incongruence exists due to the fact, that many elements of the G8 model such as an earlier introduction of a second foreign language or the extension of the mandatory courses (*Wahlpflichtbereich*), that already existed in the former G9 model, have been adopted. On the other hand, the aggregate of tuition hours per week have been extended from 265 to 279, which were even more than in the former G9

model. Other innovative elements of the G9 model introduced in 2015 were the strengthening of the so-called MINT⁷ subjects and the earlier introduction of the subject Politics and Economy in the 8th grade with an extended aggregate of tuition hours per week (Appendix B). Furthermore, the interviewee characterises the debate on the G8 reform as ‘curative’ for the educational system of Lower Saxony because some weaknesses and traditions would have been questioned more radically (Appendix B).

In 1999/2000, the first turning point towards the G8 reform has been marked by the PISA study results leading to the perception that the age of German students, in which they enter the labour market, was too high on average. Thus, the wish came up to harmonise the educational system with European practices where the school years were less (Appendix B). For instance, the employer association *Unternehmervverbände Niedersachsen e.V.* or *Niedersachsenmetall* declared themselves in favour of G8 at the turn of the millennium. In addition, the support towards G8 also arose from almost every political party in Lower Saxony, and eventually even from the SPD with the former First Minister of Lower Saxony, Sigmar Gabriel (Appendix B). With the federal state government formed by the Christian Democrats and the Liberals in 2003, which were two of the strongest supporters of introducing the G8 reform, the way of abandoning the attainment of the Abitur after nine years at the *Gymnasium* has been paved. The interviewee recalls that only the *Gewerkschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft*, a German education union, warned against introducing the G8 reform at that time (Appendix B).

The results of the first double cohort in 2011 and the cohorts of the two following years have shown, that students’ performances were not worse than the performances of G9 students. Nevertheless, there has been a public change of mood in 2012/13, according to the interviewee (Appendix B). Thus, particularly parents and students have indicated that the time for students to engage in voluntary activities at school or free-time activities in the afternoon outside school was not sufficient. In addition, students would have to put more effort in learning, although the performances have been the same in comparison to G9 students (Appendix B). Interestingly to note here is that the initial supporters of G8 in 2004 were the ones that demanded a reversion to G9 immediately after the public change of mood in 2012/13, because Abitur graduates began to be perceived as not mature enough to start a vocational training or to enrol at university. For instance, the *Niedersächsischer Philologenverband* as the main teachers’ association, which

⁷ Abbreviation for Mathematics, Informatics, Natural Sciences and Technology

strongly advocated the introduction of G8 in 2003/04, quickly decided to intensively advocate the reversion to G9 in 2012/13 (Appendix B).

Whereas the teaching staff of the *Gymnasium* is primarily represented in the *Niedersächsischer Philologenverband* with 8,000 members out of 18,000 upper secondary school teaching staff in total, a smaller percentage of upper secondary school teaching staff is member of the *Gewerkschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW)*, which is part of the Federation of German Trade Unions. While the *GEW* is more left-wing-oriented and always opposed the G8 reform, the *Philologenverband* is characterised by the interviewee as a conservative-oriented association, which has been the strongest advocate of the G8 reform (Appendix B). The main representations of parents and students, the *Landeselternrat* and the *Landesschülerrat*, were both part of the task force, which has been established after the federal state parliament elections of 2013 to discuss the possibilities of G8 maintenance, G8 modification or G9 reversion. At this point of time there has already been a discussion on the maintenance of the G8 reform in other *Bundesländer*, with the eastern federal states as exception, according to the interviewee (Appendix B). While the *Landeselternrat* has decided on neither option, the *Landesschülerrat* strongly advocated a reversion to G9. Further, the interviewee remarks that suddenly a mainstream of advocating G9 emerged and that with the support of both employer associations and the Federation of German Trade Unions, the Minister of Education decided on the reversion to G9 in March 2014 (Appendix B).

On the particular question, to what extent the G8 reform has met its intended goals, the interviewee responded that the expectations of having Abitur graduates that were as mature and capable of beginning a study programme as G9 graduates, did not become a reality (Appendix B). In addition, it became evident that the students invested the year after earlier graduation from high school in taking a break, for instance by engaging in a so-called voluntary social year or ‘work and travel’ programmes, instead of beginning an apprenticeship or enrolling at university. Hence, this development signalled that students apparently did not feel mature enough to start a vocational training or a course of study, according to the interviewee (Appendix B). Finally asking the interviewee about the public resonance of reintroducing the G9 model, there existed great approval towards G9 right after its introduction, whereas points of criticism existed only in relation to questions of designing the curricula as many representatives of certain subject areas tried to maximise their share in them (Appendix B).

4.3 Interim findings on Hesse

In Hesse, the *Hessischer Landtag* as federal state parliament is the decision-maker on G8 discontinuation. Firstly, the interim findings on the change of ideological positions of the political parties represented in the *Landtag* and the political parties forming the federal state government (*Landesregierung*) will be presented. Secondly, the perceived policy failure with regard to the G8 reform in Hesse will be outlined.

4.3.1 Change of ideological positions

For the change of ideological positions in Hesse, the following paragraphs will at first show the change in positions of the political parties represented in the *Landtag* from 2003 to the latest elections in 2018 by means of the election programmes. Between 2003, the election before a decision on introducing G8 has been made by the federal state parliament, over 2013, before the hybrid G8/G9 model has been introduced, and 2018, as the latest election, the following parties have been permanently represented in the *Hessischer Landtag*: CDU, SPD, FDP, Greens, and since 2008 the Left. The considered time frame extends from the 16th (2003 – 2008) to the 20th legislative period (2018 – 2023) of the *Landtag*.

Stating to have accomplished ‘the introduction of the Abitur after twelve years’ (CDU Hessen, 2003, p. 9), the Hessian state association of the CDU evidently takes a position in favour of the G8 reform policy. Further, it is indicated that the G8 model has not been fully implemented at all Hessian upper secondary schools at the time of the 2003 elections. In 2008, the Hessian CDU marks the introduction of the G8 model as success, stating that with the shortening of the number of school years at the *Gymnasium*, it has been ensured that Hessian students ‘do not have to put back in national and international comparison’ (CDU Hessen, 2008, p. 34 f.). While the dissatisfaction with the G8 reform was still considerable after most upper secondary schools have successfully implemented it in 2009 (cf. Trautsch, 2014), the Hessian CDU commits itself to the further review of the G8 reform in its 2009 election programme, without ending its support for G8. As the shortening of upper secondary school time has neither been mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2013 election programme, it can be assumed that the supportive position of the Hessian CDU towards the G8 policy has not changed during that period. However, the CDU appears to admit to some extent a failure of the comprehensive G8 model in Hesse, stating that based on the experiences gained during the ‘school experiment’ (CDU Hessen, 2018, p. 11), the options between G8 and G9 should be more flexible and that it will enable a parallel offer of both models at the Hessian high schools. Thus, the position of the

CDU Hessen has changed from full support for the G8 model in 2003 to admitting mistakes and taking measures towards a parallel offer of both G8 and G9 in 2018.

Regarding the positioning of the Hessian SPD on the G8 reform, its 2003 election programme refers to the PISA study results as well. However, from these results the SPD does not conclude – in contrast to other Hessian political parties – the shortening of school duration to be implemented at the *Gymnasium*. Instead it proposes measures to increase educational justice, for instance. In 2008, the SPD explicitly refers to the G8 reform by intending to bring about its discontinuation. Nevertheless, students at the *Gymnasium* should still have the possibility to ‘attain the Abitur after twelve years’ (SPD Hessen, 2008, p. 48). This position has been affirmed in the 2009 election programme again by stating that the SPD wants to end ‘the G8 school stress’ and that they will ‘relieve students as well as parents and create permeability again through the abolition of G8’ (SPD Hessen, 2009, p. 5). The notion of the G8 reform to be connected to ‘stress’ from which the affected need to be ‘relieved’ appears interestingly to note here. For their 2013 election programme, the SPD maintains its position of opposing the G8 reform calling it the ‘failed G8 experiment’ (SPD Hessen, 2013, p. 13), which they criticise for not taking into account the different learning speeds and abilities of students. In 2018, the Hessian SPD election programme again emphasises the strong commitment to ‘the Abitur after 13 years at school’ (SPD Hessen, 2018, p. 22) at both the *Gymnasium* and the *Gesamtschule*. Further, while implicitly referring to the G9 model as ‘the normal case and a meaningful basis for attaining the Abitur’ (SPD Hessen, 2018, p. 22), students shall receive further opportunities to pass the upper class (*Oberstufe*) in a time frame that corresponds to individual preferences and learning speed.

The Hessian state association of the FDP endorses the attainment of the Abitur after eight years at the *Gymnasium* in its 2003 election programme. Referring to the lower competitiveness of German high school graduates in international comparison, the Hessian FDP considers the shortening of thirteen to twelve school years sufficient (FDP Hessen, 2003, p. 5). This supportive position towards introducing the G8 model has been affirmed in the 2008 election programme, stating that the FDP adheres to the ‘shortening of school time for high-performing upper secondary schools in light of the competitive disadvantages in both national and international comparison’ (FDP Hessen, 2008, p.73). For the 2009 election, the statement of the Hessian FDP regarding the G8 policy remains the same. In 2013, however, the FDP positions itself in favour of a parallel offer of G8 and G9 at both the upper secondary schools (*Gymnasien*) and the cooperative comprehensive schools (*kooperative Gesamtschulen*), while

opposing a prescribed reversion to G9 due to the freedom and autonomy that were to be granted for the schools (FDP Hessen, 2013, p. 5). Although the G8/G9 debate is not mentioned in their 2018 election programme, the FDP still adheres to greater autonomy and responsibility for schools (FDP Hessen, 2018, p. 4). Therefore, the FDP slightly changed its position from aiming at a comprehensive introduction of the G8 model in 2003 to granting schools the choice, whether to adopt G8 or G9 from 2013 on.

Whereas the G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in their 2003 election programme, the Hessian fraction of the Green party sees significant problems such as an overload for students connected to the shortening of school time from nine to eight years at the *Gymnasium* in 2008 (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2008, p. 20). Furthermore, the opportunity of students to attain the Abitur after twelve or thirteen years at the *Gymnasium* is favoured in the Greens' election programme of 2009 (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2009, p. 24). In 2013, the Greens still profess the freedom of choice between G8 and G9, while also proposing a further development of the structuring of the G8 model. According to the Greens, the G8 reform has been introduced in an 'abysmal manner' in Hesse, speaking of schools still 'suffering' from the flawed implementation. In addition, the Greens position themselves against a reversion to G9 that is 'dictated from above' (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2013, p. 33 f.). This positioning towards a hybrid G8/G9 model does not change with the 2018 election programme. It appears that the Greens have changed their support from opposing the shortening of school time in 2008 to delegating the choice to the schools, students and parents on which model is the most fitting for them from 2013 on.

In contrast to the *Landtag* in Lower Saxony, the Left Party or *Die Linke* has been represented in the *Hessischer Landtag* since 2008. The Left Party explicitly refers to the G8 reform in its 2008 election programme and demands its reversion on the upper secondary level (Die Linke Hessen, 2008, p. 14), while it is not addressed in the 2009 election programme. In 2013, the left-wing party explains its position against the shortening of school time – and thus against the G8 reform – with the educational disadvantages of the Hessian polynomial school system that were additionally strengthened by lesser time for learning (Die Linke Hessen, 2013, p. 17). Stating that G8 was a 'mistake' under which students had to suffer, the Left Party welcomes the partial adjustments of this 'educational error' at most upper secondary schools in their latest election programme of 2018 (Die Linke Hessen, 2018, p. 33). Hence, the Left Party has not changed its position to oppose the G8 reform since obtaining seats in the *Landtag* in 2008.

During the 16th (2003 – 2008) and 17th legislative period (2008 – 2009), the CDU had an absolute majority in the *Hessischer Landtag*. Thus, the goals set in the respective election programmes are sufficient for assessing the positioning of the *Landesregierung* for this time frame. In this sense, coalition agreements only exist for the 18th (2009 – 2014), the 19th (2014 – 2018), and the 20th legislative period (2018 – 2023). The respective coalition agreements will demonstrate how the coalition parties have maintained or changed their positions as stated in their election programmes, but more importantly, how the *Landesregierung* of Hesse has positioned itself on the G8 upper secondary school reform over time.

Having attained the absolute majority of seats in the Hessian parliament, the positions of the CDU in their 2003 and 2008 election programmes reflect the positions of the *Landesregierung* of Hesse during the 16th and 17th legislative period, which are clearly in support of the G8 upper secondary school reform. In 2009, the coalition government of CDU and FDP announces measures implemented on the review of the G8 reform to be continued. While a freedom of choice between G8 and G9 has already been established for the cooperative comprehensive schools, the two political parties adhere to the G8 model at the *Gymnasium* (CDU Hessen & FDP Hessen, 2009, p. 30). This supportive position towards the G8 policy is consistent with the positions of the CDU and the FDP as stated in their election programmes for the 2009 Hessian state election. In 2014, the coalition government of Christian Democrats and Greens stated that next to the cooperative comprehensive schools, upper secondary schools should have a freedom of choice between G8 and G9 as well (CDU Hessen & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2014, p. 29 f.). As the CDU has not mentioned the G8 reform in its 2013 election programme explicitly, the Green Party's positioning seems to be predominant in this issue due to concrete measures being proposed in the coalition agreement regarding the transition processes at the affected schools, which also appear to reflect the goals set in the Green Party's election programme of 2013. Finally, the 2018 coalition agreement between CDU Hessen and the Hessian Green Party still takes a position in favour of a parallel offer of G8 and G9 at the upper secondary schools (CDU Hessen & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2018, p. 83). What is intriguing to note here is that the first sentence of the statement on G8 in the coalition agreement has been derived from the 2018 election programme of the Hessian CDU and the last sentence from the Green election programme of 2018.

4.3.2 Perceived policy failure

The implementation process of the reform on shortening school time at the upper secondary schools in Hesse started with the school year 2004/2005 and encompassed three steps in order

to avoid a double cohort in 2013 (Appendix B). Since the school year of 2013/2014, upper secondary schools have been able to choose between an intermediate level (*Mittelstufe / Sekundarstufe I*) that consists of five or six years. In addition, both upper secondary schools (*Gymnasien*) and cooperative comprehensive schools (*kooperative Gesamtschulen*) with a five-year course of education have been able to participate in a model experiment, within the scope of which G8 and G9 have been offered in parallel at the same school from the 7th grade on (Appendix B). Asking the respondent from the Ministry of Education and the Arts of Hesse (*Hessisches Kultusministerium*) about his personal assessment on the extent to which the expectations on the G8 reform have been fulfilled, he blinks the question in stating that the Hessian high schools have individually assessed and decided on the best educational practice in regard to G8, G9 or a parallel offer of both (Appendix B).

Regarding the public perception of the G8 reform since its introduction in 2004, the respondent states that it naturally evoked reactions from the public, to which the political side would have adequately reacted to (Appendix B). The criticism of the G8 reform particularly raised from parents was that the workload of students in the intermediate level has been quite burdensome and that there has been less time for students to engage in free-time activities due to the introduction of the reform (Appendix B). However, the tiered implementation of the shortening of school time at the *Gymnasien* has been regarded as successful by the respondent, with the three steps being pilot schools in the school year 2004/05 and then further schools in the two following school years. Thus, in contrast to other western federal states that have introduced G8, Hesse avoided a doubled number of applicants at universities and the apprenticeship market in 2013, which a double cohort of Abitur graduates would have caused. Instead, the number of additional Abitur graduates has been distributed over three cohorts (Appendix B).

As the largest teachers' association in Hesse, the *Hessischer Philologenverband* with its 4,000 members took a position at its representative assembly in Fulda in 2007, that the introduction of the G8 reform has been a clear mistake, because the quantity of education has been reduced and the Abitur would have lost its qualitative value (Kister, 2007). Further, the chairman of the association, Knud Dittmann, denounced the enormous burden which students had to face due to the G8 reform. Also, it has been stated that the implementation of the reform has its problems with regard to the expectation of students attaining the Abitur in a shorter time frame and without loss in quality, because students had less time to learn and revise (Kister, 2007). Moreover, the other teachers' association, the *Gewerkschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW)* has positioned itself towards the comprehensive reversion to G9 (Gießener Allgemeine,

2012). In 2012, the *Hessischer Philologenverband* formulated a resolution on the parallel offer of G8 and G9 at Hessian upper secondary schools, however, which positions the association in favour of granting the *Gymnasien* the freedom to choose between either G8 or G9, which has already been established for the cooperative comprehensive schools at that time (Hessischer Philologenverband, 2012).

The *Landeselternbeirat* as the main representation of Hessian parents in educational matters rectified the statements from the *Kultusministerium*, that the *Landeselternbeirat* would have approved the introduction of G8, where in fact the opposite would have been the case (Landeselternbeirat von Hessen, 2007). Considering that the approval for general rules with regard to educational goals and the course of education is needed from the *Landeselternbeirat* (Hessisches Kultusministerium, n.d.), the apparently incorrect claim from the *Kultusministerium* is not negligible. From its press release on G8, it becomes evident that the *Landeselternbeirat* predicted several problems connected to the introduction of the reform, that would in fact have occurred quickly after the decision to implement G8 has been made (Landeselternbeirat von Hessen, 2007). Thus, the associations' perception of policy failure does not primarily address the G8 reform itself but rather its implementation process. The deficiencies mentioned in particular are shortages in personnel, material and space resources at the Hessian upper secondary schools, which would inhibit the development of pedagogical concepts for G8 together with teachers, students and parents at the schools, which is why the *Landeselternbeirat* demands strengthened action to address the fundamental causes of the 'G8 problem' (Landeselternbeirat von Hessen, 2007).

Regarding the representation of students, the *Landesschülervertretung* clearly positioned itself towards a reversion to G9, while showing understanding for many schools that lack the strength to implement 'a reform of the reform' (Gießener Allgemeine, 2012). The school principals of several Hessian municipalities have decided not to change anything until summer 2013, although it would have legally been possible at that time. Whereas the school authorities warned against the introduction of G9 due to the increased need for further classrooms, the Hesse Trade Associations criticised the rushed introduction of a hybrid G8/G9 model, while being the only stakeholder to continue the support of the G8 model (Gießener Allgemeine, 2012).

In response to the critical perceptions of parents and students towards the G8 model, the coalition government of the Christian Democrats and the Greens agreed on strengthening the freedom of choice between G8 and G9 for the *kooperative Gesamtschulen* and the *Gymnasien*. Hence, the intention was to match the educational offer with the will of parents and therefore

the needs of students (Appendix B). However, with regard to the freedom of choice between G8 and G9, the *Landeselternbeirat* still opposed the ministry's plans as about 89 percent of the Hessian parents would have favoured the nine-year course of education for their children, according to an educational study (Landeselternbeirat von Hessen, 2012). Also, it has been criticised that the freedom of choice has been granted to the schools and not the parents (Gießener Allgemeine, 2012). Instead of the maintenance of G8 for the 5th and 6th grade and a decision on either course of education from the 7th grade, the *Landeselternbeirat* proposed the nine-years course of education with the possibility to choose G8 from the upper school (*Oberstufe*) on (Landeselternbeirat von Hessen, 2012).

4.4 Interim findings on Hamburg

In Hamburg, the *Hamburgische Bürgerschaft* as federal state parliament is the decision-maker on G8 discontinuation. Firstly, the interim findings on the change of ideological positions of the political parties represented in the *Bürgerschaft* and the political parties forming the federal state government (*Senat*) will be presented. Secondly, the perceived policy failure with regard to the G8 reform in Hamburg will be outlined.

4.4.1 Change of ideological positions

For the change of ideological positions in Hamburg, the following paragraphs will at first show the change in positions of the political parties represented in the *Bürgerschaft* from 2001 to the latest elections in 2015 by means of the election programmes. Between 2001, the election before a decision on introducing G8 has been made by the federal state parliament, and 2015, as the latest election, the following parties have been permanently represented in the *Hamburgische Bürgerschaft*: CDU, SPD, and the Greens. The Liberals (FDP) and the Left Party have only been represented in the *Bürgerschaft* for three legislative periods between 2001 and 2019. However, in order to generate a comprehensive image of the changed ideological positions of the political fractions in the federal state parliament between 2001 and 2019, their positions will be considered as well. The considered time frame further extends from the 17th (2001 – 2004) to the 21st legislative period (2015 – 2020) of the *Hamburgische Bürgerschaft*.

In 2001, the Christian Democrats of Hamburg criticised the Senate for refusing to introduce a general shortening of school time at the *Gymnasium*, because they have feared that the Abitur graduates in Hamburg would fall behind in comparison with others (CDU Hamburg, 2001, p. 9 f.). The CDU therefore demands the comprehensive introduction of the G8 model in their 2001 election programme. After the G8 reform has been introduced in 2002, the CDU shortly refers to the shortening of school time at the *Gymnasium* as one of the 'central steps for a better

education' in their 2004 election programme (CDU Hamburg, 2004, p. 9). Blaming the Social Democrats for causing the 'disastrous PISA results for Hamburg', the Christian Democrats further justify their supportive position on the G8 reform in their 2008 election programme, especially in light of the new school structure consisting of two pillars that would come into effect in 2009 and enable attaining the Abitur after 13 years at the *Stadtteilschule* or 12 years at the *Gymnasium* (CDU Hamburg, 2008, p. 20). As the G8 reform has neither been mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in their 2011 and 2015 election programmes, the position of the CDU on the G8 model at the *Gymnasium* can still be regarded as supportive in light of the agreed *Schulfrieden* and the two-pillar structure of the Hamburg educational system. For instance, in their 2015 election programme, the Christian Democrats state that they want to use the *Schulfrieden* to improve the quality of teaching in all types of schools over the long term instead of 'ideologically motivated experiments' (CDU Hamburg, 2015, p. 35).

On the other hand, the Social Democrats of Hamburg have stated in their 2001 election programme, that 'a good education needs its time' and that 'rapidity is not an end in itself' (SPD Hamburg, 2001, p. 26). Thus, the SPD takes a sceptical but still open position on the introduction of a reform to shorten the school years until the Abitur, stating that they will orientate towards the personal performances of young people in assessing and developing possibilities for attaining the Abitur in a shorter time frame. Although the 2004 and 2008 election programmes of the SPD Hamburg do not mention the G8 reform, the CDU-led Senate has been criticised for cutting teaching positions and burden schools with 'immature experiments' (SPD Hamburg, 2004, p. 6), which could refer to the shortening of school time. Further, the Abitur after 13 years to be attained at the *Stadtteilschulen* has found its support from the Social Democrats (SPD Hamburg, 2008, p. 15). Stating that a large number of students would learn successfully and attain the Abitur after twelve years at upper secondary schools in Hamburg (SPD Hamburg, 2011, p. 18), the Social Democrats neither take a clear position in support of or in opposition to the G8 reform. However, they propose measures to increase the quality of education in general, which continues to be the standpoint in their 2015 election programme, where the reform has not been mentioned either.

In contrast to this rather cautious positioning on the reform of the Social Democrats, the liberal FDP explicitly states in their 2001 election programme to be in favour of a shortening of the school time to 12 years leading to the Abitur (FDP Hamburg, 2001, p. 4). Although the FDP participated in the federal state elections in Hamburg in 2004 and 2008, it did not gain any seats in the *Bürgerschaft* from these elections, which is why the positions from these years will be

disregarded. In 2011, the FDP professes to its commitment to the ‘two pillars’ of secondary education in Hamburg consisting of *Gymnasium* and *Stadtteilschule* (FDP Hamburg, 2011, p. 8). This commitment to the two-pillar model has again been affirmed in the 2015 election programme, which would support the maintenance of G8 at upper secondary schools at the same time. Furthermore, it is stated that the FDP opposes further structural reforms at school and argues for the implementation of G8 to become ‘more student-friendly’ (FDP Hamburg, 2015, p. 8).

The Green Party in Hamburg takes a supportive position towards the possibilities of an individual shortening of school time, including the possibility to attain the Abitur after twelve years (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg, 2001, p. 23). However, this does not explicitly refer to a comprehensive introduction of the G8 reform. In their 2004 election programme, the Greens generally support the ‘Abitur after 12 years of school’ and argue for the deficiencies created during the introduction of the reform to be fixed (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg, 2004, p. 14). Although the G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in their 2008 and 2011 election programmes, both stand in opposition to the three-tier school system and in support of a joint learning of all children. Thus, a clear positioning towards the G8 reform cannot be identified here. Furthermore, at the time of the 2015 federal state elections in Hamburg, the two-pillar model of *Stadtteilschule* and *Gymnasium* has already been the status quo of educational policy. The position which the Greens take in their 2015 election programme consists of the awareness that important societal reforms cannot be tackled from above, but only together with the schools on site (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg, 2015, p. 82). As both ways of attaining the Abitur have already been implemented in the educational landscape of Hamburg, the Greens do not consider any structural reforms necessary in this matter.

Concerning the positioning of the Left Party, the G8 reform has not been referred to in their 2008 and 2011 election programmes. However, in their 2015 election programme they argue for upper school networks to be established, which would allow for the most flexible and individual choice of students, whether to attain the Abitur after two, three or four years of upper school (*Oberstufe*) according to their performance capability. In this sense, the Left Party would see the ‘vexing discussion on G8 or G9’ to be settled in the interest of the students (Die Linke Hamburg, 2015, p. 37).

In the 17th legislative period (2001 – 2004) of the *Bürgerschaft*, the CDU formed a government coalition with the former *Partei Rechtsstaatlicher Offensive* (PRO) or *Schill-Partei*, and the FDP, whereas the CDU had an absolute majority in the 18th legislative period (2004 – 2008).

For the 19th legislative period (2008 – 2011), the CDU formed a government coalition with the Green Party. A change in government leadership occurred in the 20th legislative period (2011 – 2015), with the Social Democrats gaining an absolute majority in the *Bürgerschaft*, while they formed a government with the Green Party for the 21st legislative period (2015 – 2020). The respective coalition agreements will demonstrate how the coalition parties have maintained or changed their positions as stated in the respective election programmes, but more importantly, how the Senate of Hamburg has positioned itself on the G8 upper secondary school reform over time.

In their 2001 coalition agreement, the Senate formed by the Christian Democrats, the Schill Party and the Liberals has agreed on the general introduction of the Abitur after twelve years, meaning the introduction of the G8 reform at the *Gymnasium* (CDU Hamburg, Schill-Partei & FDP Hamburg, 2001, p. 5). This position is consistent with the 2001 election programmes of the CDU and FDP. The absolute majority government of the Christian Democrats in the 18th legislative period means that the position of the Senate on the G8 reform is the same as stated in the 2004 election programme of the CDU. In the 2008 coalition agreement, the Christian Democrats and the Greens underline their support for the shortening of school time at the *Gymnasien*, while also intending to increase the quality of teaching and to avoid the excessive demands of students in terms of time (CDU Hamburg & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg, 2008, p. 10). With the change in government leadership from 2011, the Social Democrats determine the positioning of the Senate for the 20th legislative period, which is neither clearly in favour of G8 nor G9. Finally, the government coalition of the SPD and the Green Party formed in 2015 does not take a clear position in the G8/G9 debate either, which could be traced back to the *Schulfrieden* agreement of 2010 between CDU, SPD and Greens (Meyer, 2017).

4.4.2 Perceived policy failure

As in the other two federal states, there are two main representations of teachers in Hamburg. Firstly, the *Deutscher Philologenverband Hamburg* does not give any implications for their perception of the G8 reform to be a failure or success, but takes a position in favour of maintaining the policy. By referring to the ‘two pillars’ of secondary education in Hamburg, the teachers’ association warns against another change of the school system, which would neither benefit the quality of the *Gymnasium* nor the quality of the Abitur (Deutscher Philologenverband Hamburg, n.d.).

Secondly, the *Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft Hamburg (GEW)* stated in 2013, that the ‘alleged success model’ has been a ‘bluff’, which has put huge burdens on students and their

families, because there has generally been less time for free-time activities and high school students would have had to cope with a higher workload that would exceed the regular working time of employees. Hence, by referring to a ‘fatal development’, which would have a negative impact on the health of young people and the learning in German society (GEW Hamburg, 2013), the *GEW* shares a perception of policy failure regarding the G8 reform.

The *Lehrerkammer Hamburg* could be referred to as a third representation of teachers. However, in contrast to the *Philologenverband* and the *GEW* it is not an interest group in principle, but a representative body with elected members (§ 82 HmbSG), which takes an advisory role towards the Ministry of Schools and Vocational Training in Hamburg. However, the *Lehrerkammer Hamburg* does neither indicate the G8 reform to have failed in accomplishing its intended goals nor with regard to the implementation process, while warning against the hastily introduction of the G9 model in response to criticism against G8 (Lehrerkammer Hamburg, 2014).

Another important stakeholder is the association of school principals, the *Vereinigung der Leitungen Hamburger Gymnasien und Studienseminare (VLHGS)*, which proclaimed that there would already be a possibility to attain the Abitur after nine years at the *Stadtteilschule* – in contrast to other federal states – and that students and parents could either decide at the end of primary school or the 10th grade, whether one additional year until Abitur attainment was needed (Hamburger Abendblatt, 2018). Thus, the *VLHGS* emphasised that the G8 model at the *Gymnasium* has proved itself and that a deceleration of study time could not be enabled through debates on the school structure, but through a qualitative advancement of teaching in the eight-year course of education (Hamburger Abendblatt, 2018).

A perception of policy failure is not apparent from the *VLHGS* statements on the G8 reform as they state that recent years have shown that the eight-year track *Gymnasium* would have been accepted by a vast majority of students and their parents (Hencke et al., 2013). Further, this acceptance of the G8 model is explained by the improved results of Hamburg high school students due to structural and content-related improvements of the curricula and whole-day offers, for instance (Hencke et al., 2013). Next to the *VLHGS*, school principals in Hamburg are also organized in the *Verband Hamburger Schulleitungen (VHS)*, which indicated that the allegations of the ‘G9-Jetzt-HH’ initiative against the effectiveness of the G8 reform were untenable because the number of Abitur graduates would have increased by 50 percent in the last few years and that the grade level has improved despite the shortening of school time (Verband Hamburger Schulleitungen, 2014).

In addition, the *Elternkammer* as official representation of all parents in educational matters stated that both the eight-year track as well as the nine-year track Abitur have proven themselves and that, in contrast to more rural federal states such as Lower Saxony or Schleswig-Holstein, the access to both ways of attaining the Abitur were located nearby in Hamburg (Elternkammer Hamburg, 2014). The *Elternkammer* further emphasises that since the introduction of the G8 reform in 2003, Hamburg would have increased the educational performance standard and that despite the expansion of school periods, the *Gymnasium* would have increased its attractiveness. In addition, the quality of the Abitur would not have suffered from the introduction of the G8 model in Hamburg (Elternkammer Hamburg, 2014). Regarding its perception on the G8 reform, the *Elternkammer* characterised the simultaneous and successful increase in the number of Abitur graduates as great success of the educational policy and indicated that many students would cope with the learning speed of the eight-year track *Gymnasium* (Elternkammer Hamburg, 2014). However, the *Elternkammer* demanded improvements in the implementation of the G8 reform as there were several deficiencies in the organisation of schools and consultations between teaching staff regarding exams, presentations and homework (Elternkammer Hamburg, 2014). The position of the *Elternkammer* to maintain the G8 reform, but to demand qualitative improvements in its implementation, has been shared by the parental boards or *Elternräte* of several districts in light of professing the *Schulfrieden* (Dees, 2014; Aleksander, 2014; Stumpp et al., 2014).

The *Schülerkammer* is the official representation of students in Hamburg by § 80 HmbSG, which has declared itself in opposition to the ‘G9-Jetzt-HH’ initiative and in support of the *Schulfrieden*, although it has generally been in favour of a 13-year school time (Schülerkammer Hamburg, n.d.). Thus, there is no clear perception of policy failure mentioned by the students’ representative chamber, because it commits itself to equal educational opportunities, which were best achieved with the ‘two pillar’ system of an eight-year *Gymnasium* and a nine-year *Stadtteilschule* (Schülerkammer Hamburg, n.d.).

5. Analysis

The findings on each case will be analysed in comparison to the previously stated expectations in order to derive explanations for the impact of the triggering factors on G8 discontinuation. While qualitative analytical techniques remain to be quite general and rare in methodological literature, the approach selected for this thesis is explanation-building (Yin, 2004). Thus, the focus lies on providing evidence for the changed ideological positions and perceived policy

failure to have led either to a decision on G8 discontinuation, the change of implementation or the maintenance of the status quo in the respective case.

5.1 Change of ideological positions

The findings on the changed ideological positions on the G8 reform for Lower Saxony have shown, that political parties, such as the Christian Democrats or the Liberals, have consequently supported the G8 model and political parties, such as the Greens, have consequently opposed the G8 model in favour of an Abitur attainment after nine years of upper secondary education. In *Table 2*, the positioning of each political party and the *Landesregierung* has been determined for each legislative period based on the findings from the previous section. Whereas the Social Democrats have initially supported the opportunity to attain the Abitur after twelve school years for the 15th legislative period (2003 – 2008), there positioning on the G8 policy apparently changed to opposing the reform for the 18th legislative period (2017 – 2022) after the *Landesregierung* has agreed on the reversion to the G9 model under their leadership. Thus, while the CDU and the FDP formed a coalition government during the 15th legislative period (2003 – 2008) and the 16th legislative period (2008 – 2013), under which the G8 upper secondary school reform has been introduced in 2004, the change in government leadership in 2013 paved the way for a changed positioning of the *Landesregierung* on the G8 policy.

	Christian Democrats	Social Democrats	Liberals	Greens	Federal state government
15th legislative period	G8 introduction	G8 introduction	G8 introduction	G9 maintenance	G8 introduction
16th legislative period	G8 maintenance	-	G8 maintenance	-	G8 maintenance
17th legislative period	G8 maintenance	G8 maintenance	G8 maintenance	G8 discontinuation	G8 discontinuation
18th legislative period	-	G9 maintenance	-	G9 maintenance	G9 maintenance

Table 2. Determination of the political parties' positioning on the G8 reform for Lower Saxony

With the SPD forming a coalition government with the Green Party for the 17th legislative period (2013 – 2017), the demand of the Greens for G9 reversion moved the initial positioning of the Social Democrats on maintaining the status quo towards G8 discontinuation through the coalition agreement of 2013. In consequence, there has been a change of ideological positions from majoritarian support for the introduction of the G8 reform in 2003 (CDU, SPD and FDP)

towards its discontinuation from 2013 (SPD and Greens), which led to a decision by the *Niedersächsischer Landtag* to decide on the reintroduction of the G9 model in 2015.

In the case of Hesse, all political parties have changed their ideological position from 2003 towards a parallel offer of G8 and G9 between 2009 and 2018, except for the Left Party, which remained in favour of a comprehensive G8 discontinuation since its entry into the *Landtag* in 2008. *Table 3* provides an overview of the positioning on the G8 reform between the 16th and 20th legislative period of the *Hessischer Landtag*, which have been determined for the political parties and the federal state government based on the findings from the previous section. While the Christian Democrats and the Liberals have traditionally been supporters of the G8 upper secondary school reform, the Social Democrats, Greens and Left Party have stood in opposition to its implementation or even demanded the termination of the reform policy.

	Christian Democrats	Social Democrats	Liberals	Greens	Left Party	Federal state government
16th legislative period	G8 introduction	-	G8 introduction	-	-	G8 introduction
17th legislative period	G8 maintenance	G8 discontinuation	G8 maintenance	G8 opposition	G8 discontinuation	G8 maintenance
18th legislative period	G8 maintenance	G8 discontinuation	G8 maintenance	Parallel offer of G8/G9	-	G8 maintenance
19th legislative period	G8 maintenance	G8 discontinuation	Parallel offer of G8/G9	Parallel offer of G8/G9	G8 discontinuation	Parallel offer of G8/G9
20th legislative period	Parallel offer of G8/G9	Parallel offer of G8/G9	Parallel offer of G8/G9	Parallel offer of G8/G9	G8 discontinuation	Parallel offer of G8/G9

Table 3. Determination of the political parties' positioning on the G8 reform for Hesse

As the CDU has formed the *Landesregierung* for the 16th and 17th legislative period, the G8 reform has been introduced in 2004 under their leadership. During the 18th legislative period, the Christian Democrats formed a government coalition with the Liberals, who have both been in favour of keeping the G8 model. However, this changes with the 2014 federal state elections and the Green Party becoming the coalition partner of the Christian Democrats for the 19th and 20th legislative period. Due to the positioning of the Greens towards a greater freedom of choice between the two educational models, the still CDU-led *Landesregierung* agreed on a parallel offer of both G8 and G9 at the *Gymnasium*, while this has already been the case for the *Gesamtschulen* after 2008.

In conclusion, there has been a majoritarian shift of ideological positions on the G8 reform in the *Hessischer Landtag*, too. However, in contrast to Lower Saxony, the political fractions appear to have been more divided in the G8/G9 debate with the SPD, Greens and Left Party standing in opposition to the G8 reform since the 17th legislative period, while the CDU and FDP have been the strongest supporters of its introduction and maintenance. This dividedness of the Hessian political fractions might explain to some extent why a parallel offer of both models has been the outcome of decision-making instead of a comprehensive reversion to the G9 model, for instance. Also, there has been no shift in government leadership in Hesse as it has been the case in Lower Saxony, where the Social Democrats took the lead in 2013.

Finally, the findings on the changed ideological positions on the G8 reform for Hamburg show that most political fractions of the *Bürgerschaft* did not clearly refer to the G8/G9 debate in their election programmes, especially the Social Democrats and the Left Party. *Table 4* shows the positioning of each political party and the Senate, which has been determined for each legislative period based on the findings from the previous section. While the CDU-led government of the 17th legislative period introduced the G8 reform in Hamburg together with the Liberals and the *Schill* party as coalition partners in 2002, the Christian Democrats and Liberals have also been the only political parties in Hamburg, which were constantly in favour of the reform policy. The government leadership of the Christian Democrats did not end until 2011, when the Social Democrats took over the majority of seats in the *Bürgerschaft*, so that the Senate's positioning towards the G8 reform has reflected the supportive position of the CDU until then.

	Christian Democrats	Social Democrats	Liberals	Greens	Left Party	Senate of Hamburg
17th legislative period	G8 introduction	-	G8 introduction	-	-	G8 introduction
18th legislative period	G8 maintenance	-	-	G8 maintenance	-	G8 maintenance
19th legislative period	G8 maintenance	-	-	-	-	G8 maintenance
20th legislative period	G8 maintenance	-	G8 maintenance	-	-	G8 maintenance
21st legislative period	G8 maintenance	-	G8 maintenance	G8 maintenance	-	G8 maintenance

Table 4. Determination of the political parties' positioning on the G8 reform for Hamburg

However, as the CDU, SPD and the Greens have agreed on preventing any further interferences in the educational policies through structural reforms in 2010 (Meyer, 2017), which has commonly been referred to as the *Schulfrieden* agreement, even changes in government as in 2011 would have been unlikely to change the positioning on the G8 reform towards its discontinuation because this would have meant another grave interference into the educational landscape in Hamburg. In this respect, the SPD-led governments of the 20th and 21st legislative period could not have been expected to take measures towards the termination of the controversial policy.

In addition, there is already a possibility to attain the Abitur after nine years of secondary education at the *Stadtteilschule* since 2010 (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2013). This might explain, why certain political parties have still shown support towards the maintenance of the G8 reform, because unlike non-city states, both school types of *Gymnasium* and *Stadtteilschule* are located nearby in Hamburg. Hence, there has been no majoritarian shift of ideological positions towards G8 discontinuation in the *Hamburgische Bürgerschaft*, which despite the potential bias through the *Schulfrieden* agreement and the ‘two pillars’ of secondary education could explain, why a decision towards the termination of the G8 reform policy has not occurred here.

According to the first expectation, it is assumed that the more the ideological positions of political parties on the G8 upper secondary school reform have changed towards termination, the more likely a decision by the respective federal state parliaments towards discontinuing the reform policy has become. Although the positions for each *Bundesland* have been determined rather roughly – as the political parties have not always given a clear and explicit statement with regard to the G8 reform in their election programmes – a change of ideological positions in Lower Saxony appears to have led to a decision towards G8 discontinuation, while the dividedness of the Hessian *Landtag* on the issue might explain, why the outcome has been a compromise of a parallel offer of both educational models, while the ideological positions of the majority of CDU, SPD, FDP and Greens have actually changed significantly towards this type of G8 discontinuation. In contrast, a change of ideological positions has not been apparent in the case of Hamburg, where the G8 model remains the status quo. Thus, the findings on changed ideological positions on the G8 reform seem to support the first expectation.

5.2 Perceived policy failure

The operationalisation of perceived policy failure has been twofold: primarily it is addressed by this thesis as the degree to which the implementation of the reform has not met its intended

goals, whose main goal is an earlier labour market participation of German students, and secondly it is addressed as problems connected to the implementation of the reform. *Table 5* provides an overview of the perceptions on the G8 reform, which can be found in APPENDIX C.

In the case of Lower Saxony, there has been a public change of mood in 2012/2013, where both the teachers' associations and representatives from business began to observe, that the Abitur graduates were not mature enough to enrol at university or start a vocational training (Appendix B). In addition, after having graduated from the *Gymnasium*, students have often been found to delay their enrolment or labour market entry for one year after graduation (Appendix B), which contradicts the expectations of an earlier labour market entry of German high school students as well. Whereas the school principals, represented by the *Niedersächsische Direktorenvereinigung*, have shown their support towards a comprehensive reversion to G9 with the structural possibility for earlier Abitur attainment, parents and students have outlined the policy failure in terms of lesser time for students to engage in voluntary and free-time activities (Appendix B). Although there has been no perception of failure with regard to the implementation of the reform, the respective interest groups seem to perceive the G8 reform as failure by either demanding its discontinuation, pointing at the lesser free time for students or by the observation that graduates appear to be not mature enough to enter the labour market.

For Hesse, the findings suggest a similar perception of the G8 reform with the two teachers' associations demanding the comprehensive reversion to the G9 model and evaluating the introduction of the G8 reform as a 'clear mistake' (Appendix C). More precisely, the *Philologenverband* in Hesse assessed, that the expectation that students could attain the Abitur in a shorter time frame and without loss in quality has not been met (Appendix C). Furthermore, the Hessian parents have also perceived the lesser time for students to engage in free-time activities and the burdens on students as a failure of the G8 reform, while the *Landeselternbeirat* has primarily criticised the implementation of the policy in particular (Appendix C). Finally, the students' representative body, the *Landesschülervertretung* has argued for the comprehensive reversion to the G9 model, although acknowledging the limited capabilities of schools to implement another reform (Appendix C). Hence, it can be concluded that the G8 reform has been perceived as a failure by a majority both with regard to its aims and its implementation.

Concerning the perceived policy failure in Hamburg, the teachers' associations appear to be more divided on their perception of the G8 reform. While the *Philologenverband* rejects further

structural reforms by questioning their qualitative benefit for the *Gymnasien* in Hamburg, the *GEW* criticises the G8 reform for creating burdens on students and their families, preventing students to engage more in free-time activities and being harmful to the students' health with regard to the workload (Appendix C). Although this relates to the extent to which the G8 reform has met its intended goals, it needs to be considered that the *GEW* is generally less influential than the *Philologenverband* in all chosen cases. In addition, the associations of school principals in Hamburg seem to share a positive perception of the G8 reform. Being accepted by a vast majority of students and their parents, and the number of Abitur graduates having increased, while the grade level has improved despite the shortening of school time, the G8 reform would have proven itself, according to the school principals (Appendix C).

Referring to the possibility to attain both the eight-year track and the nine-year track Abitur nearby in Hamburg, the parents' representations share a similar positive perception of the G8 reform as the educational performance standard and the attractiveness of the *Gymnasium* would have increased, while several deficiencies in the implementation would have to be fixed, according to the *Elternkammer* (Appendix C). Although the *Schülerkammer* as the students' representative body appears to be more supportive towards a school time of thirteen years, they have professed the *Schulfrieden* and thus the eight-year track *Gymnasium* (Appendix C). In conclusion, the findings on Hamburg suggest that some stakeholders, such as parents, share a perception of policy failure with regard to the reform's implementation. However, with regard to its aims, a majority of teachers, school principals and parents highlight the success of the G8 reform in achieving positively perceived results.

According to the second expectation, it is assumed that the more there is a public perception of the G8 policy to have failed, the higher the likelihood of its discontinuation as decided by the respective federal state parliament is. Although a generalisation of the public perception of the G8 reform derived from expert interviews, surveys and statements from certain interest groups is difficult to achieve, the findings demonstrate that a majority of stakeholders in Lower Saxony and Hesse have perceived the G8 reform to have failed with regard to aim achievement and implementation.

While these findings do not clearly indicate, why the comprehensive reversion to the G9 model has been the outcome of decision-making in Lower Saxony and the partial discontinuation by introducing a hybrid G8/G9 model in Hesse, they seem to confirm the second expectation of increasing the likelihood of discontinuation. In contrast, in Hamburg where G8 remains the

status quo, the overall picture shows that the public perception has generally been more positive towards the G8 reform, thus decreasing the likelihood of its discontinuation.

6. Conclusion

This Bachelor thesis focuses on the discontinuation of the G8 upper secondary school reform in relevant *Bundesländer*. Therefore, the thesis has been designed as a multiple case study with the cases being selected on their decision-making outcome regarding the policy of shortening the time of upper secondary education in Germany from nine to eight years (G8). With Lower Saxony, Hesse and Hamburg, three *Bundesländer* have been selected, which were expected to provide explanations for the triggering factors of policy termination. The underlying research question reads as follows: *which factors explain the discontinuation of the G8 upper secondary school reform in certain Bundesländer?*

6.1 Summary

The G8 reform has been implemented in most western *Bundesländer* between 2001 and 2007 after German high school graduates have been found to be generally less competitive at university and when entering the labour market than their international counterparts. In addition, the PISA study results appeared to be more promising in eastern *Bundesländer* where the G8 model has already been the status quo for decades, thus giving an incentive for the western federal states to adopt the policy. As the decision-making on educational policy rests with the 16 federal states of Germany, the example of the G8 reform is an intriguing one to investigate, because the educational systems are quite manifold throughout the federal republic.

However, with the introduction of the reform policy in most of western Germany, it did not remain unchallenged. While the expectations were that the shortening of school time at the *Gymnasium* would improve the performances and educational development of high school students in former West Germany (Homuth, 2017, p.19), empirical findings suggested that an earlier labour market participation of Abitur graduates has not been achieved, for instance (Büttner & Thomsen, 2013; Huebener & Marcus, 2015; Marcus & Zambre, 2016; Meyer & Thomsen, 2016; Homuth 2017). With Lower Saxony as the first *Bundesland* to revert to the nine-year track *Gymnasium* (G9) in 2015, the trend towards the discontinuation of the G8 reform has been triggered in the western federal states.

Aiming at providing new insights to the field of policy termination and to investigate the factors that explain the discontinuation of the G8 reform, the first sub-question of the thesis addressed the triggering factors towards a decision on policy termination as suggested by related literature:

which are the factors for enhancing policy termination as found in the literature? Therefore, the theoretical findings from Bardach (1976), Kirkpatrick et al. (1999), Bauer (2006), and Graddy and Ye (2008) have been considered to derive explanatory factors for the relatively unexplored field of policy termination. Being conceptualised as a special phenomenon of political change that reaches from preserving the status quo over substitution to elimination of a policy (Bauer, 2006), it has been argued that policy termination is triggered by certain, isolated factors. Whereas some implied that policy performance and ideological impacts were less decisive than financial pressure in pushing a decision towards policy termination (Graddy & Ye, 2008), others suggested the contrary to be the case (Bardach, 1976; Kirkpatrick et al., 1999). This thesis has given more weight to ideological change and perceived policy failure, while adopting the two-stage model of Graddy and Ye (2008), which suggests that decision-makers are influenced by the absence or presence of the theoretical factors. In addition, it has been suggested by Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) that for ‘lower level targets’ such as policies, fewer variables were of importance.

In this sense, the model derived from these theoretical findings identifies the change of ideological positions on the G8 reform and perceived policy failure to have triggered a decision towards G8 discontinuation. Whereas the first stage of the model encompasses the triggering factors, the second stage marks the political process in which the decision-makers decide between the three choice options of maintaining the status quo, adopting changes in the implementation or discontinuing the G8 policy. For the latter, two types of discontinuation have been identified, which are the reversion to G9 and the introduction of a hybrid G8/G9 model.

Further, the overarching research question has been specified by a second, empirical sub-question, which reads as follows: *to what extent do the factors selected in the theoretical framework explain the termination of the G8 policy?* The empirical findings on Lower Saxony, Hesse and Hamburg have shown that the expectations, regarding a higher degree of both changed ideological positions and perceived policy failure to increase the likelihood of a decision towards G8 discontinuation, can be confirmed. For instance, the government shift in Lower Saxony in 2013 implies also a shift from majoritarian support for G8 in the *Landtag* towards opposition in 2015, while the Hessian parliament appeared to be more divided, thus potentially providing an explanation for the parallel offer of both educational models at Hessian *Gymnasien*. In Hamburg, the change of ideological positions has been less predominant, which is either due to political parties not clearly positioning themselves on the G8 reform or due to

the *Schulfrieden*, on which the CDU, SPD and Greens agreed on in 2010 and which prohibited further structural reforms of the educational system.

Concerning the perceived policy failure, the findings on Lower Saxony imply that the G8 reform has been perceived to have not met its intended goals by a majority of teachers, school principals, parents and students after the public change of mood in 2012/13. In addition, the respective interest groups in Hesse have also perceived the implementation of the G8 reform as flawed. Whereas Lower Saxon stakeholders have pointed out that the expectations have not been met with regard to the maturity of high school graduates, Hessian stakeholders criticised the loss of quality due to the introduction of the G8 reform. The implementation of the reform has also been the point of criticism from parents in Hamburg. However, the findings here suggest that a majority of the stakeholders have in fact highlighted the success of the policy due to having achieved positively perceived results for the educational system.

Overall, although generalisations are difficult to achieve on both variables, it became clear that there is a tendency towards G8 discontinuation with the presence of changing ideological positions on the G8 reform and a perception of the policy to have failed (Lower Saxony and Hesse), while this has not been the case where these factors have been absent or less present (Hamburg). Thus, these theoretically derived factors appear to be appropriate in explaining the phenomenon of policy termination to the extent that they explain the likelihood of a decision towards discontinuation. Nevertheless, the specified outcomes of comprehensive reversion to the G9 model and the introduction of a hybrid G8/G9 model cannot clearly be explained by the presence or absence of these factors.

6.2 Reflection

The selection of a multiple case study as research design bears several dangers, which have previously been discussed. With regard to the representativeness of the sampled cases, it must be assumed that the cases are representative for a theoretical proposition rather than a population (Stewart, 2012). Also, it must be acknowledged that the examined triggering factors have been derived from related literature, which adds to the reliability of the thesis. The cases have further been selected on the basis of categorisations, which reduces to some extent the selection bias. While it is challenging to determine the threats of causal inference for a qualitative study, the multiple case study presumed a time order with its focus on G8 discontinuation as a process, in which the triggering factors must necessarily precede the dependent variable. However, the correlation and non-spuriousness could not be tested due to the lack of statistical measurements. In fact, there exists the threat that the change of ideological

positions and perceived policy failure might interfere as the border between the two can easily be transcended. In contrast to Bauer (2006), this implies that these factors might not affect a decision towards policy termination in isolation. Further research will need to consider these threats to causal inference, especially when research is conducted qualitatively.

In addition, the thesis has several limitations that refer to the collection and analysis of data. For instance, only one interview has been conducted on perceived policy failure in Lower Saxony, while it was intended to conduct one for each of the three cases. This limits the desired objectivity of the collected data because the intended expert interviews with a bureaucrat from the respective Ministry of Education and the Arts could not be conducted for Hesse and Hamburg. However, the lack of interview transcripts for the other two cases has carefully been compensated by further analysing an open survey, press releases, online documents and newspaper articles. Concerning the analysis of data, the rather rough determination of statements on changed ideological positions limits the reliability of the results to some extent. One reason is that it has not always been possible to identify a clear statement from each political party for each legislative period on G8 discontinuation. Further, it has been stressed that perceived policy failure is dependent upon judgements about a policy, which is susceptible to bias and thus challenging to assess objectively. In this sense, the content analysed on the perceptions of teachers, school principals, parents and students might not resemble the overall picture of affected stakeholders' perceptions on the G8 reform.

On the contrary, the use of qualitative data in connection with a multiple case study has the advantage that phenomena of policy discontinuation could be studied in-depth for each case, thus aiming for a better understanding of the process. The selection of multiple cases instead of studying a single case only also allowed a comparison of the effects of each variable on differing outcomes, which met the expectation that this will provide explanations for the presence or absence of factors to trigger a decision towards discontinuation. While Graddy and Ye (2008) found ideological impacts and policy performance less decisive than the impact of financial pressure, these factors have been decisive in the context and setting of this thesis to explain policy discontinuation. Hence, further research must pay attention to the significance or insignificance of the wider spectrum of triggering factors as suggested by policy termination literature in differing contexts. Nevertheless, this thesis contributed to policy termination despite its limitations through providing evidence on an example outside the United States and the coverage of multiple cases instead of a single case (cf. Bauer, 2006).

7. References

7.1 Literature

- Bardach, E. (1976). Policy termination as a political process. *Policy Sciences* 7(2): 123-131.
- Bauer, M. W. (2006). Politikbeendigung als policyanalytisches Konzept. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 47(2): 147-168.
- Büttner, B., & Thomsen, S. L. (2013). Are we spending too many years in school? Causal evidence of the impact of shortening secondary school duration. *German Economic Review* 16(1): 65-86.
- Collier, D. (2011). Understanding Process Tracing. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44(4), 823-830. doi:10.1017/S1049096511001429
- Creswell, J. W., Hanson, W. E., Clark Plano, V. L., & Morales, A. (2007). Qualitative Research Designs: Selection and Implementation. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 35(2), 236–264. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006287390>
- deLeon, P. (1978). Public Policy Termination: An End and a Beginning. *Policy Analysis* 4(3): 369-392.
- Feldman, S., & Johnston, C. (2014). Understanding the Determinants of Political Ideology: Implications of Structural Complexity. *Political Psychology* 35(3): 337-358.
- Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E., & Chadwick, B. (2008). Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups. *Bdj*, 204, 291. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1038/bdj.2008.192>. doi:10.1038/bdj.2008.192
- Graddy, E. A., & Ye, K. (2008). When do we “just say no”? Policy termination decisions in local hospital services. *The Policy Studies Journal* 36(2): 219-242.
- Homuth, C. (2017). *Die G8-Reform in Deutschland: Auswirkungen auf Schülerleistungen und Bildungsungleichheit*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Huebener, M., & Marcus, J. (2015). Auswirkungen der G8-Schulzeitverkürzung: Erhöhte Zahl von Klassenwiederholungen, aber jüngere und nicht weniger Abiturienten. *DIW-Wochenbericht* 82(18): 447-456.
- Kirkpatrick, S. E., Lester, J. P., & Peterson, M. R. (1999). The policy termination process. A conceptual framework and application to revenue sharing. *Policy Studies Review* 16(1): 209-236.
- Marcus, J., & Zambre, V. (2017). Folge der G8-Schulreform. Weniger Abiturientinnen und Abiturienten nehmen ein Studium auf. *DIW-Wochenbericht* 84(21): 418-426.
- Marcus, J., & Zambre, V. (2018). The effect of increasing education efficiency on university enrollment: Evidence from administrative data and an unusual schooling reform in Germany. *The Journal of Human Resources*, 1016-8324R. doi:10.3368/jhr.54.2.1016.8324R
- McConnell, A. (2015). What is policy failure? A primer to help navigate the maze. *Public Policy and Administration*, 30(3–4), 221–242. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0952076714565416>

- Meyer, T., & Thomsen, S. L. (2016). How Important Is Secondary School Duration for Postsecondary Education Decisions? Evidence from a Natural Experiment. *Journal of Human Capital* 10(1): 67-108.
- Quis, J. S. (2015). Does higher learning intensity affect student well-being? Evidence from the National Education Panel Study. *BERG Working Paper Series, 94*. Retrieved from http://www.unibamberg.de/fileadmin/uni/fakultaeten/sowi_faecher/vwl/BERG/BERG_94_Quis.pdf.
- Seawright, J., & Gerring, J. (2008). Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options. *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2), 294-308. doi:10.1177/1065912907313077
- Stewart, J. (2012). Multiple-case Study Methods in Governance-related Research. *Public Management Review*, 14(1), 67-82. doi:10.1080/14719037.2011.589618
- Thomsen, S. L., & Anger, S. (2018). Die Notwendigkeit ökonomischer Politikberatung für eine evidenzbasierte Bildungspolitik: Verkürzung und Verlängerung der Schulzeit am Gymnasium. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1515/pwp-2018-0026>.

7.2 Newspaper articles, online documents and websites

- Aleksander, A. (2014, May 13). Stellungnahme des Kreiselterrat 22. Retrieved from http://www.kreiselterrat22.de/downloads/g8g9/2014-05-13_STN_KER%2022.pdf on 9th June 2019.
- Beach, D., & Pedersen, R.B. (2011). What is process tracing actually tracing? The three variants of process tracing methods and their uses and limitations. Retrieved from http://pure.au.dk/portal/files/40422940/APSA_paper_Beach_and_Pedersen_final.pdf on 22nd March 2019.
- Dees, H. (2014, May 4). Warum positioniert sich die Elternkammer gegen G9 in Hamburg? Retrieved from http://www.kreiselterrat22.de/downloads/g8g9/2014-05-04_PM_KER_22-Abschr.%20EKH-KI%202014-3%20Kommentar.pdf on 9th June 2019.
- Deutscher Philologenverband Hamburg. (n.d.). G8/G9 – Für starke Gymnasien! Retrieved from <http://www.dl-hamburg.de/app/download/5802794992/PE+Mit+Vernunft.pdf> on 9th June 2019.
- Elternkammer Hamburg (2014, March 25). STN 633-08 der Sitzung der Elternkammer vom 25. März 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.klosterschule-hamburg.de/attachments/article/352/Beschluss%20der%20Elternkammer%20zu%20G8%20G9.pdf> on 3rd May 2019.
- Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg. (2013, January 14). Keine Rückkehr zu G9. Retrieved from <https://www.hamburg.de/pressearchiv-fhh/3744512/2013-1-14-bsb-keine-rueckkehr-g9/> on 3rd May 2019.
- Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg. (2014a). G9: Senator Rabe will kurzfristig Meinungsbild der Schulkonferenzen aller Gymnasien einholen. Retrieved from <https://www.hamburg.de/bsb/pressemitteilungen/4289352/2014-03-26-bsb-g9/> on 3rd May 2019.
- Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg. (2014b). 87 Prozent der Gymnasien gegen Rückkehr zu G9, nur 11 Prozent der Schulkonferenzen für G9. Retrieved from <https://www.hamburg.de/bsb/pressemitteilungen/4317774/2014-05-23-bsb-g8-g9-debatte/> on 3rd May 2019.

- GEW Hamburg. (2013, January 14). G8, G9 oder eine Schule für alle? Retrieved from <https://www.gew-hamburg.de/themen/bildungspolitik/g8-g9-oder-eine-schule-fuer-alle> on 9th June 2019.
- Gießener Allgemeine. (2012, November 15). Wahlfreiheit bei G8/G9 trägt Unruhe in Hessens Gymnasien. Retrieved from <https://www.giessener-allgemeine.de/hessen/wahlfreiheit-g8g9-traegt-unruhe-hessens-gymnasien-12089904.html> on 6th June 2019.
- Gymnasium Aktuell. (2014, April). Niedersachsen schreibt Schulgeschichte. Retrieved from https://phvn.de/images/GA_4_14.pdf on 13th May 2019.
- Hamburger Abendblatt. (2018, December 4). Schulleiter der Gymnasien sind gegen Rückkehr zu G9. Retrieved from <https://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article215934869/Schulleiter-der-Gymnasien-sind-gegen-Rueckkehr-zu-G9.html> on 3rd May 2019.
- Hannoversche Allgemeine. (2016, August 25). Niedersachsen bekommt Abi nach 13 Jahren zurück. Retrieved from <https://www.haz.de/Nachrichten/Politik/Niedersachsen/Ab-2021-in-Niedersachsen-wieder-Abi-nach-13-Jahren> on 13th May 2019.
- Hencke, R., Eisele-Becker, M., & Wolter, V. (2013, June 3). Aufkündigung des Schulfriedens? Retrieved from http://www.kreiselternrat22.de/downloads/g8g9/2013-06-03_PM_VLHGS.pdf on 9th June 2019.
- Hessischer Philologenverband. (2012). Resolution G8/G9. Retrieved from https://www.hphv.de/cms/data/media/2012/11/HPhV_Resolution-G8_G9.pdf on 6th June 2019.
- Hessisches Kultusministerium. (n.d.). Landeselternbeirat. Retrieved from <https://kultusministerium.hessen.de/eltern/elternarbeit-centerpage/landeselternbeirat> on 6th June 2019.
- Hessisches Kultusministerium. (n.d.). Parallelangebot G8/G9. Retrieved from <https://kultusministerium.hessen.de/schulsystem/schulformen/gymnasium/g8-und-g9/parallelangebot-g8g9> on 6th June 2019.
- Initiative Schulfrieden. (2014, June 3). Presseerklärung. Retrieved from http://www.kreiselternrat22.de/downloads/g8g9/2014-06-03_PM_G8-Ini%20Vernetzungstreffen.pdf on 9th June 2019.
- Kain, A. (2017, April 6). Ab 2018/2019: CSU-Landtagsfraktion beschließt Rückkehr zum G9. *Passauer Neue Presse*. Retrieved from https://www.pnp.de/nachrichten/bayern/2463745_Ab-2018-2019-CSU-Landtagsfraktion-beschliesst-Rueckkehr-zum-G9.html on 1st March 2019.
- Kister, D. (2007, November 7). Philologenverband: „Gegen G8 & Einheitsschule, für mehr Lehrer“ – OB-Empfang. Retrieved from <https://osthessen-news.de/n1142456/fulda-philologenverband-gegen-g8-einheitsschule-f%C3%BCr-mehr-lehrer-b-ob-empfang.html> on 6th June 2019.
- Kohlmaier, M. (2015, July 13). Wo das G8 abgeschafft wird. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Retrieved from <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/bildung/gymnasien-in-niedersachsen-wo-das-g-abgeschafft-wird-1.2559693> on 16th February 2019.
- Landeselternbeirat von Hessen. (2007, November 22). Pressemitteilung zu G8. Retrieved from <http://seb-liebig.de/files/1196503555.pdf> on 6th June 2019.
- Landeselternbeirat von Hessen. (2012, September 19). G8/G9. Wie geht's weiter in Hessen? Zur Wahlfreiheit zwischen G8 und G9. Retrieved from <http://seb-liebig.de/files/1348658207.pdf> on 30th May 2019.

- Landesportal Schleswig-Holstein. (n.d.). Zurück zum Abitur nach neun Jahren. Retrieved from https://www.schleswig-holstein.de/DE/Fachinhalte/S/schulsystem/rueckkehr_gymnasium9.html on 24th February 2019.
- Lehrerkammer Hamburg. (2014, March 27). Stellungnahme der Lehrerkammer zur Volksinitiative „G9-jetzt-HH“. Retrieved from http://www.kreiselternrat22.de/downloads/g8g9/2014-03-27_STN_Lehrerkammer%20Hamburg.pdf on 9th June 2019.
- Meyer, P. U. (2017, June 5). G8: Steht das Turbo-Abitur in Hamburg auf der Kippe? *Hamburger Abendblatt*. Retrieved from <https://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/kommunales/article210809927/G8-Steht-das-Turbo-Abitur-in-Hamburg-auf-der-Kippe.html> on 3rd May 2019.
- Meyer, P. U. (2018, November 30). Abitur nach neun Jahren an Gymnasien? CDU prüft Rückkehr. *Hamburger Abendblatt*. Retrieved from <https://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article215905461/Abitur-nach-neun-Jahren-an-Gymnasien-CDU-prueft-Rueckkehr.html> on 29th April 2019.
- Meyer, P. U. (2019, January 15). Hat der Schulfrieden in Hamburg eine Zukunft? *Hamburger Abendblatt*. Retrieved from <https://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article216210787/Hat-der-Schulfrieden-in-Hamburg-eine-Zukunft.html> on 3rd May 2019.
- Niedersächsische Direktorenvereinigung. (2014, December 17). Gesetz zur Änderung des Niedersächsischen Schulgesetzes. Retrieved from http://www.ndsdv.de/?download=141219_SN_Schulgesetznovelle.pdf on 7th May 2019.
- Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium. (2016, December 19). Übergang von G8 zu G9: 22 Schulen bieten im Schuljahr 2017/2018 Lerngruppen als Einführungsphase an – Heiligenstadt: „Erneut gute Zusammenarbeit zwischen Land und Schulträgern“. Retrieved from <https://www.mk.niedersachsen.de/startseite/aktuelles/presseinformationen/uebergang-von-g8-zu-g9-22-schulen-bieten-im-schuljahr-20172018-lerngruppen-als-einfuehrungsphase-an---heiligenstadt-erneut-gute-zusammenarbeit-zwischen-land-und-schultraegern--149703.html> on 13th May 2019.
- Norddeutscher Rundfunk. (2018, November 30). CDU will doch wieder über G9 nachdenken. Retrieved from <https://www.ndr.de/nachrichten/hamburg/CDU-will-doch-wieder-ueber-G9-nachdenken,schule1752.html> on 3rd May 2019.
- Norddeutscher Rundfunk. (2019, February 1). Schulleiter wollen nicht zu G9 zurück. Retrieved from <https://www.ndr.de/nachrichten/hamburg/Schulleiter-wollen-nicht-zu-G9-zurueck,schulanmeldungen100.html> on 3rd May 2019.
- Sauter, D. (2016, August 2). „Mehr Flexibilität für Bayerns Gymnasien“. *Bayernkurier*. Retrieved from <https://www.bayernkurier.de/inland/16089-mehr-flexibilitaet-fuer-bayerns-gymnasien/> on 26th February 2019.
- Schülerkammer Hamburg. (n.d.). Stellungnahme zur Volksinitiative „G9-Jetzt-HH“. Retrieved from https://www.gymnasium-rahlstedt.de/dateien/original/3529_schuelerInnenkammer_Hamburg.pdf on 9th June 2019.
- Spiegel Online. (2014a). Niedersachsen will Schüler entlasten. Retrieved from <https://www.spiegel.de/lebenundlernen/schule/g8-abitur-niedersachsens-schulministerin-verkuendete-schulreform-a-959914.html> on 3rd May 2019.

- Spiegel Online. (2014b). Hamburger CDU-Fraktion drängt Elternsprecher Scheuerl raus. Retrieved from <https://www.spiegel.de/lebenundlernen/schule/hamburg-scheuerl-verlaesst-cdu-fraktion-nach-streit-um-g8-g9-a-960454.html> on 3rd May 2019.
- Spiegel Online. (2015, June 3). Ab Herbst machen Schüler wieder Abi in 13 Jahren. Retrieved from <https://www.spiegel.de/lebenundlernen/schule/turbo-abitur-endet-in-niedersachsen-jetzt-wieder-13-jahre-a-1037019.html> on 15th May 2019.
- Statistisches Bundesamt. (n.d.). Anzahl der Schulabsolventen mit allgemeiner Hochschulreife in Deutschland in den Abgangsjahren von 2002 bis 2017. In *Statista - Das Statistik-Portal*. Retrieved from <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/235985/umfrage/schulabsolventen-mit-allgemeiner-hochschulreife-in-deutschland/> on 20th March 2019.
- Stumpff, C., Fragkopoulos, A., & Yousefzamany, E. (2014, May 19). Beschluss des KER 51 zur Forderung nach Erhalt und Verbesserung des „G8“ an Hamburger Gymnasien. Beschluss des KER 51 zur verbindlichen Information der Gymnasiasten der 10. Klasse zu den Möglichkeiten der weiteren Schullaufbahn. Retrieved from http://www.kreiselternrat22.de/downloads/g8g9/2014-05-19_STN_KER%2051.pdf on 9th June 2019.
- Süddeutsche Zeitung. (2014, March 19). Niedersachsen kehrt als erstes Bundesland zu G9 zurück. Retrieved from <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/bildung/gymnasialreform-niedersachsen-kehrt-als-erstes-bundesland-zu-g-zurueck-1.1917093> on 16th February 2019.
- Trautsch, M. (2014, April 29). Versuch und Irrtum. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*. Retrieved from https://www.faz.net/aktuell/rhein-main/abkehr-vom-turbo-abi-in-hessen-versuch-und-irrtum-12915056.html?printPagedArticle=true#pageIndex_0 on 10th May 2019.
- Verband Hamburger Schulleitungen. (2014, September 23). Bildung braucht gute verlässliche Strukturen! Kein Zurück zu G9! Retrieved from http://www.kreiselternrat22.de/downloads/g8g9/2014-09-23_STN_Verband%20Hamburger%20Schulleitungen.pdf on 9th June 2019.
- Wettlaufer-Pohl, P. (2012, November 13). Abkehr von G8 wirft neue Probleme auf. *Offenbach-Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.op-online.de/hessen/abkehr-g8-schule-neue-probleme-e-2610459.html> on 10th May 2019.
- Yin, R. K. (2004). Case study methods. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/31940480/CASE_STUDY_METHODS on 9th June 2019.

7.3 Law

Hamburgisches Schulgesetz (HmbSG) in der Fassung vom 16. April 1997 (HmbGVBl. S. 97), zuletzt geändert am 31. August 2018 (HmbGVBl. S. 280). Retrieved from <https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/1995414/3ccecba460184cf0d867cc3a5e7e13b2/data/schulgesetzdownload.pdf> on 9th June 2019.

7.4 Election programmes

Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg. (2001). An Hamburg arbeiten: Wahlprogramm Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, GAL Hamburg: Bürgerschaftswahl 23. September 2001. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/296572> on 15th May 2019.

Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg. (2004). Wahlprogramm Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, GAL Hamburg: Talente, Toleranz, Teilhabe: Bürgerschaftswahl 29. Februar 2004. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/395347> on 15th May 2019.

- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg. (2008). Unsere Ideen für Hamburg: das Wahlprogramm der GAL zur Bürgerschaftswahl am 24. Februar 2008. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/148068> on 15th May 2019.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg. (2011). Unser Plan für Hamburg: Deine Stadt. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/777894> on 15th May 2019.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg. (2015). Wahlprogramm für die Bürgerschaftswahl 2015. Retrieved from https://www.abgeordnetenwatch.de/sites/abgeordnetenwatch.de/files/gruene-wahlprogramm_buescha2015_web.pdf on 15th May 2019.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen. (2003). Regierungsprogramm zur Landtagswahl in Hessen am 2. Februar 2003: besser leben in Hessen braucht mehr Grün. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/63752> on 22nd May 2019.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen. (2008). An morgen denken: Landtagswahlprogramm 2008. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/721434> on 22nd May 2019.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen. (2009). Für Hessen: ökologisch, sozial, kompetent: Landtagswahlprogramm 2009. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/369990> on 6th June 2019.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen. (2013). Hessen will den Wechsel. Das grüne Regierungsprogramm 2014-2019. Retrieved from <https://www.gruene-hessen.de/partei/files/2013/07/Regierungsprogramm-Wahlprogramm-GR%C3%9CNE-Hessen-Interaktiv.pdf> on 20th May 2019.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen. (2018). Das grüne Regierungsprogramm 2019 bis 2024. Retrieved from https://www.abgeordnetenwatch.de/sites/abgeordnetenwatch.de/files/gruene_wahlprogramm_he2018-web.pdf on 17th April 2019.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen. (2003). Wir sind so weit! Landtagswahlprogramm 2003. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/92789> on 15th May 2019.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen. (2008). Jetzt. Für morgen: Grün für Niedersachsen. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/721435> on 15th May 2019.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen. (2013). Programm zur niedersächsischen Landtagswahl 2013. Retrieved from https://gruene-wilhelmshaven.de/userspace/NS/kv_wilhelmshaven/Dokumente/LTW_2013/Landtagswahlprogramm_web_2013.pdf on 17th April 2019.
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen. (2017). Grünes Programm zur Landtagswahl 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.gruene-niedersachsen.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/20170829-GNDS-Wahlprogramm-WEB-06.pdf> on 17th April 2019.
- CDU Hamburg. (2001). CDU-Hamburg Regierungsprogramm. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=4baec7bc-3cb3-d1d7-3d27-bd4b9d75718c&groupId=252038 on 20th May 2019.
- CDU Hamburg. (2004). Wahlplattform der CDU Hamburg für die Bürgermeisterwahl – Ole wählen. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=f6e54454-e926-e4f5-1fbe-501d2d0a5181&groupId=252038 on 20th May 2019.

- CDU Hamburg. (2008). In guten Händen – Grundlagen für Hamburgs Erfolg – Das Regierungsprogramm der Hamburger CDU. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=e491768e-eb65-447b-f3e0-8c2ac62edb66&groupId=252038 on 20th May 2019.
- CDU Hamburg. (2011). Wahlprogramm 2011 CDU Hamburg. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=8ea41f15-12d5-478c-25ee-4d9e1e409318&groupId=252038 on 20th May 2019.
- CDU Hamburg. (2015). Hamburg kann mehr – Die wachsende Stadt gestalten – Chancen für alle in einer lebenswerten Stadt. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=193024ea-b858-7a18-1a36-67a1c8050769&groupId=252038 on 20th May 2019.
- CDU Hessen. (2003). Hessen auf dem Weg zur Nr. 1 – viel getan-viel zu tun – Landtagswahlprogramm der CDU Hessen. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=df1fbddb-2f31-c03c-d523-05f7287954a4&groupId=252038 on 22nd May 2019.
- CDU Hessen. (2008). Mutig. Modern. Menschlich. Regierungsprogramm 2008 – 2013. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=ffec7f69-48ab-4097-5bfa-9c5c5635c3ac&groupId=252038 on 22nd May 2019.
- CDU Hessen. (2009). In Zeiten wie diesen Stabilität Kompetenz Vertrauen – Wahlprogramm der CDU Hessen für den Wahlkampf. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=5051e83e-5dae-066f-4c23-47dfd84d12e6&groupId=252038 on 22nd May 2019.
- CDU Hessen. (2013). Gemeinsam auf dem Weg – Ideen für die Zukunft Hessens – Zukunftsprogramm der CDU Hessen 2014-2019. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=2cff3b55-e54b-dd8e-d080-4d2a051d3a4b&groupId=252038 on 22nd May 2019.
- CDU Hessen. (2018). Programm der CDU Hessen zur Landtagswahl 2018. Damit Hessen stark bleibt. Retrieved from https://www.abgeordnetenwatch.de/sites/abgeordnetenwatch.de/files/cdu_wahlprogramm_he2018_0.pdf on 17th April 2019.
- CDU Niedersachsen. (2003). Niedersachsen kann mehr. Fortschritt und Geborgenheit. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=9d043449-b2ec-6d05-fd94-971a93e0bd53&groupId=252038 on 7th May 2019.
- CDU Niedersachsen. (2008). Zukunftsland Niedersachsen. Regierungsprogramm 2008-2013 der CDU in Niedersachsen. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=75283f34-3f50-3700-f002-d2ad1cfd2737&groupId=252038 on 7th May 2019.
- CDU Niedersachsen. (2013). So machen wir das. Für Niedersachsen. Regierungsprogramm 2013-2018 der CDU in Niedersachsen. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=22201dcf-02b9-43dc-d952-37c9c379ae6a&groupId=252038 on 7th May 2019.

- CDU Niedersachsen. (2017). Niedersachsen nach vorne bringen. Regierungsprogramm der CDU in Niedersachsen 2017 – 2022. Retrieved from https://cdu-niedersachsen.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Regierungsprogramm_2017-2022.pdf on 17th April 2019.
- Die Linke Hamburg. (2008). Hier ist DIE LINKE. Wahlprogramm zur Hamburger Bürgerschaftswahl 2008. Retrieved from <https://library.rosalux.de/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=16090> on 15th May 2019.
- Die Linke Hamburg. (2011). Für ein soziales Hamburg! Wahlprogramm Bürgerschaftswahl 2011. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/777899> on 15th May 2019.
- Die Linke Hamburg. (2015). Für eine Politikwende – Hamburg für die Menschen und nicht für den Profit. Retrieved from https://www.linksfraktion-hamburg.de/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/DIE_LINKE_Hamburg_Wahlprogramm_2015.pdf on 26th May 2019.
- Die Linke Hessen. (2008). Hessen sozial. Für soziale Gerechtigkeit in Hessen: Menschen vor Profite! Programm zur Landtagswahl am 27. Januar 2008. Retrieved from <https://www.uni-due.de/~hq0159/WIS/wahlprogramme/lin.pdf> on 21st May 2019.
- Die Linke Hessen. (2009). Hessen sozial. Für soziale Gerechtigkeit in Hessen: Menschen vor Profite! Programm zur Landtagswahl am 18. Januar 2009. Retrieved from <https://library.rosalux.de/cgi-bin/koha/opac-retrieve-file.pl?id=0d91a178247d3788be4566814569de4d> on 21st May 2019.
- Die Linke Hessen. (2013). 100% Sozial – auch nach der Wahl: Politikwechsel für Hessen. Retrieved from <https://die-linke-hessen.de/site/component/phocadownload/category/5-satzung,-programm.html?download=1:programm-100-prozent-sozial,-auch-nach-der-wahl> on 21st May 2019.
- Die Linke Hessen. (2018). Gemeinsam für ein soziales, ökologisches, friedliches und buntes Hessen. Retrieved from https://www.abgeordnetenwatch.de/sites/abgeordnetenwatch.de/files/linke_wahlprogramm_he2018.pdf on 17th April 2019.
- FDP Hamburg. (2001). Bürgerschaftswahlprogramm 2001 der FDP Hamburg. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2017/03/02/hamburg2002.pdf> on 3rd May 2019.
- FDP Hamburg. (2011). Wahlprogramm der FDP Hamburg 2011. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2017/03/02/hamburg2011.pdf> on 3rd May 2019.
- FDP Hamburg. (2015). Das FDP Hamburg Wahlprogramm 2015. Hamburg gibt die Richtung vor. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2017/03/02/hamburg2015.pdf> on 3rd May 2019.
- FDP Hessen. (2003). Die treibende Kraft in Hessen. Das Wahlprogramm der FDP zur Landtagswahl 2003. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2017/02/22/hessen2004.pdf> on 17th April 2019.
- FDP Hessen. (2008). Programm zur Landtagswahl 2008 “Hessen stärker machen“. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2017/02/22/hessen2010.pdf> on 17th April 2019.

- FDP Hessen. (2009). Programm zur Landtagswahl 2009 “Unser Wort gilt!“. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2017/02/22/hessen2009.pdf> on 17th April 2019.
- FDP Hessen. (2013). Programm zur Landtagswahl 2013 “Bildung, Wirtschaft, Gerechtigkeit – Wir schaffen Chancen!“. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2017/02/22/hessen2013.pdf> on 17th April 2019.
- FDP Hessen. (2018). Das Programm der Freien Demokraten Hessen zur Landtagswahl 2018. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2018/07/03/in5-520-he-wahlprogrammmltw2018.pdf> on 17th April 2019.
- FDP Niedersachsen. (2003). Bürgerprogramm 2003. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2017/03/02/niedersachsen2004.pdf> on 17th April 2019.
- FDP Niedersachsen. (2008). Richtiges fortsetzen. FDP Programm zur Landtagswahl 2008. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2017/03/02/niedersachsen2009.pdf> on 17th April 2019.
- FDP Niedersachsen. (2013). Jede Seite zählt! Wahlprogramm der FDP Niedersachsen. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2017/03/02/niedersachsen2013.pdf> on 17th April 2019.
- FDP Niedersachsen. (2017). Wir wären dann so weit. Wahlprogramm. Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2018/07/03/in5-518ni-wahlprogrammmltw2017.pdf> on 17th April 2019.
- SPD Hamburg. (2001). Gute Politik hat Zukunft: die SPD für Hamburg. Wahlprogramm 2001-2005. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/296364> on 15th May 2019.
- SPD Hamburg. (2004). Ein neuer Anfang für Hamburg: Wahlprogramm 2004-2008. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/128149> on 15th May 2019.
- SPD Hamburg. (2008). Unser Regierungsprogramm zur Bürgerschaftswahl 2008 in Hamburg. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/148051> on 15th May 2019.
- SPD Hamburg. (2011). Unser Hamburg: stark und solidarisch: SPD-Regierungsprogramm für Hamburg. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/708429> on 15th May 2019.
- SPD Hamburg. (2015). Hamburg weiter vorn. Perspektiven für Wachstum und Zusammenhalt. SPD-Regierungsprogramm 2015-2020. Retrieved from https://www.abgeordnetenwatch.de/sites/abgeordnetenwatch.de/files/spd-wahlprogramm_buewa_2015.pdf on 15th May 2019.
- SPD Hessen. (2003). Chancen einer neuen Zeit: sozialdemokratisches Regierungsprogramm für die Landtagswahl 2003 in Hessen. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/352347> on 15th May 2019.
- SPD Hessen. (2008). Die Zeit ist reif für eine neue Politik in Hessen: sozialdemokratisches Regierungsprogramm 2008 – 2013. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/721471> on 15th May 2019.
- SPD Hessen. (2009). Hessen wählt neu! Politikwechsel in Hessen durchsetzen. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/77005> on 15th May 2019.

- SPD Hessen. (2013). Sozialdemokratisches Regierungsprogramm für Hessen 2014-2019: Gerechtigkeit macht stark. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/7756853> on 15th May 2019.
- SPD Hessen. (2018). Zukunft jetzt machen: Sozialdemokratisches Regierungsprogramm für Hessen 2019-2024. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/7837496> on 15th May 2019.
- SPD Niedersachsen. (2003). Politik für die Wirklichkeit: Entwurf. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/329983> on 6th May 2019.
- SPD Niedersachsen. (2008). Gerechtigkeit kommt wieder: Regierungsprogramm der SPD Niedersachsen 2008 – 2013. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/721444> on 6th May 2019.
- SPD Niedersachsen. (2013). Anpacken. Besser machen: Das Regierungsprogramm 2013 – 2018. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/opac/id/7758956> on 6th May 2019.
- SPD Niedersachsen. (2017). Zukunft und Zusammenhalt. Das Regierungsprogramm der SPD Niedersachsen 2017 – 2022. Retrieved from https://www.spdnds.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/77/2017/08/SPDNDS_Regierungsprogramm_2017-2022_Fassung_0917_WEB.pdf on 17th April 2019.

7.5 Coalition agreements

- CDU Hamburg & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg. (2008). Vertrag über die Zusammenarbeit in der 19. Wahlperiode der Hamburgischen Bürgerschaft zwischen der Christlich Demokratischen Union, Landesverband Hamburg und Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Landesverband Hamburg, GAL. Retrieved from https://www.fluechtlingsrat-hamburg.de/content/koalitionsvertrag_April2008.pdf on 20th May 2019.
- CDU Hamburg, Schill-Partei & FDP Hamburg. (2001). Vertrag über eine Koalition für die Legislaturperiode 2001 - 2005. Retrieved from <https://www.nachhaltigkeit.info/media/1298387151phpGha8gU.pdf> on 20th May 2019.
- CDU Hessen & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen. (2014). Verlässlich gestalten – Perspektiven eröffnen. Hessen 2014 bis 2019. Retrieved from https://www.gruene-hessen.de/partei/files/2014/02/HE_Koalitionsvertrag_2014-2018_final.pdf on 20th May 2019.
- CDU Hessen & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen. (2018). Koalitionsvertrag zwischen CDU Hessen und Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen für die 20. Legislaturperiode. Aufbruch im Wandel durch Haltung, Orientierung und Zusammenhalt. Retrieved from https://www.hessen.de/sites/default/files/media/staatskanzlei/koalitionsvertrag_20._wahlperiode.pdf on 20th May 2019.
- CDU Hessen & FDP Hessen. (2009). Vertrauen. Freiheit. Fortschritt. Hessen startet ins nächste Jahrzehnt. Retrieved from http://starweb.hessen.de/cache/hessen/koalitionsvereinbarung_18.wp_cdufdp.pdf on 20th May 2019.
- CDU Niedersachsen & FDP Niedersachsen. (2003). Koalitions-Vereinbarung 2003 – 2008 zwischen CDU und FDP für die 15. Wahlperiode des Niedersächsischen Landtages. Retrieved from https://www.hallo-wippingen.de/_news/2003/02/koalition/koalitionsvereinbarung_entwurf.pdf on 13th May 2019.

- CDU Niedersachsen & FDP Niedersachsen. (2008). Koalitionsvereinbarung 2008 – 2013 zwischen CDU und FDP für die 16. Wahlperiode des Niedersächsischen Landtages. Retrieved from <https://www.mk.niedersachsen.de/download/5119> on 13th May 2019.
- SPD Hamburg & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg. (2015). Zusammen schaffen wir das moderne Hamburg. Koalitionsvertrag über die Zusammenarbeit in der 21. Legislaturperiode der Hamburgischen Bürgerschaft zwischen der SPD, Landesorganisation Hamburg und Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Landesverband Hamburg. Retrieved from <https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/4479010/0e0dc965584486bf76aa1a974471f843/data/download-koalitionsvertrag-2015.pdf> on 20th May 2019.
- SPD Niedersachsen & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen. (2013). Erneuerung und Zusammenhalt. Nachhaltige Politik für Niedersachsen. Retrieved from https://www.stephanweil.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/42/2017/04/koalitionsvereinbarung_rot-gr__n_20130214.pdf on 13th May 2019.
- SPD Niedersachsen & CDU Niedersachsen. (2017). Gemeinsam für ein modernes Niedersachsen. Für Innovation, Sicherheit und Zusammenhalt. Retrieved from https://cdu-niedersachsen.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/11-16_Koalitionsvertrag_final.pdf on 13th May 2019.

APPENDIX A

Lower Saxon election programme positions on the G8 policy

	CDU Niedersachsen
2003	<p><i>“We want a school system that does justice to the abilities of students by giving each individual student the best needed support. Therefore, the comprehensive school cannot be the school model of the future. It is rather in demand to have a structured and differentiated school system, which many federal states have already abandoned. The SPD-led federal state government in Lower Saxony aims for the tack of unity in the school system as well. However, we demand that after the four-year primary school, secondary schools shall satisfy the talents and abilities of each student with profiled ‘Hauptschulen’, ‘Realschulen’, and ‘Gymnasien’: [...] an eight-year Gymnasium, which already imparts the Abitur after twelve years of school [...].”</i></p> <p>(CDU Niedersachsen, 2003, p. 47f.)</p>
2008	<p><i>“We stand for a retention and reinforcement of the structured school system in Lower Saxony. Since four years we have a differentiated school system of Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium, cooperative comprehensive schools, integrated comprehensive schools, and privately run schools in Lower Saxony. In addition, there are ten different forms of special schools [Förderschule]. This modern and differentiated school offer is geared towards the manifold abilities of our children in Lower Saxony.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Niedersachsen, 2008, p. 10)</p>
2013	<p><i>“The results of the OECD’s international school performance study (PISA study) and other comparative studies have triggered profound changes in the quality and structure of our educational system. [...] And successfully so: since 2003, the results of our students improved constantly. The number of early school leavers decreased by over 40 percent, the number of high school graduates increased to more than 32 percent and the number of university entrance qualifications increased to more than 47 percent per year.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Niedersachsen, 2013, p. 32)</p>
2017	<p><i>“After the federal state election on the 15th October 2017, we are going to establish a ‘Abitur 2020/21 staff position’ within the ministry of education and cultural affairs. Due to the reintroduction of the Abitur after nine years at the Gymnasium (G9), there will be a special situation in the school year 2020/21: on the one hand, a teacher shortage threatens due to the extended school duration. On the other hand, less Abitur graduates will leave the upper classes (Oberstufe) of the upper secondary schools (Gymnasium) and the integrated comprehensive schools (Gesamtschule) one-time in 2020. To adequately assess the impacts for the apprenticeship market and universities and take countermeasures for certain problem areas, the staff position needs to work in a cross-departmental way and with the benefit of expert advice.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 21)</p> <p><i>“We will raise the number of hours for the 11th grade at the Gymnasium to 32 hours per week, as was the case in the previous G9 model. Reduced weekly hours in core subjects, especially in the area of economic and MINT subjects, and the</i></p>

	<p><i>renunciation of a second foreign language in the upper classes threaten the future prospects of our Abitur graduates.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 24)</p> <p><i>“We will give high-performing students, who intend to attain the Abitur as quickly as possible, the opportunity to choose the eight-year course of upper secondary education in their own learning groups instead of the nine-year track. They will receive additional support. Hence, they will be given the opportunity for an ‘Abitur in their own speed’.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 24)</p>
--	---

SPD Niedersachsen	
2003	<p><i>“We intensify the talent program. Five years ago, Lower Saxony has established a nationwide unique school experiment, which inclusively supports children with special talents. From this we developed a concept that intensively supports students with special talents from primary up to upper secondary education in cooperation networks. And the students who can and want to, will get increased opportunities to already attain the Abitur after 12 school years.”</i></p> <p>(SPD Niedersachsen, 2003, p. 10 f.)</p>
2008	<p><i>“Educational disaster, education crisis and the shock of the PISA test results: since decades an educational reform has been discussed in Germany. However, the actions done so far are not enough. The alarming results of the PISA studies have not changed much about it either. Today we are in year 7 after the first PISA study and the result of what has been achieved so far makes for very sobering reading. Although the performance level of German students has improved according to the subsequent PISA studies, we continue to lag behind in the international comparison. In no other country of the world, the connection between social background and education opportunities of children is as high as in our country. In short: our schools have been certified to fail at the support of the socially weak and to underperform in this matter.”</i></p> <p>(SPD Niedersachsen, 2008, p. 31)</p>
2013	<p><i>“Upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) enjoy a widespread acceptance from parents and students. There, the Abitur can be attained after eight years. Thus, the offer remains with the Gymnasium or the Gesamtschule to choose between the different speeds of attaining the Abitur. An SPD-led federal state government would also consider, whether the upper school (Oberstufe) can be reformed, so that students can at their own discretion go through the course system of the upper school (Oberstufe) either in two or three years.”</i></p> <p>(SPD Niedersachsen, 2013, p. 11)</p>
2017	<p><i>“As the first federal state, Lower Saxony abandoned the G8 model to the benefit of attaining the Abitur after 13 years of school. With the school year of 2018/19 third-year upper school (Oberstufe) gets reintroduced. Therefore, it complies with the strong wish of students, teaching staff and parents after a more relaxed day-to-day school life. The disadvantage of Lower Saxion Abitur students towards those in other federal states shall be compensated by the abolition of the fifth examination subject.”</i></p>

	(SPD Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 12)
--	----------------------------------

FDP Niedersachsen	
2003	<p><i>“The PISA studies have shown, that the youth in Germany learns less and is less prepared for life than the youth in other industrial countries. It is also clear that the youth in Lower Saxony learns less in school and is less prepared for life than the youth in most of the other federal states. The educational policy of the SPD (and the Greens), which has been shaped over decades by goals that were out of touch with reality, failed. Especially due to the neglect of performance and effort. In this regard, a fundamental reversal is required.”</i></p> <p>(FDP Niedersachsen, 2003, p. 16)</p>
2008	<p><i>“The Abitur can now already be achieved after 12 years of school, which allows for an earlier start of study and therefore for an earlier entry to the labour market. The centralised Abitur (Zentralabitur) and the upper school profile model (Profiloberstufe) are important steps towards safeguarding the scholastic aptitude of all Abitur graduates.”</i></p> <p>(FDP Niedersachsen, 2008, p. 22)</p>
2013	<p>G8 has not explicitly been mentioned, although regarding the introduction of the ‘independent school’ (<i>Eigenverantwortliche Schule</i>) it has been stated that, <i>“the reforms of the last years need to be implemented. Therefore, schools need time and the required support. Only then, schools can independently use the newly gained freedom.”</i></p> <p>(FDP Niedersachsen, 2013, p. 22)</p>
2017	<p><i>“Our main objective is to let the schools work peacefully for the next years, without introducing reforms from term to term and changing school law from school year to school year.”</i></p> <p>(FDP Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 3)</p> <p><i>“Initiative 2020: Due to the return to G9 there will be significantly less Abitur graduates in Lower Saxony in 2020. This special situation requires not only an adequate preparation for the schools, but also for vocational and educational offers. It is to be feared, that numerous apprenticeship positions can not be filled. Therefore, we demand the establishment of a coordinated initiative of the federal state that can sufficiently investigate the consequences and develop strategies for reacting to those consequences.”</i></p> <p>(FDP Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 9)</p>

Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen	
2003	<p><i>“In every class, there are students who learn faster and student who learn more slowly. Our answer to this is not early selection procedures and ‘turbo classes’ leading up to the Abitur. Instead we want to enable more individual teaching. Both the enrolment of primary school as well as the upper school (Oberstufe) can be passed in different lengths of time.”</i></p>

	(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen, 2003, p. 6)
2008	<p><i>“Subsequently [after a comprehensive nine-year primary school], student shall either visit a redesigned upper school (gymnasiale Oberstufe) or begin a vocational training. The upper school (Oberstufe) builds on the pedagogical concepts of the ‘New School’. It continues with the concept of individual and joined learning and prepares for university and vocation.”</i></p> <p>(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen, 2008, p. 58)</p>
2013	<p><i>“Adolescence is a life phase that requires free spaces. Young people do not only want to function. Thus, we support the youth work organised in associations, which offer young people these free spaces. The Abitur after 12 years and the compressed courses of study make voluntary commitment in youth associations, youth groups, sports clubs and organising holiday trips (Ferienfahrten) more difficult for young people. We want to shape school in a way, that it leaves more time again for hobbies and free time activities. To raise the appreciation of voluntary work for young people, incentives for voluntary commitment need to be created [...].”</i></p> <p>(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen, 2013, p. 16)</p>
2017	<p><i>“With the transition from G8 to G9, we have created more learning time and dismantled stress at school. The ‘Turbo-Abitur’ has therefore been definitively abolished.”</i></p> <p>(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 57)</p>

Hessian election programme positions on the G8 policy

	CDU Hessen
2003	<p><i>“[We have] accomplished the introduction of the Abitur after twelve years. The ‘turbo Abitur’ (8-year Gymnasium) has been approved by 15 Hessian upper secondary schools (Gymnasien).”</i></p> <p>(CDU Hessen, 2003, p. 9)</p> <p><i>“We want that with the end of the legislative period, students at all Hessian upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) will complete the Abitur after 12 school years on a solid, qualitative basis.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Hessen, 2003, p. 21)</p>
2008	<p><i>“According to PISA, the German Gymnasium counts to the most successful types of schools worldwide. With the Landesabitur [centralised Abitur within the Hessian state; ES], we have strengthened the Hessian upper secondary educational level in national comparison, and with the shortening of the number of school years at the Gymnasium, we have ensured that Hessian students do not have to put back in national and international comparison. Moreover, with the upper school Gymnasium (Oberstufengymnasium) at Hansenberg Castle in Rheingau and furthermore in all school districts, we have created special support options for especially gifted and high-achieving students. Therefore, we are going to [...] intensify the cooperation with the school authorities in the context [of] G8 in the arrangement of afternoon sessions and the respective offers, [and] consequently</i></p>

	<p><i>review the curricula of the eight-year Gymnasium (G8) on streamlining possibilities.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Hessen, 2008, p. 34 f.)</p>
2009	<p><i>“The measures implemented on the review of the reform on shortening the number of upper secondary school years shall be continued by consensus with all the actors involved.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Hessen, 2009, p. 8)</p>
2013	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2013 election programme. Nevertheless, the CDU Hessen declares itself in favour of a nationwide universal Abitur standard.</p> <p>(CDU Hessen, 2013, p. 23)</p>
2018	<p><i>“Furthermore, based on the experiences gained during the school experiment, we endorse the possibility of a parallel offer of G8 and G9 for all upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) and the flexibilisation of the options available.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Hessen, 2018, p. 11)</p>

	SPD Hessen
2003	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2003 election programme. Instead the conclusions drawn from the PISA study refer to educational justice in general.</p> <p>(SPD Hessen, 2003, p. 9)</p>
2008	<p><i>“The shortening of upper secondary school time for the intermediate classes will be repealed, G8 will be discontinued [...] In order to further attain the Abitur after twelve years, we want an upper school (Oberstufe) with a true course system, which can be passed in two till three years.”</i></p> <p>(SPD Hessen, 2008, p. 48)</p>
2009	<p><i>“We want to end the G8 school stress. We orientate ourselves towards the child and enable a flexible shortening of school time. We combine the first two school years to a flexible entry level, which can be passed between one and three years. Moreover, we enable a flexible accomplishment of the upper school classes in the course system between two and three years. In the upper secondary level (Sekundarstufe II), which is a difficult development phase for children, we will relieve students as well as parents and create permeability again through the abolition of G8.”</i></p> <p>(SPD Hessen, 2009, p. 5)</p>
2013	<p><i>“More time for learning – reversing G8: Children have diverse interests, talents and abilities. They develop at different speeds. Also, the learning speed is defined differently. To offer individual support also means to offer flexible learning periods in teaching and school organisation in order to give every child the necessary time to learn [...] In Hesse, we will end the failed G8 experiment. The intermediate level shall again be designed for six years. Whether the Abitur can be attained after twelve, thirteen or fourteen school years, needs to be addressed to the individual development of the students.”</i></p>

	(SPD Hessen, 2013, p. 13)
2018	<p><i>“We are convinced that the nine-year attendance of the Gymnasium or Gesamtschule – thus, the Abitur after 13 years of school – is the normal case and a meaningful basis for attaining the Abitur. However, we want that students can pass the upper school (Oberstufe) after two, three or four years according to their individual preferences and their learning speed. Consequently, the Abitur can optionally be attained after twelve years already, after 13 in the normal case, and in exceptional cases after a longer period of time as well – without needing to skip or repeat a grade. Therefore, students shall receive more opportunities to guide their educational trajectory themselves in coordination with teachers and parents. This enables true freedom of choice for students who want to shorten their school time or need more time due to their life situation. At the same time, we facilitate the preservation of smaller, nearby located upper schools (Oberstufen) in rural areas through more inter-year learning.”</i></p> <p>(SPD Hessen, 2018, p. 22)</p>

	FDP Hessen
2003	<p><i>“Students in Germany leave school far too late in international comparison, and are as job entrants disadvantaged compared to their younger European colleagues [...] Thus, the FDP supports adapting the measures, which lead to a reduction of the age at which students start their career. Children should attend and leave school earlier [...] 8 years leading up to the Abitur at the upper secondary course of education (gymnasialer Bildungsgang) are sufficient. Therefore, the FDP wants a comprehensive offer at the upper secondary schools (Gymnasien), which leads to the Abitur after 8 years.”</i></p> <p>(FDP Hessen, 2003, p. 5)</p>
2008	<p><i>“The FDP adheres to the shortening of school time for high-performing upper secondary schools (Gymnasien), so that the Hessian students can – as it is the case in other federal states and in Europe – finish school earlier and need no longer to be exposed to the competitive disadvantages in national and international comparison.”</i></p> <p>(FDP Hessen, 2008, p. 73)</p>
2009	<p><i>“The FDP adheres to the shortening of school time for high-performing upper secondary schools (Gymnasien), so that the Hessian students can – as it is the case in other federal states and in Europe – finish school earlier and need no longer to be exposed to the competitive disadvantages in national and international comparison.”</i></p> <p>(FDP Hessen, 2009, p. 78)</p>
2013	<p><i>“Also in the area of G8 and G9, we have counted on the biggest possible freedom of choice. The Hessian upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) and cooperative comprehensive schools (kooperative Gesamtschulen) can therefore choose, whether they want to offer G8 or G9, and can orientate themselves towards the will of parents and students. We oppose a prescribed reversion to G9, because we grant schools the freedom of choice and more autonomy in the context of profile development.”</i></p> <p>(FDP Hessen, 2013, p. 5)</p>

2018	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2018 election programme. Nevertheless, it states that schools should be granted more autonomy and responsibility in developing profiles and teaching methods.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(FDP Hessen, 2018, p. 4)</p>
-------------	--

Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen	
2003	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2003 election programme. Instead, it proposes measures to modernise schools and increase the quality of teaching, while intending to go the ‘path of dialogue’ when it comes to reforms.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2003, p. 74 f.)</p>
2008	<p><i>“All graduations at one school: The ‘New Schools’ (Neue Schulen) offer all school-leaving qualifications of the lower secondary level (Sekundarstufe I) and the general matriculation standard (as G9 and not G8). For this purpose, they either introduce an own upper school (Oberstufe) – if they arise out of schools, that currently have an upper school (Oberstufe) as well – or conclude a cooperation agreement with the upper school (Oberstufe) of a nearby located Gymnasium.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2008, p. 19)</p> <p><i>“And already now indications are growing that the way, which the federal state government (Landesregierung) adopted in the shortening of the upper secondary school time (Gymnasialzeit) from nine to eight years (G8), leads to significant problems and an overload for students, but also a burden on their parents.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2008, p. 20)</p>
2009	<p><i>“All graduations at one school: The ‘New Schools’ (Neue Schulen) offer all school-leaving qualifications of the lower secondary level (Sekundarstufe I) and the general matriculation standard (as G9 and not G8). For this purpose, they either introduce an own upper school (Oberstufe) – if they arise out of schools, that currently have an upper school (Oberstufe) as well – or conclude a cooperation agreement with the upper school (Oberstufe) of a nearby located Gymnasium.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2009, p. 23)</p> <p><i>„Students shall have the opportunity to pass the upper school (Oberstufe) courses leading up to the Abitur after two or three years in accordance with their individual performance development and thus to attain the Abitur after 12 or 13 years.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2009, p. 24)</p>
2013	<p><i>“For a true freedom of choice between G8 and G9: Since years we have been advocating for the freedom of choice between G8 and G9. Not until the school year 2013/2014 did yellow-black [the government coalition of CDU and FDP; ES] follow our proposal. Next to the cooperative comprehensive schools (kooperative Gesamtschulen), the upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) can now choose as well, whether they want to offer G8 or G9. However, in large parts of Hesse there still exists no true freedom of choice, because there are not enough G9 schools [...] Next to the freedom of choice, we also want to further develop the structuring of G8. In contrast to other federal states, the shortened upper secondary school time</i></p>

	<p><i>(Gymnasialzeit) has been introduced in an abysmal manner in Hesse, under which the schools still suffer today. We want to use the experiences of other federal states regarding teaching content and organisation for Hesse. We oppose a general reversion to G9 that is dictated from above. Such an approach would contradict our aspired goal of school peace (Schulfrieden) [...] There will not be another poorly prepared reform of the upper secondary school time (Gymnasialzeit) with us.”</i></p> <p>(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2013, p. 33 f.)</p>
2018	<p><i>“We are ensuring that educational policy in Hesse further orientates itself towards the will of parents, the interests of students and the diverse needs of the schools on site. For instance, we have ensured the freedom of choice between G8 and G9. At schools, which offer both ways to the Abitur, parents shall further be integrated in the decision-making on what way is the right one for their child.”</i></p> <p>(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2018, p. 42)</p>

	Die Linke Hessen
2003	–
2008	<p><i>“On the upper secondary level, the shortening of school time (G8) must be reversed, we also oppose a shortening of the length of stay in the upper class (Oberstufe).”</i></p> <p>(Die Linke Hessen, 2008, p. 14)</p>
2009	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2009 election programme.</p> <p>(Die Linke Hessen, 2009)</p>
2013	<p><i>“The educational policy of the federal state government (Landesregierung) is based on selection. It disadvantages especially those children, which require special support due to their family circumstances, low income or limited education of the parents, a lack of German language skills or similar. The Hessian education system with its polynominal school is unjust and not aimed at the support of all children. Seven per cent of the students leave Hessian schools without graduation. Learning needs time. DIE LINKE opposes the shortening of school time (G8).”</i></p> <p>(Die Linke Hessen, 2013, p. 17)</p>
2018	<p><i>“The G8 shortening of school time was a mistake, under which many cohorts of students had to suffer. Luckily, this educational error has meanwhile been adjusted at most upper secondary schools (Gymnasien). The federal state government (Landesregierung) has been shirking its responsibility and simply delegated the problem to the schools, which had to seek for solutions in time and resource consuming and often contentious processes.”</i></p> <p>(Die Linke Hessen, 2018, p. 33)</p>

Hamburg election programme positions on the G8 policy

	CDU Hamburg
2001	<p><i>“The Senate still refuses to introduce a general shortening of school time leading to the Abitur. The Abitur graduates of Hamburg therefore fall behind in the comparison with others. Their competitiveness is getting endangered both nationally and internationally. Thus, we are going to shorten the school time leading to the Abitur to 12 years comprehensively. At the same time, we are going to extensively reform the upper class (Oberstufe) based on the model of Baden-Wuerttemberg in order to strengthen the teaching of fundamental knowledge and to make performance requirements through a mandatory combination of courses and central examination parts more comparable across the state. On this basis, we are going to improve the scholastic aptitude of students in Hamburg and help their school-leaving qualification to become acknowledged throughout Germany again.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(CDU Hamburg, 2001, p. 9 f.)</p>
2004	<p><i>“We have undertaken the central steps for a better education of our children. The key components are the Abitur with central elements after twelve years [among other aspects; ES].”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(CDU Hamburg, 2004, p. 9)</p>
2008	<p><i>“The times in which ten thousand students went on the streets to demonstrate in support of better learning conditions are over. After the disastrous PISA results for Hamburg, for which the SPD has to account for, we have taken the topic of school and education policy very seriously. It is a key to economic success, to social cohesion, to true equal opportunities, to international competitiveness and to the individual future perspectives of our young citizens. In short: for us it is a ‘Herzensthema’ [literally a topic close at heart; ES]. The eyes of Germany are on Hamburg: on two ways leading to the Abitur! A new school structure with comprehensive schools (Stadtteilschulen) and upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) raises the attention throughout Germany. From 2009 on, it leads to the Abitur after 13 or 12 years.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(CDU Hamburg, 2008, p.20)</p> <p><i>“We have introduced the Abitur after 12 years, centralised final examinations and comparative studies! Reform of the upper school (gymnasiale Oberstufe) prepared: German, mathematics and a foreign language will henceforth be examined in the Abitur – so that there won’t be a rude awakening at the university.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(CDU Hamburg, 2008, p. 22)</p>
2011	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2011 election programme. Nevertheless, while stressing the commitment to the so-called ‘school peace’ (<i>Schulfrieden</i>), which prohibits the introduction of further educational reforms, measurements with regard to strengthening the <i>Stadtteilschulen</i> and <i>Gymnasien</i> are mentioned.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(CDU Hamburg, 2011, p. 20 f.)</p>
2015	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2015 election programme, although it is stated that <i>“instead of ideologically motivated experiments, we use the school peace (Schulfrieden) to improve the quality of teaching in all types of schools over the long term.”</i></p>

(CDU Hamburg, 2015, p. 35)

SPD Hamburg	
2001	<p><i>“The requirements for children and teenagers are high – especially in times, in which knowledge quickly becomes obsolete on the one hand, but the demands for a wide-ranging basis of knowledge and a good general education increase on the other hand. A good school education needs its time. Rapidity is not an end in itself for us. Therefore, we will primarily orientate the possibilities of a shortening of school time towards the personal performances of young people and further develop the possibilities towards a shortening [of school time] for them.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(SPD Hamburg, 2001, p. 26)</p>
2004	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2004 election programme. However, other solutions are presented which refer to the PISA study results and it is stated that <i>“the current Senate [the government of Hamburg; ES] heads in this situation in the wrong direction. [The Senate] cuts teaching positions, [the Senate] cuts sponsorship offers, and [the Senate] burdens schools with immature experiments.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(SPD Hamburg, 2004, p. 6)</p>
2008	<p>The G8 reform at the <i>Gymnasium</i> is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly, although it is stated that <i>„comprehensive schools (Stadtteilschulen) shall primarily be run as all-day schools (Ganztagsschulen) and offer all school-leaving qualifications up until the Abitur. The latter will be attained after 13 years.“</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(SPD Hamburg, 2008, p. 15)</p>
2011	<p><i>“At upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) in Hamburg, large parts of the Hamburg student body learn successfully and attain the Abitur after twelve years. Within our quality campaign for better education and for better school achievement, we will see to improve the educational opportunities at the upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) and to students better attaining the Abitur.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(SPD Hamburg, 2011, p. 18)</p>
2015	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly. However, measures regarding an improvement in social mobility and equal opportunity are stated.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(SPD Hamburg, 2015)</p>

FDP Hamburg	
2001	<p><i>“The FDP wants [...] a shortening of the school time to 12 years leading to the Abitur.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(FDP Hamburg, 2001, p. 4)</p>
2004	–
2008	–
2011	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2011 election programme. Nevertheless, one statement of the FDP refers to its commitment to the</p>

	<p>‘two pillars’ of secondary education in Hamburg consisting of <i>Gymnasium</i> and <i>Stadtteilschule</i>.</p> <p>(FDP Hamburg, 2011, p. 8)</p>
2015	<p><i>“We profess the two-pillar model, which consists of comprehensive schools (Stadtteilschulen) and upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) with equivalent qualifications and supports the maintenance of G8 at upper secondary schools (Gymnasien). For those who would like to have another year leading to the Abitur, there is the possibility to visit a comprehensive school (Stadtteilschule). After the reforms of the past years, the schools urgently need rest, reliability and sufficient time to drive school development forward. Thus, we oppose further structural reforms at schools [...] The implementation of G8 needs to be designed more student-friendly. Agreements between teachers on the distribution of homework and exams are necessary in order to avoid load peaks on the one hand, and idle on the other hand.”</i></p> <p>(FDP Hamburg, 2015, p. 8)</p>

Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg	
2001	<p><i>“The GAL [the Greens; ES] is also in favour of a qualitative improvement of the upper school (gymnasiale Oberstufe). Many of the current upper schools (Oberstufen) are too small, so that they do not satisfy the requirements. We want the possibilities of individual shortening of school time to be broadened; this also includes the possibility to attain the Abitur after twelve years.”</i></p> <p>(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg, 2001, p. 23)</p>
2004	<p><i>“We want the Abitur after 12 years of school. The deficiencies created during the introduction [of the reform], to which the Senate has to account for, need to be fixed. Upper schools (gymnasiale Oberstufen) with a smaller number of students shall be cumulated to upper school centres (Oberstufenzentren). To this end, the aspect of profiling shall be considered.”</i></p> <p>(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg, 2004, p. 14)</p>
2008	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2008 election programme. Instead, the focus of the Green educational policy lies in extending the joint learning of all children, therefore opposing the three-tier school system.</p> <p>(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg, 2008, p. 23 f.)</p>
2011	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2011 election programme. Instead, the focus of the Green educational policy lies in extending the joint learning of all children, therefore opposing the three-tier school system.</p> <p>(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg, 2011, p. 21)</p>
2015	<p><i>“From the school referendum of 2010 we have learned, that we cannot tackle important societal reforms successfully from above, but only together with the schools on site [...] With the Hamburg types of school, Gymnasium and Stadtteilschule, there are two possibilities – either in eight or in nine years – to attain the Abitur. Thus, we currently do not consider a structural reform necessary on this occasion.”</i></p>

(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg, 2015, p. 82)

Die Linke Hamburg	
2001	–
2004	–
2008	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2008 election programme.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Die Linke Hamburg, 2008)</p>
2011	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2011 election programme.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Die Linke Hamburg, 2011)</p>
2015	<p><i>“For the way to the Abitur, upper school centres (Oberstufenzentren) or upper school networks (Oberstufenverbände) comprised of several comprehensive schools (Stadtteilschulen) and upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) shall be arranged, in which all students can attain the Abitur after two, three or four years according to their performance capability. These upper school networks (Oberstufenverbände) would offer every single student a wider choice of courses and would open up the possibility of an individual way to the Abitur in accordance to their thematic interests without a change of the school structure. The vexing discussion on G8 or G9 would therefore be settled in the interest of the students.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Die Linke Hamburg, 2015, p. 37)</p>

Lower Saxon coalition agreement positions on the G8 policy

Coalition agreements	
2003	<p><i>“The Abitur will be attained at every Gymnasium, that begins with class 5, after class 12. This counts also for cooperative comprehensive schools without an integrative approach. At integrated comprehensive schools the Abitur will be attained after 13 school years.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(CDU Niedersachsen & FDP Niedersachsen, 2003, p. 18 f.)</p>
2008	<p><i>“Every child has different interests, abilities and talents. The coalition partners clearly profess to a differentiated and structured school system as mainstream in Lower Saxony, which includes nearby located schools. Thus, we continue with the profiling of each individual school type. Additionally, comprehensive schools (Gesamtschulen) can be founded at the request of school authorities insofar as the mainstream system does not get endangered in the long run, and sustained parents’ preference and need exists.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(CDU Niedersachsen & FDP Niedersachsen, 2008, p. 13)</p> <p><i>“The quality school in Lower Saxony will further be developed. The class sizes will be checked and gradually reduced within financial feasibility. Also, we will check the implementation of curricula with regard to student strain and advocate for an adequate reduction of the mandatory schooling hours per week</i></p>

	<p><i>(Gesamtpflichtstunden) leading up to the Abitur. The extension of whole-day offers for every school type shall be continued.</i></p> <p>(CDU Niedersachsen & FDP Niedersachsen, 2008, p. 14)</p>
2013	<p><i>“Upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) have the primary aim to lead students to the general matriculation standard. The red-green government coalition takes the wish of many parents to offer the Abitur after nine years also at the Gymnasien seriously, and considers the high stress of students. The red-green government coalition is going to discuss and implement the practical possibilities for a transition – with which the pressure can be taken from the Gymnasien – with the involved parties and with sufficient time in an open-ended dialogue. Inter alia, this includes the choice for the Gymnasien, to decide on an Abitur after 12 or 13 years in cooperation with the school authorities. Moreover, solutions shall be developed to dismantle the increased learning intensity, to enable new forms of examination and a reduction of examination subjects in upper school (Oberstufe), and to reform the Oberstufe.”</i></p> <p>(SPD Niedersachsen & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Niedersachsen, 2013, p. 50)</p>
2017	<p><i>“We profess the nine-year course of education at the Gymnasium (G9) and want to lead it to success. We check how particularly high-performing students can be led to the Abitur on an accelerated way.”</i></p> <p>(SPD Niedersachsen & CDU Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 11)</p>

Hessian coalition agreement positions on the G8 policy

	Coalition agreements
2003	–
2008	–
2009	<p><i>“The measures implemented on the review of the reform on shortening the number of school years at the Gymnasium (G8) will be continued by consensus with all the actors involved. We adhere to the freedom of choice between G8 and G9 for the cooperative comprehensive schools (Kooperative Gesamtschulen) as an important contribution to the diversity of schools. In the area of G8 we will introduce educational standards.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Hessen & FDP Hessen, 2009, p. 30)</p>
2014	<p><i>“Next to the cooperative comprehensive schools (Kooperative Gesamtschulen), the upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) can choose as well, since the school year 2013/2014, whether to offer G8 or G9 on the intermediate level (Mittelstufe). We want to further strengthen the freedom of choice. The started school experiment for the parallel offer of G8 and G9 at one school will be further developed in a way, that will facilitate the formation of individual G8 classes at a school (turbo classes). We see the Ministry of Education and the Arts (Kultusministerium) in a moderating role between the wish of parents for G8 or G9 and the existing educational offer. Our goal is to reach a needs-based offer of G8 and G9 together with the school authorities. Through a timely modification of the school law, we will enable for schools, which want to return to G9, the possibility to integrate their current 5th and 6th grade in this process as well. At schools, which want to return to G9 from G8 with the beginning of the school year 2014/15, a switch to G9 will also be possible for the current 5th and 6th grade. The prerequisite for this is a corresponding</i></p>

	<p><i>decision of the school conference as well as an anonymous survey with the parents conducted by the State School Office (Staatliche Schulamt), whether they want G8 or G9 for their child. With an unanimous result or with the achievement of a necessary number of students to form a G8 class, a reversion will be possible. In this procedure, the current 6th grades at schools, which returned from G8 to G9 with the beginning of the school year 2013/14, shall be involved.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Hessen & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2014, p. 29 f.)</p>
2018	<p><i>“On the basis of the experiences with the school experiment, we support the possibility of a parallel offer of G8/G9 for all upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) and the flexibilisation of the options available. At schools, which offer both G8 and G9 as ways leading to the Abitur, parents shall increasingly become involved in decision-making on which way is the right one for their child.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Hessen & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hessen, 2018, p. 83)</p>

Hamburg coalition agreement positions on the G8 policy

	Coalition agreements
2001	<p><i>“The Abitur after 12 years will generally be introduced under protection of the standards. Therefore, the curricula are to be revised substantively. This new provision shall count for the students, who visit the 5th grade from 2002.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Hamburg, Schill-Partei & FDP Hamburg, 2001, p. 5)</p>
2004	–
2008	<p><i>“The upper secondary schools (Gymnasien) will effectively be supported in designing the shortened course of education, to increase the quality of teaching and avoid the excessive demands of students in terms of time.”</i></p> <p>(CDU Hamburg & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg, 2008, p. 10)</p>
2011	–
2015	<p>The G8 reform is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly in the 2015 coalition agreement. Instead, the support for the cooperation between <i>Stadtteilschule</i> and <i>Gymnasium</i> is stressed.</p> <p>(SPD Hamburg & Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Hamburg, 2015, p. 84 f.)</p>

APPENDIX B

Interview (Lower Saxon Ministry of Education and the Arts)

Dann möchte ich eigentlich direkt mit der Frage beginnen, wie Sie die Abkehr von G8 charakterisieren würden. Ist es lediglich eine Rückkehr zu dem G9-Modell oder sind damit auch innovative Elemente für das niedersächsische Schulsystem mit verbunden?

Nein, es ist keine Wiederkehr des alten G9. Wir haben immer wieder mal, wenn wir Einwände formuliert bekommen haben oder Hinweise bekommen haben, von außen den Hinweis bekommen: ‚Das war doch im alten G9 so oder so geregelt. Und das wollen wir bitte genauso wiederhaben‘. Das ist aber nicht der Fall, also man kann das an einigen Beispielen ganz gut verdeutlichen. Im G8 ist ab 2005 eingeführt worden, dass die zweite Fremdsprache an den Gymnasien ab Klasse 6 unterrichtet wird und nicht ab Klasse 7. Das entspricht zum Beispiel allgemein pädagogischen und insbesondere sprachpädagogischen Erkenntnissen, dass man relativ früh beginnen sollte mit der zweiten Fremdsprache. Das haben wir auch so gelassen. Wir sind also nicht wieder zurückgekehrt zu dem System, das im alten G9 galt, denn da fing die zweite Fremdsprache ja erst mit der 7. Klasse an. Dann gab es eine Orientierungsstufe, da wurde Englisch unterrichtet, dann wurde in Klasse 7 mit Französisch oder Latein fortgesetzt. Damals noch an ziemlich wenigen Schulen mit Spanisch, da haben wir inzwischen deutlich mehr, aber, das heißt, wir haben einmal die zweite Fremdsprache wesentlich früher. Wir haben dann zum Zweiten den Wahlpflichtbereich, den es schon im alten G9 gab, aber deutlich ausgebaut, den hat man nämlich im Grunde aus dem G8 mit übernommen. Wir haben eine Stärkung vorgenommen der MINT-Fächer; auch wenn die MINT-Fächer-Vertreter der Auffassung sind, wir hätten sie nicht genügend gestärkt. So haben wir sie aber deutlicher gestärkt. Wir haben in Deutsch und Mathematik mehr Stunden verankert. Wir haben insgesamt gegenüber dem alten G8 19 Jahreswochenstunden mehr Unterricht als ursprünglich, wir hatten 260 Pflichtstunden plus fünf Stunden im AG-Bereich oder im Wahlpflichtbereich, also 265 in der Summe, und haben jetzt in der neuen Stundentafel 279 Stunden, also deutlich mehr Unterricht als im alten G8, auch mehr als vorher. Und wir haben ein paar Akzentverschiebungen: zum Beispiel ist das Fach Politik, nicht wie im alten G9, mit dem 9. Schuljahrgang... steigt es nicht dort erst ein, sondern ein Jahr davor, im 8. Schuljahrgang, auch mit mehr Stunden insgesamt, zum Beispiel, weil wir der Auffassung sind, dass Demokratiebildung, das inzwischen auch ein pädagogischer Schwerpunkt hier, ein bildungspolitischer Schwerpunkt hier im Haus, deutlicher untermauert werden muss.

Diese politische Entwicklung spielt, insbesondere in den letzten Jahren, die Stärkung, sagen wir mal, rechtsextremer und rechtsradikaler Tendenzen gibt uns da glaube ich auch Recht, das ist glaube ich richtig, dass wir das tun. Also das politische Bewusstsein von Schülerinnen und Schülern deutlich zu steigern. Das sind alles Punkte, die wir zum Beispiel verändert haben, sodass das alte G9 und das neue G9 einfach gar nicht identisch sein können. Ich habe jetzt nur mal einige Beispiele aufgezählt. Also es ist schon ein anderer Geist dabei... ich glaub diese Schleife über G8, das Gymnasium zu betrachten, die war insoweit ganz heilsam, weil manche Schwächen und manche Traditionen, niedersächsische Tradition dann nochmal radikaler in Frage gestellt worden ist, weil es ja doch eine ziemlich intensive Debatte gegeben hat damals, zweizwölf, zweidreizehn. Wobei es schon überraschend war, wie schnell G8 dann sozusagen Geschichte wurde.

Also es ist dann letztendlich, so wie ich das verstanden habe, nicht einfach eine Schulzeitverkürzung von diesem G8-Modell vorgenommen worden, das Pensum oder die Lehrpläne entsprechend angepasst worden...

Also vom alten G9 zum G8, also sozusagen seit 2005, hat es eine komplette Überarbeitung der Kerncurricula gegeben, zum G8 hin. Es musste ja ziemlich viel an Themen gestrichen werden, wenn man ein Schuljahr kürzt und dann auch die Unterrichtsstunden kürzt, zum G8 hin musste man einiges kürzen und wir haben dann von G8 zu G9 ein Schuljahr mehr Zeit gegeben, wir haben aber nicht zum Beispiel alles das, was wir, ein Beispiel wäre Mathematik, was wir damals an Themen gestrichen haben, jetzt wieder rein genommen, dann hätten wir nämlich keinen Effekt gehabt, dann hätten wir nicht den Effekt gehabt, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler mehr Lernzeit haben, sondern einfach nur das Pensum erhöht. Also haben wir schon überlegt, was muss rein, neu rein, weil wenn Sie zehn Jahre lang... oder sagen wir mal eine Entwicklung von zehn Jahren nochmal Revue passieren lassen, dann fällt Ihnen fast für jedes Fach etwas ein, was Sie ändern sollten. Es gibt bestimmte Themen, die 2002/2003 vielleicht noch gar nicht auf dem Markt waren, also der gesamte Bereich der Digitalisierung ist jetzt viel stärker vertreten in unseren Kerncurricula, Medienbildung, das ist ganz wichtig doch und da gibt es inzwischen auch hier einen Orientierungsrahmen zu und lauter solcher Dinge, die KMK-Strategie zum Lernen in der digitalisierten Welt. Das sind alles Dinge, die wir jetzt mit aufnehmen konnten und mitverarbeiten konnten. Das Gleiche gilt für so ein Thema wie sexuelle Vielfalt, das

war, da gibt es hier entsprechende Entschließungsanträge auch im Niedersächsischen Landtag, dass diese Thematik in den entsprechenden Fächern stärker Berücksichtigung findet als das, sagen wir mal, 1999 oder 2000 der Fall gewesen wäre.

Nun ist es ja auch so, dass die G8-Reform auch viele negative Reaktionen aus der Öffentlichkeit hervorgerufen hat, so kann man es zumindest dem Medienbild entnehmen. Wie würden Sie rückblickend die Wahrnehmung der G8-Reform seit ihrer Einführung im Jahre 2004 einschätzen? Und was waren mögliche Wendepunkte vielleicht auch?

Naja, es gab ja einmal den Wendepunkt so etwa ab 1999/2000, das war ja im Grunde genommen, sozusagen der Startschuss für alles, für die politische Debatte, die da zur G8-Entscheidung geführt hat. Das war ja vor allem PISA, das war diese Erkenntnis damals, sichere Erkenntnis vieler Beteiligten, dass die deutschen Schülerinnen und Schüler viel zu alt sind und wenn sie in den Arbeitsprozess gehen, dass wir dringend eine Angleichung an die europäischen Gepflogenheiten, wir haben ja fast überall woanders nur 12 Schuljahre, brauchen und das hat man dann ja auch sehr flott vollzogen. Da war die Wirtschaft ganz weit vorne, also in Niedersachsen kann man das sehen, wenn man sich da die Stellungnahmen der Unternehmerverbände, UVN ist das in dem Fall in Niedersachsen, anschaut oder was hier ein sehr starker Verband ist, ist Niedersachsenmetall, da die Metallarbeitgeber, die massiv für G8 damals eingetreten sind. Und fast alle politischen Parteien, zum Schluss auch die SPD, der damalige Ministerpräsident hat das im Grunde genommen auch, sozusagen zu seinem Programm gemacht, das war Gabriel damals bis 2003, und dann erst recht ab 2003, die neue Landesregierung wieder von der CDU und der FDP gestellt worden ist. Das waren typische G8... sozusagen G8-Vertreterparteien. Und insofern erschien es damals allen ziemlich klar. Ich kann mich nur daran erinnern, dass damals die Gewerkschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft die einzige Institution war, die mir in Erinnerung geblieben ist, die gesagt hätte, also die vor G8 gewarnt hat. Davon waren alle sehr überzeugt und dann ist ja auch das ganze System darauf umgebaut worden, also neue Kerncurricula, neue Stundentafeln, alles ist umgebaut worden, und dann haben Schülerinnen und Schüler allesamt begonnen, also mit G8 begonnen, das ist dann ja von unten aufbauend eingeführt worden und wir hatten dann im Jahr 2011 ja das erste G8-Abitur. Das war damals das sogenannte Doppelabitur, da war ja noch der 13. Jahrgang und der 12. Jahrgang, die dann gleichzeitig Abitur gemacht haben. Die Ergebnisse des ersten Doppelabiturs und auch des Jahres danach und auch des Jahres 2013, also so die Jahre

11 bis 13 haben dann nicht gezeigt, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler mit G8 schlechter abgeschnitten hätten als die G9-Schüler vorher. Es gab aber einen völligen Stimmungswandel damals, nämlich 2012/13. Es wurde auf einmal deutlich, sozusagen man hat vorher hier und da das Gegrummel so spürbar war, dass Eltern und Schüler insbesondere darauf hingewiesen haben, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler zu wenig Zeit haben, dass sie sich nicht mehr beteiligen an freiwilligen Aktivitäten in der Schule, dass ihre Möglichkeiten in Musik, in Sportvereinen, sich da sozusagen am Nachmittag auch zu beteiligen, deutlich zurückgegangen sind, Mitgliedschaften in Vereinen zum Beispiel und lauter solcher Dinge. Und dass sie einfach mehr Aufwand betreiben mussten für die Schule. Und obwohl die Leistungen eigentlich völlig gleich waren, es hat keinen Unterschied gegeben, man konnte nicht sagen, dass die Schüler schlechter abgeschnitten hätten, so gab es dann in der Öffentlichkeit so einen Stimmungsumschwung. Und dann waren die Protagonisten von 2004, die damals für G8 getrommelt haben, die Ersten, die am lautesten gesagt haben, wir brauchen jetzt aber wieder G9 zurück. Die haben nämlich inzwischen festgestellt, dass die Abiturientinnen und Abiturienten ihrer Einschätzung nach zu wenig reif waren, es gab dann die Situation, dass dann eben Eltern mit ihren Kindern zur Universität fahren mussten, um sich dort einzuschreiben, weil die noch nicht 18 waren. Die jungen Studierenden konnten keine Mietverträge unterschreiben, weil sie noch nicht 18 waren [lacht], noch nicht volljährig waren oder solche Situationen. Und dann hat man, sozusagen, im Grunde die Gleichen, die sehr für G8 gerufen haben, dann ganz doll für G9. Auch der Haupt-, sozusagen Lehrerverband, der Niedersächsische Philologenverband hat 2003/04 ganz massiv für G8 geworben, mit den gleichen Argumenten wie damals fast alle, und hat sich dann nach einem Stimmungsumschwung sehr schnell entschieden, dann ganz intensiv für G9 einzutreten, 2012/13 etwa, in dieser Zeit.

Es ist dann also ein Wandel festzumachen, bei den Akteuren, die sich eben ursprünglich für G8 eingesetzt hatten. Sie hatten jetzt ja Schüler und Eltern speziell erwähnt, da würde ich jetzt gleich zur Frage 6 springen und zwar, wie Sie rückblickend die Rolle allgemein von Interessenvertretern einschätzen, der Niedersächsische Philologenverband wurde eben erwähnt. Dieser ist ja nur eine Interessenvertretungsinstanz, so nenne ich das jetzt mal, aber gab es da möglicherweise noch gegenläufige Meinungen?

Naja, also wir haben ja drei große Lehrerverbände. Das ist einmal der Philologenverband, der vertritt in etwa ein Drittel aller Gymnasiallehrkräfte, also wir haben

18.000 Gymnasiallehrkräfte und ich meine, der Verband hat so um die 8.000 Mitglieder, das ist schon ziemlich stark. Die Gymnasiallehrkräfte sind vor allem dort vertreten. Sie sind auch vertreten, aber in deutlich kleinerer Zahl, in der Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft, das ist eine DGB-Gewerkschaft. Und es gibt noch den VBE, den Verband Bildung und Erziehung, in dem sind Gymnasiallehrkräfte so gut wie gar nicht vertreten. Das ist eigentlich ein Verband für Grund-, Haupt- und Realschullehrkräfte und Oberschullehrkräfte und vielleicht noch Gesamtschulen. Gesamtschullehrkräfte, die in der gymnasialen Oberstufe ja auch tätig sind, sind fast nie im Philologenverband, sondern fast immer in der GEW. Man kann also ganz grob sagen, die GEW ist immer eher rot-grün ausgerichtet, eher linksgerichtet, und der Philologenverband ist traditionell immer CDU-orientiert. Das ist bis heute so geblieben, auch über die letzten 20, 30 Jahre hinweg. Und Philologen, habe ich ja schon gesagt, GEW hat sich immer für G9 ausgesprochen, über die gesamte Zeit, die haben die G8-Reform immer kritisiert. Der Landeselternrat und der Landesschülerrat waren beide in der Arbeitsgruppe 2013, im Herbst 2013 vertreten, die nach der Landtagswahl 2013 eingerichtet worden ist, um zu prüfen, ob wir zu G9 zurückkehren wollen oder nicht. Also im Frühjahr 2013 gab es Landtagswahlen, da hat erstmalig eine rot-grüne Koalition die Wahl gewonnen oder ist gebildet worden nach der Wahl, mit Herrn Weil, dem Ministerpräsidenten, den wir heute noch haben an der Spitze, und dann die Grünen als Koalitionspartner der SPD. Die haben eine Arbeitsgruppe eingerichtet, nachdem sie einen Dialogforum durchgeführt haben zu dem Thema im Juni 2013. Und danach gab es eine Arbeitsgruppe, die prüfen sollte, welche Optionen möglich sind, also Weiterführung von G8, Modifizierung von G8, Rückkehr zu G9, das waren so die drei Varianten eigentlich. Entweder so weitermachen wie bisher oder modifizieren oder grundsätzlich zu G9 zurückkehren. Zu dem damaligen Zeitpunkt gab es außerhalb Niedersachsens auch schon ein bisschen Debatte um die Frage, aber es war eigentlich ganz klar, dass die Ostbundesländer alle bei G8 geblieben sind, die haben sich ja nie verändert, bis auf Mecklenburg-Vorpommern mal irgendwann 1991, aber sonst waren die immer alle auf G8-Linie. Und insofern war das schon interessant, das zu beobachten. Ich war selbst Mitglied in dieser Arbeitsgruppe, die dann getagt hat und dort waren vertreten der Landeselternrat, der sich zu keiner Option damals... keine Option gewählt hat, der hat sich immer relativ neutral und in Balance gehalten; es gab auch bis zum Schluss keine Aussage des Landeselternrates, die da hieß, ‚Macht weiter mit G8‘ oder ‚Bitte schön G9‘. Und der Landesschülerrat hat sich sehr klar für G9 ausgesprochen, damals mit seinem Sprecher.

Weitere Gruppierungen sind natürlich diese gesellschaftlichen Gruppierungen, die ich schon angesprochen habe, Unternehmerverbände, dann der DGB insgesamt, der sich natürlich der Position der GEW angeschlossen hatte, das ist ja eine Mitgliedsgewerkschaft, hat sich nochmal eigens geäußert und auch gesagt, der ist für die Rückkehr zu G9 und ansonsten waren das nur Einzelstimmen. Aber es gab insgesamt plötzlich so einen Mainstream, der ganz stark in Richtung G9 ging. Und der hat dann auch dazu geführt, dass die Ministerin im März 2014 dann entschieden hat, wir gehen zu G9 zurück.

Das ist dann auch der politische Druck...

Ja, dann hat die Arbeitsgruppe getagt, wir haben einen Abschlussbericht vorgelegt, ohne eine Option, also wir haben wirklich nur die einzelnen, also ohne Votum... wir haben die einzelnen Optionen geprüft, auf Vor- und Nachteile, auf Konsequenzen, wenn man Veränderungen vornimmt bei G8 und am Ende hat dann die Politik entschieden. Der Landtag hat ja letztlich dann das Schulgesetz geändert und zwar im Sommer 2015 und damit G9 wieder ermöglicht.

Es waren ja bestimmte Erwartungen mit der G8-Reform verbunden, ganz grundsätzlich war das ja erstmal die Schülerleistungen zu verbessern nach diesem sogenannten PISA-Schock. Inwiefern haben sich nach Ihrer Sicht die Erwartungen an die G8-Reform in Niedersachsen erfüllt, teilweise erfüllt oder nicht erfüllt?

Naja, wenn sie sich in Gänze erfüllt hätte, dann hätten wir heute G8 und nicht G9 [lacht]. Das wollte ich nur mal festhalten, also es hat ja ganz viel Kritik gegeben an G8, ich habe ja eben schon die Punkte aufgezählt. Die lagen gar nicht so sehr in der Leistung der Schülerinnen und Schüler. Die Leistungen der Schülerinnen und Schüler haben sich seit PISA Anfang der 2000er-Jahre ja deutlich gesteigert. Wir können ja feststellen, über die Jahre hinweg, die PISA-Untersuchungen bestimmter Fächer oder bestimmter Kompetenzen haben sich ja verbessert. Vielleicht nicht in dem gewünschten Maße und in der Geschwindigkeit, in der man gedacht hat, dass das ginge, aber das ist relativ losgelöst von der Frage, ob wir G9 oder G8 machen. Aber die Stimmung in den Schulen war natürlich so... oder war so, dass man einerseits gesagt hat, wir wollen die Schüler schneller zum Ziel Abitur bringen, damit sie schneller ins Studium kommen und dann früher mit der Berufstätigkeit beginnen können, das waren ja zum Teil sehr ökonomische Ideen, die dahinter standen, die ja auch nicht illegitim sind, natürlich muss ein Staat auch überlegen, wie schnell er die Schülerinnen und Schüler letztlich in den

Arbeitsprozess bringt und dann vor allem auch im europäischen Vergleich dann, aber ich glaube es hat sich dann auf der einen Seite, einfach im beruflichen Bereich und im Bereich des Studiums, im universitären Bereich, bemerkbar gemacht, dass die Erwartungen nicht erfüllt wurden, dass man nicht plötzlich genauso reife und genauso abgeklärte und genauso studienwillige und -fähige Studentinnen und Studenten vor sich hatte wie vorher. So ein Jahr mehr oder weniger macht bei einem... bei so einer Gesamtzahl von Jahren, wenn man mal 18, mal 19 hat, schon was aus und das war spürbar glaube ich. Und insofern war das dieses Reifemoment, was da eine Rolle gespielt hat und man hat vor allen Dingen auch gesehen, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler dieses eine Jahr was sie gespart hatten, keineswegs sofort in die Ausbildung investiert haben, sondern dann fing ja an, ‚Work and Travel‘ und alle schönen und wichtigen Dinge. Also ich finde so ein FSJ oder etwas Vergleichbares ja durchaus sehr wichtig, es hat aber im Grunde genommen alles signalisiert, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler sich offenkundig nicht reif genug gefühlt haben, jetzt sofort mit einem entsprechenden, mit einer Berufsausbildung oder auch mit dem entsprechenden Studium dann zu beginnen, sondern es gab ganz viele Überbrückungsjahre dazwischen. Das ist glaube ich schon etwas, was auch zum Nachdenken dann anregt, wobei das ja grundsätzlich nie so ist, dass man das für schädlich halten muss, aber der Wunsch des schnellen Übergangs in das universitäre System oder in die Ausbildung hat sich eben nicht erfüllt. Insofern liegt das nicht so sehr auf der Leistungsebene, sondern auf der Ebene der Reife, der Entwicklung, der Persönlichkeit, dass man da im Grunde gemerkt hat, ‚naja, einen echten Vorteil bringt es eigentlich nicht‘.

Was ebenso der Wunsch oder die Erwartung war, war ursprünglich dann die Abiturienten dann möglichst schnell in den Arbeitsmarkt integrieren zu wollen, auch im europäischen Vergleich denke ich. Dass man das dann an die europäischen Standards oder auch bundesdeutschen Standards, wenn man jetzt die östlichen Bundesländer nimmt, das irgendwie anzupassen.

Ja, man hat eben auch geglaubt, das G9 sei sozusagen ein wirtschaftliches Hindernis und dann hat man aber auch spätestens seit 2008, seit der großen europäischen Krise gesehen, da hatten wir ja noch G9-Schülerinnen und Schüler, die Abitur machten, dass Deutschland ja keineswegs im Hintertreffen ist, weil unsere Schülerinnen und Schüler älter sind als andere, sondern dass das den Schülerinnen und Schülern, sozusagen auch dem Arbeitsmarkt ... der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung keineswegs geschadet hat. Und ich glaube, daraus hat man auch Schlüsse gezogen. Und dann dauert es natürlich immer

ein paar Jahre bis man so eine große Reform gemacht hat wie damals 2003/04, die dann ins G8 geführt hat. Da können Sie auch davon ausgehen, dass sie wieder zehn Jahre brauchen bis sie dann wieder sagen, ‚wir wollen das aber doch wieder anders machen‘. Denn das ist natürlich auch in jeder Hinsicht eine teure Angelegenheit.

Waren denn mit der Umstellung auf das neue G9-Modell besondere Herausforderungen in der Implementierung verbunden?

Naja, es sind natürlich die Herausforderungen, die auftreten, wenn man so etwas dann mal irgendwann konsequent durchdenkt. Ich habe ja diesen Bericht angesprochen, den wir abgeliefert haben damals als Arbeitsgruppe, da haben wir ja nicht nur berechnet wie ... oder skizziert wie eine neue Studententafel aussehen könnte, wie viel Geld es kostet, weil wir natürlich auch mehr Lehrerinnen und Lehrer brauchten dafür, in welchem Zeitraum wir das System umbauen können, welche rechtlichen Aspekte zu bedenken sind... also nur mal so ein Beispiel, wir haben in den letzten fünf Jahren seit 2014 im Gymnasialbereich alle Kerncurricula, die es jemals gab, für jedes Fach einmal komplett überarbeitet; das heißt also fünfzig neue Kerncurricula. Normalerweise dauert es immer anderthalb Jahre bis so ein Kerncurriculum geändert worden ist, also die alten Lehrpläne sind ja durch die Kerncurricula ersetzt worden und Sie brauchen dann eine Kommission, die Sie einberufen müssen, sagen wir mal sechs bis acht Leute, die müssen dieses alte Kerncurriculum nehmen, müssen es umbauen, von G8 zu G9, müssen auch modernisieren, müssen vielleicht sehr grundlegend modernisieren, wenn Sie ein sehr altes Kerncurriculum hatten oder ein Kerncurriculum haben, in dem sich einfach die Entwicklung sehr schnell vollzieht. Bei Informatik zum Beispiel, könnten Sie eigentlich alle halbe Jahre das Ganze überarbeiten, weil es immer wieder neue Aspekte gibt. Das ist ein irrsinniger, also großer Aufwand, ein sehr großer logistischer Aufwand schon, wir haben wirklich vier Jahre dafür gebraucht, weil ja auch sozusagen die Steuerung wahrgenommen werden musste. Das geschieht hier bei uns, in meinem Gymnasial- und Gesamtschulreferat mit insgesamt fünfzehn Leuten. Davon sind einige Wenige beschäftigt mit dieser Frage und andere natürlich auch mit gänzlich anderen Fragen, die gar nicht mit G8/G9 zu tun haben. Aber wir haben schon einen Großteil der Zeit der letzten fünf Jahre in das Projekt ‚Neues G9‘ investiert. Insofern gibt es da eine Menge Herausforderungen. An der Schule glaube ich, vor Ort, war das Hauptproblem, den älteren Lehrkräften zu signalisieren, dass wir nicht einfach zum alten G9 zurückkehren und wir machen so weiter wie bisher. Was ja schon deshalb nicht der Fall war, weil

sozusagen verbunden war mit dem Übergang von G9 zu G8 die Auflösung der Orientierungsstufe. Die gibt es ja nun mal nicht mehr. Das heißt, das Gymnasium fängt mit Klasse 5 an, anders als im alten G9, sodass wir auch eine andere Struktur sozusagen im Lernen haben, in den Lernrhythmen, in der Zahl der Stunden für die einzelnen Fächer und und und... Das heißt die Veränderung mussten wir schon signalisieren. Bei jüngeren Lehrkräften war das nicht das Problem, weil die das alte G9 als Lehrkraft möglicherweise noch gar nicht kannten. Und bei den Älteren ist es glaube ich auch insoweit interessant gewesen, weil ja noch etwas dazwischengekommen ist und was es im alten G9 fast gar nicht gab, nämlich die relativ flächendeckende Einführung der Ganztagschule.

Was ja dann auch ein neueres Konzept dann ist.

Ja, das ist ja sozusagen ein gleichermaßen pädagogisches wie familienpolitisches Instrument, das muss man sehen. Und das hat sich ja inzwischen weitgehend etabliert im Bereich der Gymnasien fast ausschließlich in der sogenannten offenen Ganztagschule, das heißt also freiwillige Teilnahme. Ich kann in jedem Halbjahr entscheiden, ob ich mein Kind in die Ganztagschule schicke oder nicht. Daneben haben wir aber das Modell der gebundenen Ganztagschule, insbesondere an den Gesamtschulen, das ist eigentlich so ein typisches Kennzeichen der Gesamtschule, aber inzwischen eben auch an einer ganzen Reihe anderer Schulen, die eben gebundene Ganztagschulen für sinnvoll halten, weil eigentlich nur die gebundene Ganztagschule die Möglichkeit gibt, dann auch zu rhythmisieren. Sie können zwei Stunden Wahlpflicht oder zwei Stunden AG nur in die fünfte und sechste Stunde legen, wenn dort tatsächlich für alle Schülerinnen und Schüler ein Platz ist, an dem das geht, dann ist eben am Nachmittag Pflichtunterricht. Dann haben sie auch, in meiner Schule war das so, ich habe ja früher auch ein Gymnasium geleitet, war das dann eben auch so, dass dann eben auch Englisch in der achten/neunten Stunde stattfindet. Das ist völlig klar, so ist das eben in einer Ganztagschule. Das heißt die Schule ändert sich durch die, sozusagen den Übergang von der Halbtags- zur Ganztagschule ganz massiv.

Damit wären eigentlich die Kernfragen schon beantwortet. Ich hätte nun noch die Frage zu dem neuen G9, wie da nun die Resonanz ausgefallen ist bzw. die öffentliche Wahrnehmung...

Also ich glaube alles in allem ist sie 2014 unmittelbar danach sehr positiv ausgefallen, da hat es ganz viel Zustimmung dazu gegeben. Interessant wird es dann ja immer, wenn man dann guckt, was passiert in der Umsetzung, also wo gibt es dann Detailkritik. Und

da gibt es natürlich, wie bei jeder Veränderung, wenn Sie etwa an die Stundentafeln gehen und dann gucken, sozusagen machen Sie Erdkunde in Klasse 9 zwei- oder einstündig, gibt es die Interessengruppe, die natürlich für ihr Fach, häufig Fachverbände dann, möglichst viel auch erreichen wollen und die dann eben auch entsprechende Eingaben machen. Wir haben mal so eine Debatte gehabt beim Fach Kunst/Musik/Darstellendes Spiel, die sich benachteiligt fühlten in der Epha [Einführungsphase; ES], also im elften Jahrgang. Wir haben eine Debatte gehabt um die Frage, ob die zweiten Fremdsprachen nach sechs Lernjahren, also von Klasse 6 an bis Klasse 10... 6, 7, 8, 9, 10... fünf Lernjahre sind das, auch noch im sechsten Lernjahr verbindlich sein soll oder fakultativ. Letztlich sind wir dann zu einem Modell gekommen, das ist etwas salomonisch zu sagen [lacht], grundsätzlich verbindlich, aber die Schule kann beschließen, an die Stelle der Verpflichtung ein Wahlpflichtangebot zu setzen und dann könnten die Schülerinnen und Schüler von diesem Wahlpflichtangebot Gebrauch machen. Wir wollten aber gleichzeitig zum Beispiel an der Stelle nicht ausschließen und die Schüler nicht daran hindern, dass sie zum Beispiel ein sprachliches Profil wählen, dazu brauchen sie immer zwei Fremdsprachen durchgehend, das muss aber auch gewährleistet sein nach unseren Vorschriften, aber Sie haben natürlich in so einem Umbauprozess immer an bestimmten Stellen jemanden, der dann sagt, ‚mein Fach, meine Interessen kommen hier aber zu kurz‘ und dann gibt es natürlich aber auch individuell oder verbandsindividuell entsprechende Hinweise oder Klagen oder Widersprüche, was auch immer, oder Hinweise an den Minister in der Regel... in der Regel wird dann der Minister immer gleich angeschrieben und es wird eben verdeutlicht, dass die Welt untergeht, wenn dieses und jenes Fach in Klasse 7 nur zweistündig und nicht dreistündig ist, also all diese Dinge. Aber Sie können sich vorstellen, dass sind dann auch wirklich ganz relativ robust geführte Verteilungskämpfe, wenn da eine Vorgabe existiert, der Unterricht soll damit die sozusagen... damit dieser Entlastungseffekt für die Schülerinnen und Schüler spürbar ist... der Unterricht soll in den Jahrgängen 5 bis 11 nur dreißig Stunden umfassen. Dafür dehnen wir aber den Zeitraum aus um ein Schuljahr, dann kommen sie sofort dahin, dass sie am liebsten natürlich weiterhin 34 Stunden haben wie bisher, damit möglichst Vieles von meinem Fach auch noch unterzubringen ist. Das gibt es immer, gibt es bei jeder Debatte und hat es hier natürlich erst recht gegeben, weil hier natürlich viel Fell des Bären zu verteilen war. Und wo viel zu beeinflussen ist sozusagen, da melden sich auch Viele zu Wort. Das heißt also, im Detail hat es da nochmal Hinweise

gegeben oder diejenigen, die gesagt haben, ,also warum ist dieser eine Punkt jetzt hier nicht mehr im Kerncurriculum‘ oder ,warum kommt der nicht wieder neu rein, der war doch schon mal drin, das müssen wir aber unbedingt machen‘. Und dann gibt es halt Fachdebatten ohne Ende in dieser Frage. Aber ich glaube, alles in allem, findet G9 hier in Niedersachsen relativ gute und hohe Akzeptanz. Das kann man schon sehr deutlich sagen. Und da sind wir auch ein bisschen stolz drauf, weil wir ja jetzt fünf Jahre lang daran gebastelt haben, das wieder gut rüberzubringen.

Aber eben auch das erste Bundesland, das es flächendeckend wieder eingeführt hat, obwohl es natürlich ein neues G9-Modell ist.

Ja, das ist ganz wichtig... ja, ich bin lange Zeit, ich bin ja auch in so einigen KMK-Arbeitsgruppen und ich bin, als damals G9 eingeführt worden ist, im Kreise der anderen Kolleginnen und Kollegen aus anderen Bundesländern immer sehr belächelt worden, wenn ich gesagt habe, Niedersachsen ist das erste Bundesland, das auf G9 zurückkehrt. Und das passierte auch tatsächlich so ungefähr vor einem/anderthalb Jahren dann gar nichts. Und inzwischen haben wir aber reihenweise Bundesländer und somit sogar unser Vorzeigebundesland Bayern geht ja zu G9 zurück. Das heißt also, da ist schon irgendein Effekt eingetreten, dass die anderen Bundesländer, was mich nicht weiter wundert, dazu braucht es vielleicht gar nicht unbedingt das, ich sage jetzt mal, Vorbild Niedersachsen, aber es macht natürlich was aus, wenn schon mal ein Bundesland sagt, ,wir machen das jetzt aber anders, wir gehen jetzt zurück‘. Und das war auch ein bisschen mutig damals, das von der Ministerin aus zu tun. Hier im Land gar nicht, weil das Land hier, im Land hatte sie ganz viel Zustimmung. Aber die anderen Bundesländer haben erstmal gesagt, ,um Gottes willen! Jetzt fangen diese Niedersachsen an und gehen zu G9 zurück‘. Und das ist jetzt natürlich auch auf Bundesebene, KMK-Ebene bei uns zurzeit, natürlich nicht ganz leicht, weil wir einige, nämlich fünf Bundesländer haben, die definitiv bei G8 bleiben werden, die zum Teil noch nie bei G9 waren und auch gar nicht dahingehen wollen. Und auf der anderen Seite, jetzt im Westen eigentlich ganz viele Bundesländer, die entweder komplett zu G9 gehen oder zumindest viele G9-Wege ermöglicht haben innerhalb des eigenen Landes.

Dann möchte ich mich noch einmal bei Ihnen bedanken. Ich habe ja eben schon bildlich gesehen, wie viel Arbeit Sie haben und dass Sie sich für dieses Interview die Zeit genommen haben, ist keine Selbstverständlichkeit.

Gerne.

Survey (Hessian Ministry of Education and the Arts)

1. Wie würden Sie die Abkehr vom ganzheitlichen G8-Modell in Hessen charakterisieren bzw. warum wurde ein Hybridmodell aus G8 und G9 gewählt?

Ab dem Schuljahr 2004/05 erfolgte in Hessen in drei Etappen die Umstellung auf die verkürzte Schulzeit an Gymnasien (G8).

Seit dem Schuljahr 2013/2014 wurde auch den Gymnasien die Möglichkeit eröffnet, zwischen der 5-jährigen und der 6-jährigen Organisation der Mittelstufe (Sekundarstufe I) zu wählen.

Zusätzlich bestand für Gymnasien und kooperative Gesamtschulen mit 5-jährig organisiertem Gymnasialzweig zum Schuljahr 2013/14 die Möglichkeit, an einem Modellversuch teilzunehmen, in dessen Rahmen G8 und G9 ab der Jahrgangsstufe 7 an ein und derselben Schule parallel angeboten werden konnte.

2. Waren mit diesem Hybridmodell auch innovative Elemente für das hessische Schulsystem verbunden?

An den hessischen Gymnasien und Gymnasialzweigen der kooperativen Gesamtschulen besteht die Wahlfreiheit der Schulen zwischen G8, G9 und dem Parallelangebot G8/G9. Auf diese Weise wird sichergestellt, dass jede Schule mit Blick auf ihre schulspezifischen Möglichkeiten und die regionalen Bedingungen ein für ihre Schülerinnen und Schüler passendes Angebot in Bezug auf die zeitliche Organisationsform des gymnasialen Bildungsganges entwickeln kann.

3. Wie würden Sie rückblickend die öffentliche Wahrnehmung der G8-Reform seit ihrer Einführung im Jahre 2004 einschätzen? Was waren mögliche Wendepunkte?

Die Einführung von G8 hat selbstverständlich Reaktionen der Öffentlichkeit hervorgerufen, auf die von bildungspolitischer Seite entsprechend reagiert wurde (siehe Frage 1 und Frage 2). Die Resonanz auf den damit einhergehenden Veränderungsprozess lässt sich in der Berichterstattung der Medien nachvollziehen.

4. Was sind aus Ihrer Sicht die Gründe dafür, warum das ganzheitliche G8-Modell in Hessen möglicherweise anders wahrgenommen wird als in anderen westlichen Bundesländern, die dieses Modell ebenfalls eingeführt haben?

Zunächst sei erwähnt, dass bildungspolitische Themen seit jeher in Hessen große Aufmerksamkeit genießen. Überdies hat es in allen westlichen

Bundesländern Kritik an der Verkürzung der gymnasialen Schulzeit gegeben. Von großer Bedeutung für die Abkehr vom G8-Gymnasium sind die vor allem von Elternseite zu vernehmende Kritik über ein zu großes, die Schülerinnen und Schüler zu stark beanspruchendes, Stoffpensum in der Mittelstufe, das ihnen durch höhere Wochenstundenzahlen kaum noch Freiräume für außerschulische Aktivitäten offenlasse.

Im Vergleich zu anderen Bundesländern hat Hessen eine Schullandschaft, die sich aus zahlreichen unterschiedlichen Schulformen zusammensetzt. Aus diesem Grund ist man bei der Umsetzung der Verkürzung der gymnasialen Schulzeit behutsam vorgegangen:

Die Verkürzung der Schulzeit erfolgt an den Gymnasien und in den gymnasialen Zweigen der schulformbezogenen Gesamtschulen in der Sekundarstufe I; die anschließende gymnasiale Oberstufe dauert weiterhin 3 Jahre.

Die gymnasiale Schulzeitverkürzung wurde in Hessen beginnend mit der Jahrgangsstufe 5 in drei Etappen (Schuljahr 2004/05 = Pilotschulen, Schuljahr 2005/06 und Schuljahr 2006/07) eingeführt. Die Doppeljahrgänge haben folglich in den Jahren 2012, 2013 und 2014 ihre Abiturprüfung abgelegt.

Hessen hat bei der Einführung von G8 als einziges Bundesland diese Etappenlösung über drei Jahrgänge gewählt, um im Jahr 2013 einen doppelten Abiturjahrgang zu vermeiden. Die Hochschulen und der Ausbildungsmarkt hätten ohne Etappenlösung in 2013 fast die doppelte Anzahl an Bewerberinnen und Bewerbern verkraften müssen. Die Zahl der zusätzlichen Abiturientinnen und Abiturienten wird sich so in Hessen auf drei Abiturjahrgänge verteilen und in keinem Jahr werden sich mehr als 50% zusätzlicher Prüflinge im Abitur befinden.

5. Inwiefern haben sich die Erwartungen an die G8-Reform in Hessen Ihrer Meinung nach erfüllt, teilweise erfüllt oder nicht erfüllt?

Die hessischen Schulen haben mit Blick auf ihre schulspezifischen Möglichkeiten und die regionalen Bedingungen und in Absprache mit dem jeweils zuständigen Staatlichen Schulamt ein für ihre Schülerinnen und Schüler passendes Angebot entwickelt und sich aus diesen Gründen individuell für G8, G9 oder das Parallelangebot G8/G9 entschieden.

6. Wenn Sie an die Entscheidungsträger denken, welche das ganzheitliche G8-Modell zum Schuljahr 2014/15 durch die Eröffnung eines parallelen Angebots von G8 und G9 an den Gymnasien wieder abgeschafft haben, was waren aus Ihrer Sicht die zentralen Motive für diese Entscheidung?

Die hessischen Regierungsparteien CDU und BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN hatten in ihrem Koalitionsvertrag festgelegt, dass sie die Wahlfreiheit der Schulen zwischen G8 und G9 an den kooperativen Gesamtschulen und den Gymnasien weiter stärken wollen. Damit sollte das schulische Angebot noch besser auf den Elternwillen und somit auf die Bedürfnisse der Schülerinnen und Schüler abgestimmt werden können. Die Wahlfreiheit (G8, G9, Parallelangebot G8/G9) besteht an den hessischen Gymnasien und Gymnasialzweigen der kooperativen Gesamtschulen noch heute.

7. Wie schätzen Sie rückblickend die Rolle von Interessenvertretern wie dem Hessischen Philologenverband oder beispielsweise der Eltern- und Schülervvertretungen in der Abkehr vom ganzheitlichen G8-Modell ein?

Hier müssten Sie bitte die von Ihnen genannten Interessenvertretungen befragen.

APPENDIX C

Table 5. Overview of perceptions on the G8 reform

Lower Saxony			
	Representation	Perception	Coding
Teachers	<i>Niedersächsischer Philologenverband</i>	“Die [Befürworter von G8, den Niedersächsischen Philologenverband mit eingeschlossen; ES] haben nämlich inzwischen festgestellt, dass die Abiturientinnen und Abiturienten ihrer Einschätzung nach zu wenig reif waren, es gab dann die Situation, dass dann eben Eltern mit ihren Kindern zur Universität fahren mussten, um sich dort einzuschreiben, weil die noch nicht 18 waren.“ (Appendix B)	Abitur graduates not mature enough to enrol at university
	<i>Gewerkschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW)</i>	“Ich kann mich nur daran erinnern, dass damals die Gewerkschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft die einzige Institution war, die mir in Erinnerung geblieben ist, die gesagt hätte, also die vor G8 gewarnt hat.“ (Appendix B)	Warned against the introduction of the G8 reform in advance
School principals	<i>Niedersächsische Direktorenvereinigung</i>	“Als erstes Bundesland Rückkehr zu G9 – Die breite Opposition gegen G8 gab den Ausschlag – Philologenverband maßgeblich an Durchsetzung von G9 beteiligt.“ (Gymnasium Aktuell, 2014)	Support for comprehensive reversion to G9 model
		“Die Umstellung auf den neunjährigen Bildungsgang am Gymnasium wird von der NDV grundsätzlich begrüßt, kritisch sieht sie die Entscheidung, dass dies ausnahmslos für alle Schülerinnen und Schüler gilt. Während im Koalitionsvereinbarung noch von der ‚Wahlmöglichkeit für die Gymnasien, sich in Zusammenarbeit mit den Schulträgern für ein Abitur nach 12 oder 13 Jahren zu entscheiden‘, die Rede war, wird nun das g9 ausnahmslos festgeschrieben. [...] Demgegenüber wünscht die NDV zusätzlich zu g9 als Regelfall die Möglichkeit eines systemischen Weges der Schulzeitverkürzung für Schülerinnen und Schüler, die weiterhin g8 präferieren.“	Demand for structural possibility for earlier Abitur attainment of students who favour G8

		(Niedersächsische Direktorenvereinigung, 2014).	
Parents	<i>Landeselternrat</i>	<p>“Die Ergebnisse des ersten Doppelabiturs und auch des Jahres danach und auch des Jahres 2013, also so die Jahre 11 bis 13 haben dann nicht gezeigt, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler mit G8 schlechter abgeschnitten hätten als die G9-Schüler vorher. Es gab aber einen völligen Stimmungswandel damals, nämlich 2012/13. Es wurde auf einmal deutlich, sozusagen man hat vorher hier und da als das Gegrummel so spürbar war, dass Eltern und Schüler insbesondere darauf hingewiesen haben, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler zu wenig Zeit haben, dass die sich nicht mehr beteiligen an freiwilligen Aktivitäten in der Schule, dass ihre Möglichkeiten in Musik, in Sportvereinen, sich da sozusagen am Nachmittag auch zu beteiligen, deutlich zurückgegangen sind, Mitgliedschaften in Vereinen zum Beispiel und lauter solcher Dinge.“ (Appendix B)</p>	<p>G8 students did not perform worse than G9 students / public change of mood in 2012/13 / time for students to engage in voluntary activities or free-time activities in the afternoon outside school not sufficient</p>
Students	<i>Landesschülerrat</i>		
Other	<i>Unternehmerverbände Niedersachsen e.V.</i> <i>Niedersachsenmetall</i>	<p>“Die haben nämlich inzwischen festgestellt, dass die Abiturientinnen und Abiturienten ihrer Einschätzung nach zu wenig reif waren, es gab dann die Situation, dass dann eben Eltern mit ihren Kindern zur Universität fahren mussten, um sich dort einzuschreiben, weil die noch nicht 18 waren. [...] Es hat sich dann auf der einen Seite, einfach im beruflichen Bereich und im Bereich des Studiums, im universitären Bereich, bemerkbar gemacht, dass die Erwartungen nicht erfüllt wurden, dass man nicht plötzlich genauso reife und genauso abgeklärte und genauso studienwillige und -fähige Studentinnen und Studenten vor sich hatte wie vorher.“ (Appendix B)</p>	<p>Abitur graduates not mature enough to start a vocational training or enrol at university</p>

Hesse			
	Representation	Perception	Coding
Teachers	<i>Hessischer Philologenverband</i>	<p>“Bei der Verkürzung der Gymnasialzeit auf acht Jahre haben wir die Landesregierung nicht unterstützt“, sagte der hessische Verbandsvorsitzende Knud Dittmann, der die Schulpolitik unter Koch ansonsten lobt. G8 – wie die achtjährige Gymnasialzeit in der Fachsprache heißt – allerdings für eine ‚klare Fehlentscheidung‘. Bildung würde reduziert und das Abitur verliere an Qualität. Zudem stünden die Schüler vor einer ‚enormen Belastung‘, findet Dittmann, der sich von den Eltern unterstützt sieht. [...] ‚Dabei scheint es Probleme zu geben‘, sagte Schwab hinsichtlich des propagierten Ziels das Abitur in kürzester Zeit ohne Qualitätsverlust erreichen zu können. ‚Es bleibt weniger Zeit zum Üben und Wiederholen‘, sagt er.“ (Kister, 2007).</p>	<p>Introduction of G8 reform a clear mistake / quantity of education reduced/ Abitur lost its qualitative value / expectation that students could attain the Abitur in a shorter time frame and without loss in quality not met / students with less time to learn and revise</p>
	<i>Gewerkschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW)</i>	<p>“Wir sind überzeugt von einer sechsjährigen Mittelstufe“, sagte Birgit Koch, Vize-Landeschein [sic!] der Lehrgewerkschaft GEW. Selbst wenn Lehrer in ihren Schulen G8 umgesetzt haben – in ihren Verbänden fordern sie einhellig nicht Wahlfreiheit, sondern eine flächendeckende Rückkehr zu G9.“ (Gießener Allgemeine, 2012)</p>	<p>Demand for comprehensive reversion to G9 model</p>
School principals	-	-	-
Parents	-	<p>“Von großer Bedeutung für die Abkehr vom G8-Gymnasium sind die vor allem von Elternseite zu vernehmende Kritik über ein zu großes, die Schülerinnen und Schüler zu stark beanspruchendes, Stoffpensum in der Mittelstufe, das ihnen durch höhere Wochenstundenzahlen kaum noch Freiräume für außerschulische Aktivitäten offenlasse.“ (Appendix B).</p>	<p>Workload of students in intermediate level quite burdensome / less time for students to engage in free-time activities</p>

	<i>Landeselternbeirat</i>	<p>„Nachdem sehr schnellen Eintreten der von uns prognostizierten Probleme, wurde erst aufgrund langanhaltender und massiver Beschwerden seitens der Eltern, der Lehrer und des Landeselternbeirates eine Arbeitsgruppe im Hessischen Kultusministerium gebildet. [...] Durch diesen heiß gestrickten Erlass wird aus Sicht des Landeselternbeirates das Problem zum wiederholten Male an die Schulen zurück verwiesen. Es besteht aufgrund der durch die Zuweisungen des Hessischen Kultusministeriums verursachten Mängel in der personellen, sächlichen und räumlichen Ausstattung an allen hessischen Gymnasien kaum die Möglichkeit, substanzielle pädagogische Konzepte für G8 gemeinschaftlich mit Lehrern, Schülern und Eltern an unseren Schulen zu erarbeiten. [...] Hessens Eltern fordern daher eindringlich, endlich zu den Ursachen des G8-Problems zu kommen und in gemeinsamer Anstrengung aller Beteiligten Erfolg versprechende Grundlagen für die langfristige Lösung der Probleme unserer Kinder zu legen.“ (Landeselternbeirat von Hessen, 2007)</p>	Predicted problems with regard to G8 introduction, which have been fulfilled / failure with regard to policy implementation / G8 as a problem
Students	<i>Landeschülervertretung</i>	<p>“Die Landeschülervertretung hat sich eindeutig positioniert: Zurück zu G9. Der Landeschülersprecher Laurien Simon Wüst zeigte aber in Wiesbaden Verständnis dafür, dass viele Schulen nach der Umstellung auf G8 keine Kraft mehr für eine Reform der Reform hätten.“ (Gießener Allgemeine, 2012)</p>	Demand for comprehensive reversion to G9 model / acknowledgement that schools lack the strength for ‘a reform of the reform’
Hamburg			
	Representation	Perception	Coding
Teachers	<i>Deutscher Philologenverband Hamburg</i>	<p>“Der Wunsch nach einer längeren Gymnasialzeit in Hamburg ist unüberhörbar. [...] Andererseits ist anzunehmen, dass die Einführung von G9 nicht zur Verbesserung der</p>	Another change of the school system would neither benefit the quality of the <i>Gymnasium</i>

		Leistungsfähigkeit des Gymnasiums und zum Niveauerhalt des Abiturs aber zum Anstieg der Anmeldezahlen führen wird. [...] Eine fortgeführte Schulstrukturdebatte nützt der Qualität des Gymnasiums und des Abiturs nicht.“ (Deutscher Philologenverband, n.d.)	nor the quality of the Abitur.
	<i>Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft Hamburg (GEW)</i>	„Inzwischen ist vielen klar, dass das vermeintliche Erfolgsmodell ein Bluff war, der zu massiven Belastungen der Schülerinnen und Schüler und ihrer Familien geführt hat. Freizeit kommt zu kurz, außerschulische Aktivitäten finden kaum noch statt, die GymnasiastInnen haben Arbeitswochen, die weit über die Regelarbeitszeiten von ArbeitnehmerInnen hinausgehen“, kommentiert Klaus Bullan, Vorsitzender der GEW. [...] Die Angst vieler Familien um die Zukunft ihrer Kinder führt dazu, dass immer mehr in immer kürzerer Zeit gelernt werden muss – eine fatale Entwicklung auch für die Gesundheit der jungen Menschen und das Lernen in unserer Gesellschaft, das Suchbewegungen, Umwege und Fehler für die Entwicklung dringend benötigt.“ (GEW Hamburg, 2013)	‘Alleged success model‘ has been a ‘bluff’ / huge burdens on students and their families / less time for free-time activities / workload that exceeds regular working time of employees / ‘fatal development’ / negative impact on the health of young people and the learning in German society
	<i>Lehrerkammer</i>	„Ein Eingriff in die Schulstruktur Hamburgs bedarf gründlicher Überlegungen. Dies braucht Zeit. Genau diese Zeit gewährt der Antrag der Initiative nicht. Die Lehrerkammer lehnt deshalb jegliche überstürzte Einführung von G9 ab.“ (Lehrerkammer Hamburg, 2014)	Opposition to hastily introduction of G9
School principals	<i>Vereinigung der Leitungen Hamburger Gymnasien und Studienseminare (VLHGS)</i>	„Es gibt in Hamburg, anders als in anderen Bundesländern, mit der Stadtteilschule bereits eine profilierte Schulform, die das Abitur in neun Jahren anbietet“, heißt es in einer Erklärung der Vereinigung der Leitungen Hamburger Gymnasien und Studienseminare (VLHGS). Schüler und Eltern könnten sowohl am Ende der Grundschul-	Already a possibility to attain the Abitur after nine years at the <i>Stadtteilschule</i> / G8 has proved itself

	<p>zeit als auch am Ende der zehnten Klasse entscheiden, ob sie ein Lernjahr mehr bis zum Abitur als am Gymnasium benötigen. „G8 am Gymnasium hat sich bewährt“, schreiben die Schulleiter.“ (Hamburger Abendblatt, 2018)</p>	
	<p>„Die vergangenen Jahre haben gezeigt, dass das 8jährige Gymnasium von der großen Mehrheit der Schülerinnen und Schüler und deren Eltern akzeptiert wird und, belegt durch die in den Lernstandserhebungen ausgewiesenen Ergebnisse, als für diese Schülerschaft als leistbar angesehen werden muss. Das liegt sicher auch an den strukturellen und inhaltlichen Verbesserungen an den Gymnasien (z.B. Anpassung der Bildungspläne, sinnvolle Rhythmisierung, Reduzierung der Hausaufgabenvielfalt, verlässlicher Mittagstisch und Ganztagsangebote).“ (Hencke et al., 2013)</p>	<p>Eight-year track <i>Gymnasium</i> accepted by vast majority of students and their parents / structural and content-related improvements of the curricula and whole-day offers</p>
<p><i>Verband Hamburger Schulleitungen (VHS)</i></p>	<p>„‘Bildung braucht Zeit‘ – wer würde das verneinen? Unter diesem Motto will die Elterninitiative ‚G9-Jetzt-HH‘ vom 18. September bis zum 8. Oktober 63000 Stimmen für die Wiedereinführung des 9jährigen Gymnasiums in Hamburg sammeln. Es geht also nicht mehr um mehr Zeit oder mehr Bildung für alle, sondern um ein zusätzliches Jahr an Gymnasien. Wozu? Die Zahl der Hamburger Abiturienten ist in den letzten Jahren auf über 50% gestiegen, das Notenniveau hat sich trotz Schulzeitverkürzung eher verbessert. Die Gymnasialschüler/innen wollen die Rückkehr zu G9 nicht, wie die Abstimmungsergebnisse auf den Schülervollversammlungen gezeigt haben. Das 8jährige Gymnasium scheint für die allermeisten seiner Absolventen gut zu sein.“ (Verband Hamburger Schulleitungen, 2014)</p>	<p>Number of Abitur graduates increased by 50 percent in the last few years / grade level has improved despite shortening of school time / approval for G8 from its graduates</p>

Parents	<i>Elternkammer</i>	<p>“Hierzu halten wir fest, dass sich grundsätzlich sowohl das achtjährige als auch das neunjährige Abitur bewährt haben. Es ist dringend notwendig darauf hinzuweisen, dass seit der Schulreform 2009 heute in Hamburg bereits beide Bildungswege (Abitur nach 8 und nach 9 Jahren Sekundarschule) meist wohnortnah beschritten werden können. Dies ist in Hamburg eine andere Situation als in ländlich strukturierten Bundesländern wie Niedersachsen oder Schleswig-Holstein, wo die wohnortnahe Auswahl an weiterführende Schulen eingeschränkt ist. [...] Mit der Einführung von G8 hat Hamburg im Jahre 2003 die damals lang diskutierte Anhebung des Leistungsstandards beim Abitur vollzogen. [...] Wir stellen fest, dass trotz dieser Stundenausweitung und damit der teilweisen Leistungsverdichtung für die Schüler das Gymnasium weiter an Attraktivität gewonnen hat. Diverse Studien [Vieluf 2013, Universität Duisburg-Essen 2014] sowie die vergleichbaren Ergebnisse des Doppeljahrgangs G8 und G9 (in HH im Jahr 2010) belegen, dass die Qualität des Abiturs durch G8 in Hamburg nicht gelitten hat. Vor diesem Hintergrund halten wir als Elternkammer die zeitgleiche, erfolgreiche Steigerung der Abiturientenzahlen für einen großen Erfolg der Bildungspolitik. [...] Viele Schüler kommen mit dem Lerntempo des achtjährigen Gymnasiums gut zurecht und haben Zeit für den Sportverein, das Musikinstrument und das schulische Orchester. [...] Eine fehlende Rhythmisierung sowie eine schlechte Abstimmung von Klausuren, Referaten und Hausarbeiten zwischen den Fachlehrern einer Jahrgangsstufe ist mittlerweile 10 Jahre nach der Einführung des G8 nicht mehr akzeptabel.“ (Elternkammer Hamburg, 2014)</p>	<p>Both eight-year track as well as nine-year track Abitur have proven themselves / access to both ways of attaining the Abitur located nearby in Hamburg / increased educational performance standard / increased attractiveness of the <i>Gymnasium</i> / quality of the Abitur did not suffer / simultaneous and successful increase of number of Abitur graduates as great success of the educational policy / many students cope with learning speed of eight-year track <i>Gymnasium</i> / several deficiencies in the organisation of schools and consultations between teaching staff regarding exams, presentations and homework</p>
---------	---------------------	---	---

Students	<i>Schülerkammer</i>	<p>“Der Landesvorstand der ‚schülerInnenkammer hamburg (skh)‘ hat sich mit dem Anliegen der Volksinitiative beschäftigt und sieht, trotz der generellen Befürwortung einer dreizehn-jährigen Schulzeit, viele Probleme bei einer möglichen Umsetzung, insbesondere in Anbetracht des zehnjährigen Schulfriedens, den wir gerne gewahrt sehen würden. Dies vorausgeschickt beantragen wir: Dass sich das Plenum der ‚schülerInnenkammer hamburg (skh)‘ gegen eine Zusammenarbeit mit der Initiative ‚G9-Jetzt-HH‘ und gegen die von der Initiative verfolgten Ziele ausspricht. Zum Schutz Hamburger SchülerInnen vor einem erneuten ‚Schulchaos‘ und für die Wahlmöglichkeit zwischen zwei echten Alternativen, nämlich der der Stadtteilschule und der des Gymnasiums, möchten wir verhindern, dass Schulen mit der Umsetzung von beiden Modellen überfordert werden.“ (Schülerkammer Hamburg, n.d.)</p>	<p>General support of 13-year school time / support of the <i>Schulfrieden</i> / opposition to ‘G9-Jetzt-HH’ initiative and its aims</p>
----------	----------------------	---	--