

Education for conformism? Civic education, pedagogic state and democracy in the Netherlands, 1945- present



Dr. Wim de Jong

Séminaire HISTOIRE SCOLAIRE ET
ÉDUCATION À LA CITOYENNETÉ
EN EUROPE: QUELLES
ARTICULATIONS?



UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTER



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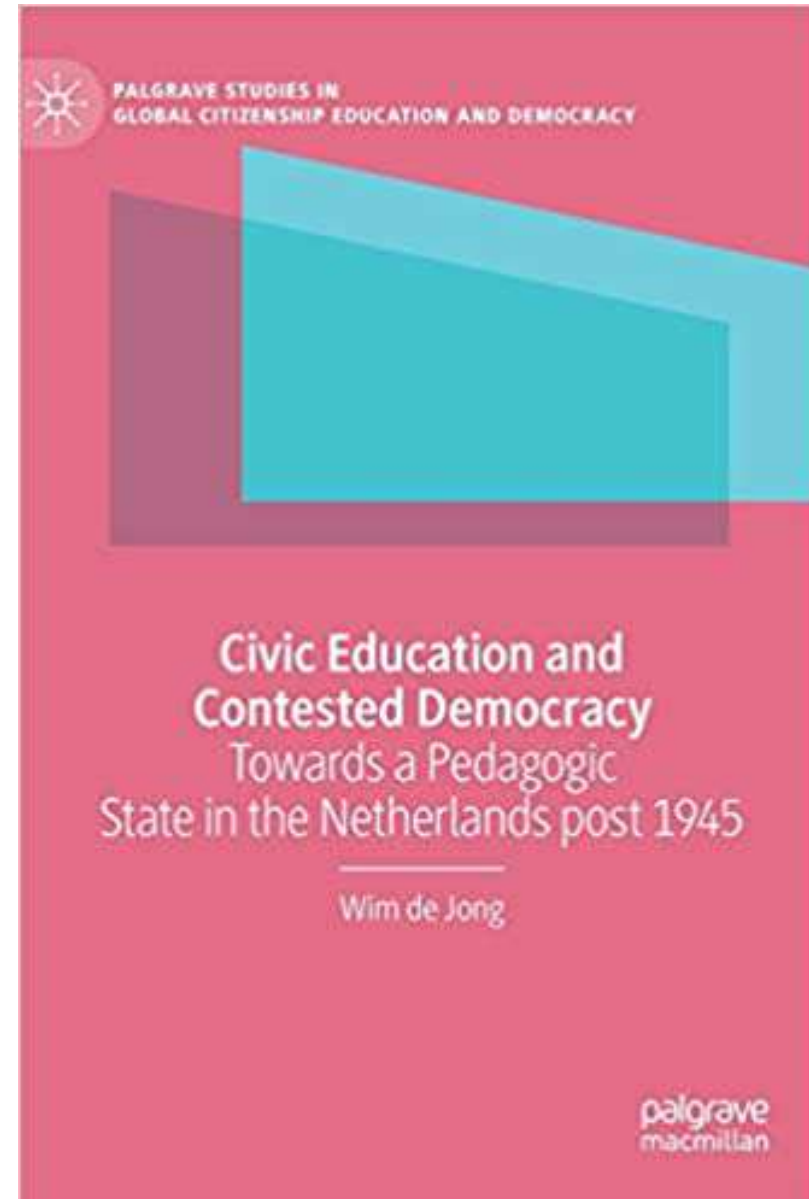
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Structure of the presentation

Introduction

Reconstruction phase: staatsburgerlijke vorming (1945-1960)

Reform in the 1960s: sociale vorming (1960-1968)

Contestation and radical education: politieke vorming (1968-1985)

The return of 'citizenship': Burgerschapsvorming (1985-2020) and the rise of the pedagogic state

Conclusion

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Introduction: Democracy contested

procedure, but also a vision of the good life
essentially contested concept (Gallie, 1956)

the paradox of paternalism: Who, with what
right, tells what to whom about democracy?



Political theorist Walter Gallie (1912-1998)

QUIS
CUSTODIET
IPSOS
CUSTODES

WHO
WILL
GUARD
THE
GUARDS

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. Reconstruction phase: (staatsburgerlijke vorming 1945-1960)



Citizen day, Utrecht 1949

- Sense of external and internal threat and uncertainty
- rhetoric of crisis
- Political education in youth movements and *citizen days*
- Insistence on rights and duties: democracy as cooperation



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Reconstruction phase: staatsburgerlijke vorming (1945-1960)

narrative of crisis
'national' community versus group
diversity
Fear of 'state pedagogics' and
indoctrination
Strong cultural policy blocked



Gerard van der Leeuw, Minister of
Education, 1945-1946



Transnational usage of 'st
citizen'

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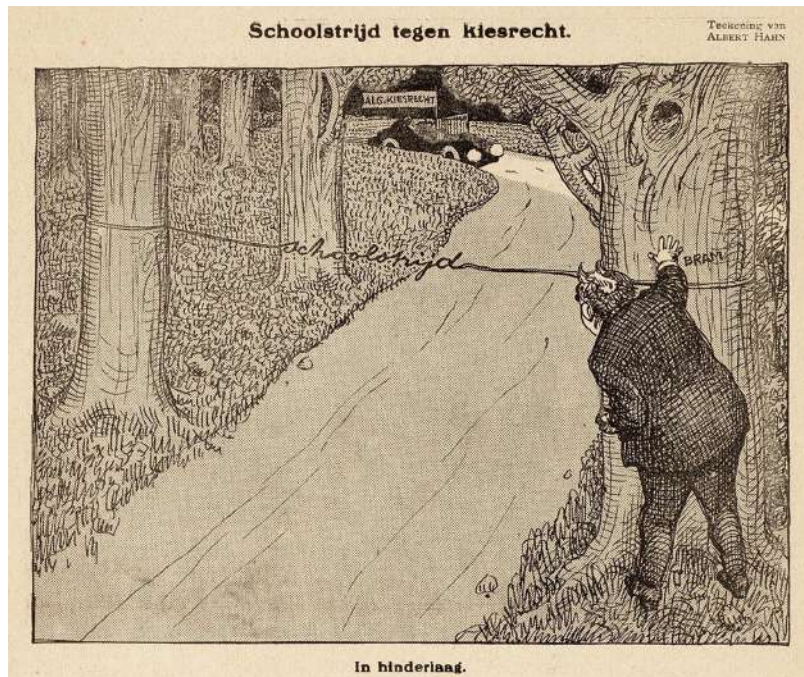
Reconstruction phase: staatsburgerlijke vorming (1945-1960)

the Dutch system of freedom of
education

the 19th century 'school struggle'

the 'pacification' of 1918: universal
suffrage and state-subsidized religious
schools

secularisation



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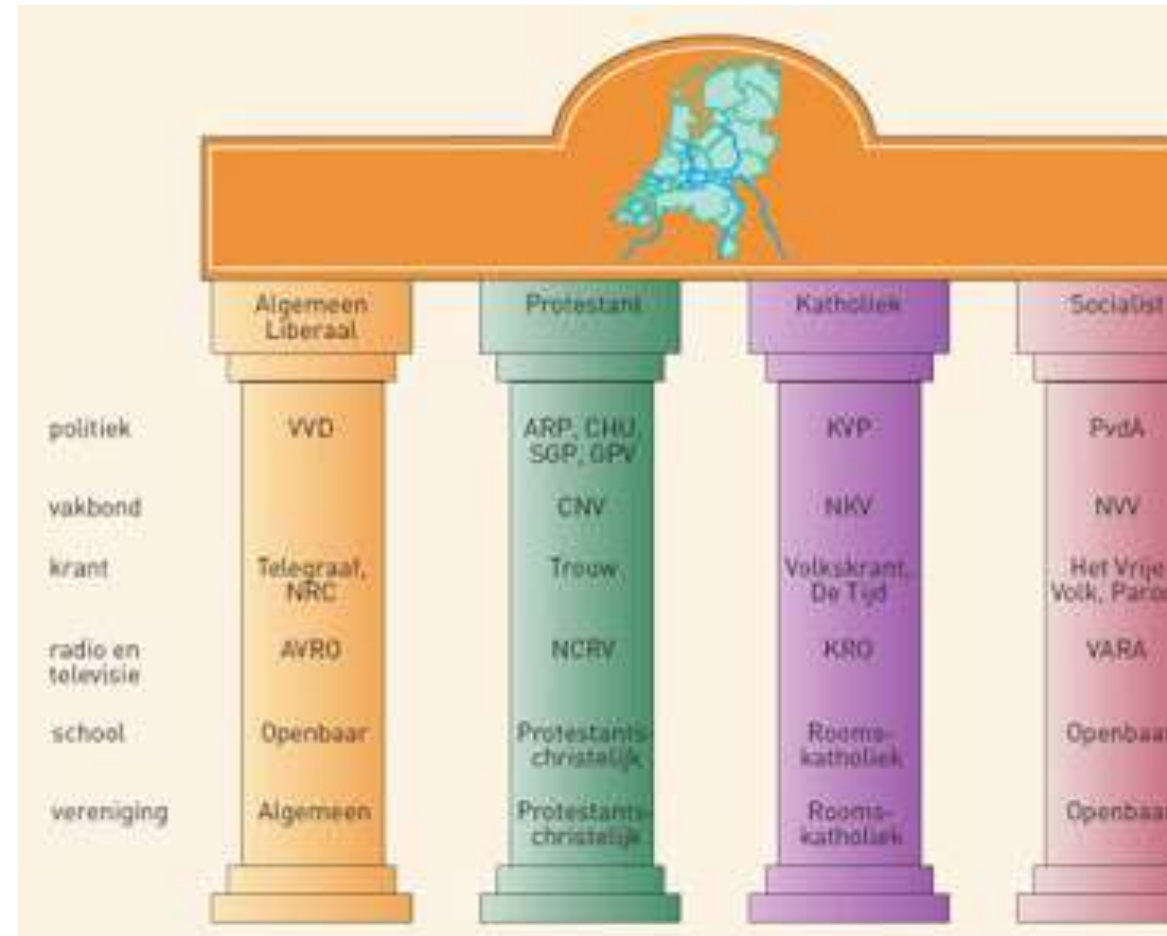
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pillarisation



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Reform in the 1960s: sociale vorming (1960-1966)

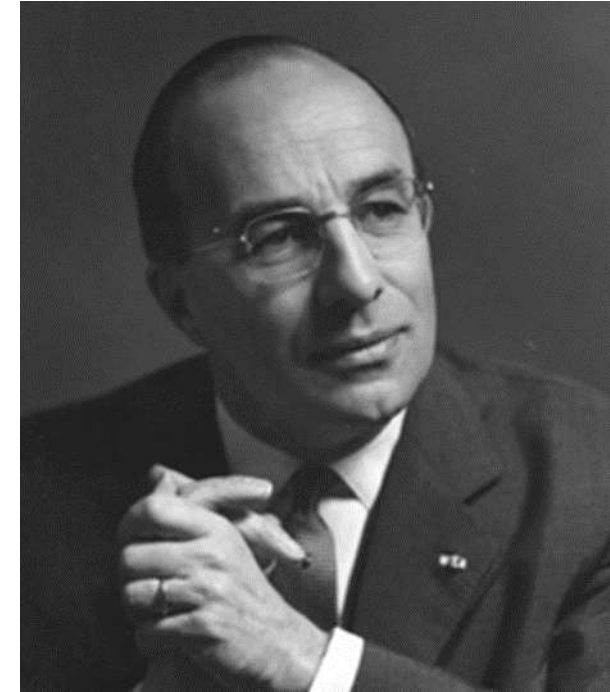
From wealth to well-being

Crisis narrative about complexity and
technocracy: citizens well-meaning but
alienated.

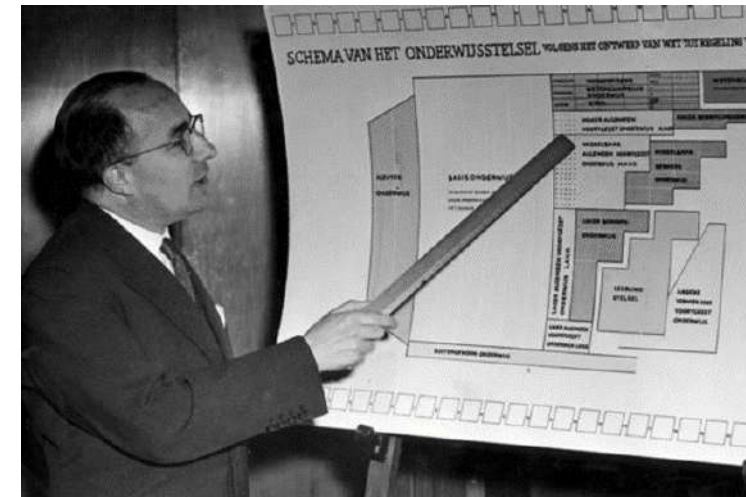
Growing demand for political information
and education

Discourse of crisis brings about
modernization

Civic education introduced in schools, but
rather vague



Catholic Minister of Education Jo Cals



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Contestation and radical education: politieke vorming (1966-1985)

The 'long seventies': a time of deep
transformations in Dutch society
More open and transparent political
culture
Protest movements and student
occupations
'depillarisation'



Occupying Amsterdam University
1969



*First press conference PM Piet de
1968*

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Protesting the Vietnam War, 1968



Destruction of a Breda Church, 1971

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Contestation and radical education: politieke vorming (1966-1985)

The turn to *politieke vorming*

Emancipation and consciousness-raising:
'decolonizing citizens'

Generous aid for political education and
community work

Crisis at end of seventies:

- proving real demand
- polarization over education and welfare
- The paradox of raising consciousness



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The return of 'citizenship': burgerschapsvorming (1985-2020)



- A new paternalism: neoliberal and conservative
- Critique of permissive society
- Culture of risk prevention and 'responsibilizing' citizens
- Resurfacing of 'citizenship': *burgerzin* and *burgerschapsvorming*

Education on Vandalism in public space



Report on petty crime presented to Minister of J

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The return of 'citizenship': Burgerschapsvorming (1985-2020)



Prime minister J.P. Balkenende
(2002-2010): Norms and values



- Hausse of 'civic education' after 2000
- Populism and 'national identity'
- National Institute
- Conformist streak: citizen as source of risks

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The return of 'citizenship': burgerschapsvorming (1985-2020)

Law Strengthening Citizenship Education (2020):

- Focused on embarrassment with integration minorities?
- Way too firm or still pretty lame?



*Arie Slob
(Christenunie):
Minister of
Education*



*Paul Blokhuis (Christenunie): National
Prevention Deal 'not patronizing'*



*Paul Blokhuis: National Prevention Deal
geen betutteling*

The controversial Islamic Cornelius Hage Lyceum

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Conclusion: the pedagogic state

State ever more active in citizenship education
Seeming consensus, but contestedness under surface: struggle to
make more concrete and address controversy
Civic education has conformist motivation
Paradox of paternalism seems inescapable



We are no toddlers...

The antimoralistic moralism of
prime-minister Mark Rutte
(2010-present)