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

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Séminaire HISTOIRE SCOLAIRE ET ÉDUCATION À LA CITOYENNETÉ EN EUROPE: QUELLES ARTICULATIONS?
Education for conformism?
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Introduction: Democracy contested

Democracy contested – a 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?

Quis custodiet ipsos custodes

Who will guard the guards

Political theorist Walter Gallie (1912-1998)
Reconstruction phase: staatsburgerlijke vorming (1945-1960)

- 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

Citizen day, Utrecht 1949
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
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
- Pillarisation
Reconstruction phase: staatburgerlijke vorming (1945-1960)

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- The 19th century ‘school struggle’
- The ‘pacification’ of 1918: universal suffrage and state-subsidized religious schools
- Pillarisation
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

The ‘long seventies’: a time of deep transformations in Dutch society
More open and transparent political culture
Protest movements and student occupations
‘depillarisation’
Contestation and radical education: politieke vorming (1966-1985)

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

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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
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
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: Nationaal Preventieakkoord geen betuiging

The controversial Islamic Cornelius Hage Lyceum
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)