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Political education

The science of democratic citizenship education in the Netherlands and the United States (1920-2020)

PhD Dissertation, University of Groningen

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on the authority of the
Rector Magnificus Prof. J.M.A. Scherpen
and in accordance with
the decision by the College of Deans.

This thesis will be defended in public on

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Voor Sanne

Op naar onze volgende avonturen

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Introduction

I. INTRODUCTION

The recent rise of 'evidence-based' democratic citizenship education in international educational research and policy raises questions about democratic citizenship as an educational goal and the role of the educational sciences in educational policy and curriculum making. To better understand and evaluate the current entanglement of educational science and policy making on democratic citizenship education this dissertation provides a historical and comparative perspective. It investigates how democratic citizenship education has been studied scientifically, in interaction with policy and practice, in the United States of America and the Netherlands over the last hundred years.

Influenced by both educational and societal developments citizenship education in schools has received growing scholarly and political attention since the early 1990s (Arthur, Davies & Hahn 2008; Castro & Knowles 2017; Kymlicka & Norman 1994; Parker 2014). In recent years, this attention has led to formulation of stricter educational policy, the development of national guidelines or curricula and standardized assessment of citizenship education in many countries (Eurydice 2017; Malak-Minkiewicz & Torney-Purta 2021). The development from scholarly attention to specific and binding educational policy makes some of the theoretical tensions of democratic citizenship education acute. For what counts as 'democratic citizenship'? How should key values like freedom, equality and solidarity be operationalized in educational settings? At which level should this be done (the state, the community, the school, the classroom?) and who has the democratic authority to decide on this (experts, politicians, teachers, parents, pupils)? Once debate about democratic citizenship moves beyond good intentions and abstract ideas, it becomes a site for political, scholarly and educational contestation.

In line with broader developments in education and educational scholarship towards standardization, quantification and quality control, democratic citizenship education has increasingly been defined in terms of univocal, universal and measurable educational outcomes (Biesta 2011; Joris, Simons & Agirdag 2021). One framework in particular has become the global standard: the International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) (Schulz et al. 2010; Schulz et al. 2017; Schulz et al. 2022). Their Assessment Framework measures how effective national educational systems are in the transmission of an 'objective' set of civic knowledge, citizenship skills and democratic attitudes, which are in turn operationalized in terms of standardized tests and questionnaires (Schulz et al. 2022, 23). Next to providing comparative data on practices and outcomes of citizenship education in countries from all over the world, their definitions and operationalizations have become standard points of reference for policy and curriculum makers in many countries. Furthermore, as the organization mentions in a retrospective publication on the influence of the ICCS studies conducted since 1971, the lines between policy making and scientific research on democratic citizenship education have become increasingly

blurred: "In many situations researchers become part of this process by assisting in the interpretation of findings and placing them in the context of educational goals. This is especially true when attitudes and civic participation as well as civic knowledge are a focus" (Schulz et al. 2022, XI). Democratic citizenship is such a complicated educational goal, in other words, that national policy makers have to rely on this group of educational scientists to formulate learning goals and determine who will teach what kind of citizenship where, when and how.

In the publications of the ICCS, but also in (inter)national policy documents and a large part of the scientific publications on citizenship education that build on their studies, it appears as a matter of course that democratic citizenship is operationalized in univocal, measurable educational goals by a group of educational scientists (Joris, Simons & Agirdag 2021; Van Rees 2021). But how obvious is it that democratic citizenship should have the same meaning in South-Korea, Finland and Peru, to mention just three of the participating countries? And how obvious is it that democratic citizenship should have structurally similar educational goals as reading, writing and mathematics, with internationally established levels of competence (Jerome 2008)? Isn't a plurality of views and a continuous debate on the meaning of central values like freedom, equality and solidarity part of what makes democracy function (Van der Ploeg 2015)? These are not just questions at the international level. Within individual countries, it is also not obvious that democratic citizenship education should be prescribed in national policy and curricula, nor evaluated in terms of uniform frameworks of measurement developed by educational scientists.

Even if the widely expressed wish to promote democratic citizenship in schools is understandable (for instance because of the growing complexity of globalizing and multicultural societies, processes of political polarization, diminishing trust in institutions, or the disappearance of other socializing institutions), the specific form democratic citizenship education takes can be questioned. The current role of a specific form of educational science in designing, evaluating and regulating education for such a contested goal as democratic citizenship, the consequential entanglement of political and scientific power and the specific form of citizenship education that results could all be considered problematic (Guérin 2017; Van der Ploeg 2020; Zuurmond & Van der Ploeg 2023). Besides critiques of the specific content of the currently dominant framework (as formulated by others, who claim that it reinforces dominant political views, the status quo or unequal power structures, at the expense of more critical or transformative forms of citizenship education (Abowitz & Harnish 2008; Biesta & Lawy 2006; De Groot, Daas & Nieuwelink 2022; Stitzlein 2012; Zembylas & Keet 2018; Zuurmond et al. 2023)), it is the *structure* of democratic citizenship as an 'objective', scientifically defined, prescribed and monitored educational goal that requires critical attention (Merry 2020; Van Rees 2021).

Since the rise of a specific form of 'evidence-based' citizenship education and the entanglement of educational science and policy on citizenship education forms its background, this research builds on theoretical and historical research on the relation

between science and politics more broadly (Brown 2016). Rather than a positivist approach (evaluating which scientific view is correct), this historical study uses discourse analysis and the sociology of science to investigate how democratic citizenship, education and educational science were defined by competing groups of educational scientists and how different views became dominant in two countries over time. Rather than providing a history of the ICCS itself (Damiani, Losito & Sanzo 2018), this dissertation places the rise of 'evidence-based' citizenship education in broader developments in education and the educational sciences (Tröhler 2023).

Somewhere in the most recent ICCS Assessment Framework, there is mention of "a long tradition in academic work on educational policy and practice to highlight the importance of education for instilling democratic values" (Schulz et al. 2022, 14). But besides one reference to John Dewey's *Democracy and Education* (1916) this long tradition is not explored there, nor in any other ICCS report. In fact, the rich history of scholarly reflection on democracy, education and the role of the educational sciences in policy and curriculum making in democracies appears lost in current debates on democratic citizenship education.

This dissertation partly fills that omission, at least for two exemplary countries. In order to better understand and evaluate the current global situation regarding democratic citizenship education in schools, this dissertation places it in a historical and comparative perspective. It investigates how democratic citizenship education has been studied scientifically, in interaction with policy and practice, in the United States of America and the Netherlands over the last hundred years. Scientific reflection on democracy and education has a long and rich history in both countries that can reveal how the current approach to citizenship education became dominant. Furthermore, such historical and comparative research can reveal structural patterns in the interaction between the science, policy and practice of citizenship education. Moreover, it can provide alternative views that could enrich the ongoing conversation on democratic citizenship education in schools.

The Unites States and the Netherlands are especially informative cases, since both have an educational system build around a *democratic aversion* towards national curricula, specifically where value laden educational goals are at stake. The Dutch Freedom of Education (the constitutional right to found and receive full government funding for denominational schools) and the American principle of local control form interesting contexts to study interactions between scientific reasoning, political debate and educational curriculum making. Particularly in these contexts, the eventual rise of standardized citizenship education is remarkable. Political developments (the introduction of general suffrage), educational developments (growing tasks and reach of educational systems) and scientific developments (the establishment of academic institutes for the study of Education) in both countries make the period around the First World War a good starting point for research on the scientific study of democratic citizenship education in schools.

The dissertation consists of two parts and four chapters, that each present separate but related research projects. In part I, the two chapters are devoted to developments in

the educational sciences and in part II, the two chapters look at textbooks as mediators between educational policy, science and practice. Chapter one analyzes the interaction between different theories and practices of democratic education at three experimental and demonstration schools of Teachers College, New York during the Interbellum. Chapter two presents an analysis of the scientific debate on democracy and education in a leading scientific educational journal in the Netherlands since 1920. Chapter three investigates how American Civics textbooks since 1945 have given specific educational form to changing national ideas on citizenship education. And chapter four presents a similar analysis of Dutch Maatschappijleer textbooks since 1963.

Together, these chapters provide an answer to the main research question: *How has democratic citizenship education been studied scientifically, in interaction with educational policy and practice, in the United States of America and the Netherlands over the last hundred years*? In the concluding chapter, the results of the different studies will be compared historically and structurally and related to the current debate on democratic citizenship education.

II. CONCEPTS

A historical research project that seeks to identify and compare different conceptions of (the science of) democratic citizenship education cannot set out by providing a comprehensive definition of either one of these terms. Such as project sets out from the premise that any kind of education (including intellectual, moral, religious, political, social and emotional) in any part of the curriculum (from social studies to mathematics, natural science and languages) can be considered democratic citizenship education once its aims are described by the historical actors themselves as preparing pupils for democratic life. Given the specific focus on the interaction between the science, policy and practice of citizenship education, however, this dissertation is limited to theories and practices of *democratically neutral citizenship education in schools*.

Recent scholarly and political attention for citizenship education has led to an impressive body of academic literature over the last decades. A quick glance at the table of contents of the available handbooks reveals the complex nature of citizenship education, as these include chapters on economic, social, political, global, religious, environmental and sexual citizenship education (Arthur, Davies & Hahn 2008; Culp, Drerup & Yacek 2023; Davies et al. 2018; Isin & Turner 2002; Peterson, Stahl & Soong 2020). This list could be expanded by a simple literature search for 'citizenship education', but the point is clear: every aspect of (social) life seems to have a citizenship dimension to it, that could (and according to most of the authors publishing on the respective forms of citizenship *should*) be cultivated in schools. While all of these different forms of citizenship are worthy objects of academic study, this dissertation focuses on the scientific debate on the development

of *democratic citizenship in schools*. This is in line with current policy debates and the particular predicament that arises when citizenship education becomes the object of educational policy in democracies described above.

While the focus on the school context does provide some boundaries, other forms of citizenship education are still considered relevant for this study, but only to the extent that they are related to democratic citizenship education in schools. The development of democratic citizenship in other domains (the family, the neighborhood, social organizations or church for instance) is relevant in that it has a place in discussions on the democratic task and position of schools. Given the fact that citizenship education takes place in all kinds of domains, the question of the respective pedagogic tasks and authorities of these domains is part of the scientific and political debate on citizenship education in schools.

Secondly, the focus on *democratic* citizenship excludes theories and practices of non-democratic citizenship education (for instance those of dictatorial, militaristic, theocratic or totalitarian regimes). But once again this does not mean that these non-democratic forms of citizenship education are irrelevant for the study. Just as citizenship education in schools is constantly placed within a wider field of domains where citizenship education takes place, the meaning of *democratic* citizenship education depends on its relation to other forms of citizenship education. Quite often, definitions of democratic citizenship education explicitly refer to their non-democratic other.

Thirdly, within the setting of democratic citizenship education, this study is further limited to those forms that strove for *democratic neutrality*, that is: democratic citizenship education intended for all pupils. This means that educational theories and practices that prepared pupils for their roles within particularistic groups (for instance religious or political, such as specifically Catholic or Social-Democratic citizenship education) are excluded. Again, this does not mean that these group memberships are ignored, for they too had to be negotiated in 'neutral' democratic citizenship education. The reason for this limitation lies in the connection between democratic neutrality and scientific objectivity in the currently dominant approach to citizenship education that forms the background of the study. It also determined the selection of case studies in the two countries, which all concern nationally influential actors that strove for democratic neutrality in citizenship education and connected this neutrality with specific forms of scientific objectivity.

Three concepts are central to this dissertation: democratic citizenship, education and science. This research starts from the observation that although there is a broad *consensus* on these three concepts on an abstract level, they are *contested* once they have to be specified in scientific, policy and educational contexts (Van der Ploeg 2020). This has consequences for how the science of democratic citizenship education should be studied historically.

Based on a comparison between different political theories, Eidhof et al. (2016) propose a distinction between consensus and contested democratic citizenship education goals. Next to a shared appreciation for democratic institutions (such as some form of political representation, the rule of law, the separation of powers, and procedures for the peaceful

transfer of power), they claim that there is also consensus on "certain values and norms to be shared among citizens". They specify "tolerance of diversity", "support for equal rights for all fellow citizens", a nonviolent manner "to resolve conflicts in personal, public and political affairs", and the importance of civic engagement in the form of volunteering (Eidhof et al. 2016, 3). All political theories seem to agree that democracy implies a reverence for three fundamental values: freedom, equality and solidarity.

Regarding education and science, it is also possible to formulate definitions that are broadly accepted. Education, at least formal education, can be described as an intentional, organized intervention in a designated setting to help pupils develop cognitively, socially and personally, guided by professionals (Biesta 2020). Science can be seen as a structured attempt to develop knowledge that reaches some form of objectivity, meaning that its validity exceeds the immediate situation in which it was developed, including the subjectivity of the persons who formulated it (Daston & Galison 2017).

While it is clear that these general descriptions give some guidance when it comes to democratic citizenship education and the related educational research, they remain very abstract. The concepts become more problematic once they have to be specified: *what kind* of citizenship should be developed in school, by means of *what kind* of education, and guided by *what kind* of scientific knowledge?

In the literature on citizenship education, the contested nature of the concept is often addressed. In their study of contemporary discourses on citizenship education, Knight Abowitz and Harnish distinguish between liberal, republican, critical and transnational citizenship (Knight Abowitz & Harnish 2006). These discourses are rooted in longstanding traditions in political philosophy, debating the meaning of democracy (Kymlicka & Norman 1994; Kymlicka 2002; Frazer 2008). In yet another overview, Westheimer and Kahne identify three ideal type conceptions of 'the good citizen': the personally responsible citizen, the participatory citizen and the justice oriented citizen. Each ideal type corresponds with a view on democracy and leads to specific and distinct educational programs (Westheimer & Kahne 2004a; 2004b). Even if the school is perceived as the legitimate and effective domain for democratic citizenship education, it is still up for debate what kind of citizen should be educated there. The broad consensus on democracy and democratic citizenship thus gives room to contestation and debate once democratic citizenship in schools has to be specified.

Regarding the science of citizenship education, a similar diversity of views and approaches exists. Different scientific disciplines claim to produce authoritative knowledge on democratic citizenship education, based on their own definitions and research practices (Veugelers 2021; Veugelers & De Groot 2019). There are people who approach citizenship education from the field of political science (Isin & Nielson 2008); sociology (Marshall 1950; Turner 1990); developmental psychology (Torney-Purta & Amadeo 2013); critical pedagogy (Freire 1968; Giroux 2005; Hedtke & Zimenkova 2013); philosophy (Crick 2004; Nussbaum 2006; Sandel 2020); moral education (Hand 2023); multiculturalism (Banks 2020; Kymlicka 2016); human rights (Osler & Starkey 2018); globalization studies (Peterson,

Stahl & Soong 2020); social studies education (Parker 2014; Hess 2009); and educational studies (Westheimer & Kahne 2004a; Biesta 2011). Again, this list is not exhaustive, and for each field numerous other authors could have been cited. Studying citizenship education in terms of educational psychology, sociology or philosophy might all be worthwhile, but each implies its own methods, concepts and types of results. Furthermore, the knowledge produced in these different approaches is not necessarily compatible and they imply their own kind of educational programs to promote democratic citizenship. This makes the science of citizenship education, in its relation to policy and practice, a site where different approaches interact and possibly enter into competition. As in the case of democratic citizenship, the broad consensus on the desirability of scientifically informed educational policy and practice gives rise to contestation and debate once it has to become more specific.

The currently dominant framework on citizenship education, exemplified by the ICCS, is rather positivistic: it assumes a clear distinction between science and politics. In order to elevate citizenship education beyond controversy and political strive, conceptual and factual clarity is to be provided by another social institute that is most directly associated with objectivity and neutrality: science. Precisely because citizenship education is such a value-laden topic, we should strive for as much scientific objectivity as possible, it is claimed (Dijkstra, Ten Dam & Waslander 2019; Schulz et al. 2022). Science would be the domain of neutral facts, that reaches objectivity and arrives at value-free judgments that could inform decision makers by employing *the* scientific method. However, in philosophy, history and sociology of science, this 'standard view of science' has been severely criticized, and other frameworks for understanding the relation between science, policy and practice have been proposed. In analyzing historical events and developments, this dissertation draws on two research traditions: the history, sociology and philosophy of science as exercised in Science and Technology Studies; and the historical analysis of political and educational concepts.

One of the most compelling insights from Science and Technology Studies, is the quite simple idea that 'science' is not a unity. Rather, science consists of different groups of people, working with different theoretical frameworks, employing different research methods, having different conceptions of (scientific) values and entertaining different ideas about the basic makeup of the specific part of reality that they study. Ludwik Fleck's 'thought collectives' (1935), Thomas Kuhn's 'paradigms' (1962), Michel Foucault's 'discourses' (1970), and Bruno Latour's 'actor-networks' (2005), to name some of the most well-known examples, are all ways of conceptualizing science as a collection of social practices. In the case of the educational sciences, this point is quite obvious: educational psychologists look for different things, work differently and establish different facts than educational sociologists, whose work is again very much unlike that of educational philosophers. Yet all present relevant facts and tested insights on the reality of what happens at schools.

There are of course more influential and less influential research programs, groups with stronger and weaker positions at the university, with more extensive or more limited networks and closer or looser ties with policy makers and funding agencies. This reveals

another element of science as a social practice: science is not apolitical, as the standard view suggests, but rather itself also organized in terms of dominance, power and politics (Brown 2015). What kind of scientific knowledge actually reaches the level of accepted fact is not just the function of the quality of research it results from, but also depends on the relative position of the research tradition and the scientific community in which it was developed.

A last informative insight from the history and sociology of science, is that even when scientific insights do gain dominance within science, they do not magically transform practice. The knowledge has to be disseminated, communicated, implemented, translated, which implies non-scientific actors at the level of policy and practice who need to be convinced and function as allies. Most of the time, 'implementation' is not a straightforward process and also involves proper interaction between science, policy and practice (Latour 1987, Porter 1995). How scientific knowledge is 'implemented' also depends on how it relates to other forms of knowledge and the amount and kind of trust the scientists involved enjoy. In education, this relation between 'theory' and 'practice' also involves the professional knowledge and autonomy of teachers and the agency of parents.

In the case of 'evidence-based' citizenship education' these three points mean that even though individual scientific studies on citizenship education might all be 'objective', 'rigorous', peer-reviewed and thus present certified valid knowledge, they do not necessarily agree amongst each other. Evidence has to be selected and translated into policy and practice. Whereas evidence-based education and policy seeks to answer the question 'what is effective citizenship education according to science', research on the actual workings of science suggests another question: how do specific groups of scientists gain the upper hand in specific scientific debates and convince educational policy makers and practice to accept their account of what is happening and what should be done? This in turn suggests a sociological and historical analysis of the interaction between educational science, policy and practice of citizenship education. While this might be an interesting approach for analyzing any kind of educational policy and research, democratic citizenship education in particular merits a critical analysis of the dynamics around it. For the key terms 'democracy', 'citizenship' and 'education' can all be seen as contested concepts, the meaning of which arouses fierce debate and changes over time.

According to some scholars, democracy is even an 'essentially contested concept', which means that the controversy over its meaning would itself be part of the very meaning of democracy. Should we find one stable definition of it that is accepted by all, some essential part of democracy itself would be lost (Gallie 1956). Without necessarily going so far as to declare it essentially contested, it does seem valid to claim that 'democracy' is in fact contested and that dominant ways of defining it change over time. Several historians have looked into how the dominant understandings of democracy or its constitutive values (freedom, equality and brotherhood/solidarity) have evolved over time. Political philosopher Pierre Rosanvallon has for instance studied diverse historical manifestations democracy in France, characterized (according to him) by a constant reconfiguration of its constituent

inner tensions (Rosanvallon 2019). Historian Eric Foner did a similar thing in his studies on the transformations of the term 'freedom' in American history, and recently, Dutch historian Remieg Aerts published his analyses of changing ideas on the national Dutch identity in history (Foner 1998; Aerts 2022). In his dissertation on the history of citizenship education in the Netherlands 1945-1990, historian Wim de Jong also employed the idea of different and competing repertoires of democracy striving for dominance (De Jong 2014; 2021). These scholars suggest that an empirical study of democracy and citizenship should not start out with a predetermined conception of both, but rather enquire how relevant historical actors have defined these contested terms.

A similar approach is in place for the other central terms: education and educational science. In the historiography of education and the educational sciences, a common metaphor is that of camps who struggle for dominance. The 'struggle metaphor' originates in Herbert Kiebard's classic study *The struggle for the American curriculum*, in which he identifies four prominent 'interest groups' with specific integrated views on education, society and educational science engaged in constant strive for dominance in educational discourse, policy and practice (Kliebard 2004). It was later used by historian Ron Evans in his history of the Social Studies, in which he adds some extra camps to the original four, but adopts the basic idea: the American curriculum was subject to constant conflict between distinct groups (Evans 2004). Even though some scholars criticize the idea of camps (as it limits the history of education to interactions between rather high level intellectual actors, and presumes that these historical actors actively united in political-party-like groups with coherent plans (Fallace 2017; Zimmerman 2002)), the basic idea that in scholarly and policy circles, some strategic organization of likeminded educationalists was happening does appear plausible. In the European historiography, other camps, or rather research traditions are identified. In the Dutch historiography a division is made between *Geisteswissenschaftlichen Pedagogik*, the empirical-analytic tradition and critical pedagogy (Imelman & Meijer 1987; Meijer 2000). Without explaining in detail what these research traditions entail, they all had a specific perspective of the role of education in society and the proper form of educational research, with a specific set of theoretical and methodological axioms. Looking historically, the form and purpose of education and educational science is changing and contested.

By means of a focus on the interaction between science, policy and practice of citizenship education, this research project contributes to the existing historiography on citizenship, citizenship education and educational science in the Netherlands and the United States. Other historical accounts of citizenship education in the Netherlands focus on political debates and practices of citizenship education. While providing valuable insights, these studies shed relatively little light on the specific role of the educational sciences in debates over citizenship education (De Jong 2014, 2021; De Haan 1992; Gijsenbergh 2017; Kloek & Tilmans 2002). And even though the historiography of the Social Studies and citizenship education in America is quite extensive (see Lybarger 1991; Thornton 2017;

and Woysner 2006 for elaborate overviews) here too explicit attention for the political role and organization of the educational sciences in relation to citizenship education is limited. Precisely because of the rise of 'evidence-based' citizenship education, the interaction between science, policy and practice requires scholarly attention. Before introducing the four specific cases explored in the separate chapters, some preliminary remarks on the specific Dutch and American context are in order, also to explain why precisely the developments in these two countries provide valuable insights for those interested in democratic citizenship education.

III. NATIONAL CONTEXTS: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE NETHERLANDS

Democratic citizenship education in itself is not a recent invention. As historians have shown, ever since Antiquity people have consciously prepared new generations for social, political and (at times) democratic life (Heater 2004). Modern democratic citizenship, associated with individual rights, the division of power and general elections, emerged with the American and French revolutions and called for its own forms of democratic citizenship education. Scholarly reflection on democratic citizenship education is also not new, but has co-developed with the educational practice itself. So why focus on developments in the United States and the Netherlands over the last hundred years specifically?

Citizenship education has to do in part with learning about political power and decision making: learning about 'who gets to decide what, through which procedure' arguably forms the core of civics education. At the same time, it is subject to political decision making in a particular political setting: who gets to determine what pupils learn about democracy is itself a question that requires a democratic answer. The politics of education and the educational system in a country is closely related to the prevalent understanding and constitutional grounding of democracy in that country. In this regard, the Netherlands and the United States form interesting case studies: the US with its federal structure and tradition of local control over schools and the Netherlands with its constitutional Freedom of Education. As a matter of democratic principle, both countries do not have a national curriculum: in a democratic society, the school should not be an instrument of the state. Rather, the power of the state to determine what children learn in schools should be limited to ensure the proper functioning of democracy itself. In this line of reasoning, state control over education is particularly threatening in the case of citizenship education: in a democracy it is not up to the state to determine what counts as good citizenship, nor should it devise educational practices to teach particular state mandated citizenship. Of course, while being constitutionally grounded in both countries, this 'anti-statist' idea of democracy has been challenged continuously by other conceptions of democracy (De Jong 2014; Zimmerman 2002). Also, notwithstanding constitutional bans on national curricula,

both countries do have indirect mechanisms of negotiating the national direction and organization of education, also for citizenship.

Compared to the United States, the situation in the Netherlands shows similarities as well as differences. Both countries saw the rise of progressive educational science, (attempted) educational reform, and the introduction of general suffrage in the early twentieth century, sparking discussions on the role of schools in preparing pupils for democratic citizenship. Both countries have a decentralized educational system based on democratic principles, and they nevertheless both ended up with standardized democratic citizenship education, monitored by scientific assessment of pupil achievement. On the other hand, whereas the overarching goal of education in the United States has always been 'democratic citizenship', which was by many related to the experience of the common school, the Netherlands has a tradition that is opposed to unitary citizenship education, related to the experience of ideologically segregated schools. Also, the scale and global positions of the two countries are of a totally different order: the Netherlands would not even be a separate state if it would be part of America, and is outnumbered in terms of residents by some of the biggest American cities. Furthermore, both countries have a very different position in the global educational sciences. Throughout the twentieth century, America has been a major influence on global educational thinking and a constant source of innovations and theories. The educational field of the Netherlands, on the other hand, has been constantly informed by ideas coming from abroad.

Democracy and education in the United States of America

In her overview article on education for citizenship and democracy in the United States, Carole Hahn introduces three contextual factors that should be kept in mind. First, she claims that "there is little agreement about the most appropriate definition of citizenship education" (Hahn 2008). Rather than a unified understanding and approach, a wide variety of organizations sponsor programs to prepare youth for citizenship and scholars look at citizenship education at home, at school and out-of-school. Second, citizenship education has a long history in the US, running back to the founding of the country. And third, the educational system of the United States is decentralized: "policies and practices are not uniform across the 50 states and 15000 school districts" (Hahn 2008). This educational system makes it difficult to speak of American education or the American curriculum, but there are nevertheless nationwide developments and trends, also when it comes to citizenship education. Most important in that respect are the voluntary national curriculum standards developed in the 1990s for Civics and Government, History, Geography, Economics and the Social Studies. As Hahn explains, "most states and many school districts wrote their own curriculum standards, sometimes referring to the national ones", followed by the development of standardized assessments in many states (Hahn 2008). Furthermore, student achievement in civic education is monitored by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (Hahn 2008). Interestingly, the United States was one of the leading countries in

the development of international assessment of civics and citizenship education (Torney, Oppenheim & Farnen 1975; Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Malak-Minkiewicz & Torney-Purta 2021), but no longer partakes in the most recent rounds of the ICCS.

Democratic citizenship has been regarded the overarching goal of all American education ever since the founding of the republic in the 18th century (Hahn 2008; Ravitch 2010). Especially Thomas Jefferson is often credited for his efforts to secure the newly established democracy by promoting a democratic system of education, with explicit attention for civic education. Since power was placed in the hands of 'the people' (however narrowly defined), they also had to be educated to use this power rationally and to withstand the lures of demagogues, Jefferson believed (Carpenter 2013; Parker 2014). This would proof to be a continuing refrain in American political history: democracy requires an educated public, able and willing to think for itself (Fallace 2017). In the 18th and 19th century, the link between democracy and education was primarily articulated in pleas for the expansion and rational organization of public education, in the form of common schools. Prominent advocates of the common schools, such as Horace Mann, claimed that the shared experience of schooling would teach future citizens to unite beyond divides of creed or ancestry. Opponents, primarily the Catholics, claimed that the common school was in fact an Anglo-Saxon protestant institute, not so much democratic as hegemonic and majoritarian in nature (Kaestle 1983). Nevertheless, public elementary and secondary schools became dominant throughout the country.

In the 20th century, next to continuing calls for *more* public education, the *form* education for democracy should take became an explicit concern. With the rise of the educational sciences at the end of the 19th century, a movement appeared that wanted to improve educational policy and practice based on scientific insights. Progressive education wanted to break the hold of tradition and custom on schooling and reform education to better reach the goal of educating democratic citizens (Cremin 1961). Most prominent among these progressive educators was John Dewey, whose seminal *Education and Democracy* appeared in 1916. Next to him, different schools of educational scientists formulated their own 'objective' ideas on education for democracy during the first half of the twentieth century (Kliebard 2004; Tyack 1974; Ravitch 2000). While the term 'progressive education' became exclusively associated with more radical child-centered or social reconstructionist ideas after the start of the Second World War, educational scientists continued to debate the way education should serve democracy during the rest of the century (Fallace 2017; Evans 2010). Political and social movements at the same time challenged the meaning and actual realization of democratic citizenship in America (Foner 1998). Meanwhile, America achieved the status of 'leader of the free world' and trendsetter in terms of global culture and science. From its founding onwards, the country considered itself a guiding light of freedom and democracy, an exemplary experiment in 'government of the people, by the people and for the people' for the rest of the world to follow (Palmer 1969; Foner 1998). Part of America's self-appointed tasks was to educate the world on democracy. The continuing

and globally influential debate on education and democracy in America makes it an informative case study to investigate the interaction between science, policy and practice of citizenship education.

The educational system in the United States expresses a democratic principle: education should not be controlled by the national government to protect the rights of parents and citizens and safeguard society from state dominance. In the case of this federal country, there is also the incentive to protect the rights and autonomy of the separate states, and leave them to decide on their own rules and regulation of education. This leads to a wide variety of curricular control in the different states and relatively weak national institutes in the educational field (Hahn 2008). However, throughout the twentieth century there have been informal mechanisms of national curriculum making: national expert committees published influential reports (for instance the 1918 *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* by the National Education Association), national organizations published guidelines that functioned as yardsticks for state policy makers and individual schools (for instance the National Committee of Social Studies), and textbook publishers provided teaching materials and methods that aimed to serve the entire country (Apple 1991, 2000a; Loewen 1995; Sewell 2005). Another, more recent unifying development was the formulation of national standards per subject in the 1990s and the introduction of standardized high stakes assessments (where low scores are seen as a sign of failing education and punished by lower federal funding for schools) (Ravitch 2010). In absence of an official national curriculum, these three mechanisms (national educational discourse, textbook production and testing regimes) can function as indirect curriculum makers (Symcox 2002). Each of these mechanisms has been a battle ground for the American curriculum, with debates on which experts should be in which national committee, and on how much of their recommendations should be actually implemented; conflicts over specific textbooks as well as the entire textbook industry and its (un)warranted influence in American classrooms; and heated national debates over the desirability, content and range of national standards in education (Fordham Institute 2004; Ravitch 2004; Ross & Marker 2005). Even without it officially existing, there has been a continuous struggle over the American curriculum.

Democracy and education in the Netherlands

In their overview article on citizenship education in the Netherlands, De Groot, Daas and Nieuwelink (2022) explain how the Dutch Freedom of Education shapes the specific national context for democratic citizenship education in schools. Like the United States, the Netherlands has a decentralized educational system without a national curriculum, but unlike the United States, the vast majority of Dutch pupils attend "privately managed public schools: schools that are based on religious or ideological principles" (De Groot, Daas & Nieuwelink 2022). This remarkable combination of 'privately managed' and 'public school' roots in Article 23 of the Dutch constitution, known as the Freedom of Education.

Formulated as a compromise between liberals, social democrats and confessional parties in the early 20th century, the Freedom of Education combined two foundational democratic principles: equality of all pupils in terms of the quality of education, and freedom for parents to send their children to schools based on their own (religious) worldview (Exalto 2017). The quality of education was to be guaranteed by the Inspectorate of Education, combined with the formulation of national end terms for primary and secondary schools and a national testing regime (national exams for secondary education in 1920, and centralized tests for the end of primary school in 1970). The freedom of parents was secured by providing equal government funding for public and denominational schools. This freedom was formulated in terms of 'establishment, conviction and organization' of publicly funded but privately managed schools ('stichting, richting, en inrichting'). This means that any group was allowed to found and receive equal funding for a school, determine the worldview expressed in this school, and decide who could teach there, using which materials and methods, provided that the new school would attract enough pupils and meet all the requirements in terms of educational quality (having a qualified staff, proper organization, a professional educational plan etc.).

The Freedom of Education reflected a social and political order that was in place for a considerable period of the twentieth century in the Netherlands: pillarization. Society consisted of distinct communities, the so-called 'pillars', that each had their own political parties, labor organizations, religious or social institutes, newspapers, radio and television broadcasters. Three of these pillars existed: Catholic, Protestant and Socialist. There is some debate about the existence of a fourth, the Liberals, since they were principally opposed to the system of pillarization, but nevertheless formed a group in the relevant senses. The Catholics and separate Protestant groups also operated their own schools, with the socialists, liberals and some protestants making use of the officially neutral public schools. However, from the mid-twentieth century onwards the majority of pupils attended denominational elementary and secondary schools.

Formulated as a political compromise in 1917, the Freedom of Education remained controversial throughout the century. At every turn, a central question of debate was where the line between national unity and ideological diversity was to be drawn. Progressive politicians and educationalists tried to expand the 'common core', pushed national reform based on scientific insights or claimed that pillarized education was fact contrary to proper democratic education (De Jong 2014, 2021). Confessionals and liberals on the other hand blocked too much centralized control, which they described as undemocratic 'state pedagogy' (Exalto 2017). During the Interbellum attempts to formulate national plans of education, let alone a national curriculum including citizenship education, were met with principled resistance from the denominational parties and rejected. After the Second World War, a major revision of the educational system (known as the *Mammoetwet*) did succeed. This law reflected new educational ideas, but also a changing social order (a process called 'depillarization') (De Jong 2014; Veugelers 2007). In the subsequent decades a technical-

instrumental approach to education became dominant, built on a meritocratic idea that education should ensure equal opportunities (De Groot, Daas & Nieuwelink 2022). It was only in the early 1990s that 'citizenship education' became an explicit object of educational policy. In 2006, 'active citizenship and social integration' became a mandatory educational task for all schools. The law was further specified in 2021, providing more clarity about the task and the obligation to monitor the development of civic knowledge, citizenship skills and democratic attitudes of pupils (De Groot, Daas & Nieuwelink 2022). Again, a major source of debate on this recent law lies in its problematic relation with the Freedom of Education and the underlying competing views on democracy and education (Dijkstra, Ten Dam & Waslander 2019; Van der Ploeg 2020; Van Rees 2021). Where the debate over control over the Dutch schools has been heated enough throughout the twentieth century, the issue of citizenship education formed the heart of the matter, for it is here that the school also has an explicit task in moral, political and values education.

On a general level presented here, there was a constant tension in Dutch politics and education between unity and diversity, which led to changing educational policy throughout the twentieth century. Similarly, throughout the twentieth century there was consensus in America on the importance of preparation for democratic citizenship, and there also was a constant desire to improve the practice of citizenship education by means of scientific insights. But how was democratic citizenship education understood in more concrete terms in these changing contexts? Which scientific specifications were dominant and how did they interact with policy and practice? This dissertation traces what explicit ideas on citizenship education have been developed within these changing political and educational landscapes.

IV. OUTLINE

Given the current entanglement of the science and policy of citizenship education described above, the separate chapters of this dissertation focus on historical attempts to use insights from the educational sciences to shape education for democratic citizenship in schools. For both countries, a specific group of Progressive educationalists (understood not in a political sense, but as those who attempted to improve education by means of the implementation of scientific insights) was analyzed. In the second part of the project politically and religiously neutral American Civics and Dutch Maatschappijleer (Study of Society) textbooks were analyzed as mediators between educational science, policy and practice.

This dissertation consists of four chapters, each one presenting a specific case where educational science, policy, and practice interacted on citizenship education in schools. The dissertation treats the three central concepts as contested (democratic citizenship, education and educational science), which informs a broad methodological approach (historical research on groups and their view on (the science of) democratic citizenship education).

However, more specific conceptual frameworks and methodologies are introduced in the separate chapters, as they all deal with their own specific source material, contexts and sub-questions. This also means that the chapters contain their own introductions and conclusions and can thus be read separately.

Chapter one presents research on different forms of democratic education at the experimental schools of Teachers College, New York, one of the centers of Progressive Education. In a general sense, Progressive Education aimed to improve educational practice by implementing insights from the newly established educational sciences, either directly in schools or through educational policy. However, the movement comprised of different forms of educational science, each presenting their own ideas on the proper form and function of education in a democracy (Cremin 1961; Tyack 1974). In his seminal *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*, historian Herbert Kliebard described the educational landscape of early twentieth century America in terms of four interest groups: humanist, child-centered, social efficiency, and social reconstructionist (Kliebard 2004). Prominent scholars from each camp were active at Teachers College, making this an interesting site to study the academic struggle over democracy and education. Moreover, in the years between the First and Second World War, Teachers College operated three schools with the explicit purpose to facilitate exchange between the educational sciences and educational practice. At the schools, different forms of democratic education were developed with the aim of influencing educational practices at the national level. Based in archival research, chapter one describes how these schools functioned as places of interaction between educational science, policy and practice regarding democracy and education. Chapter one answers the research question: *What curricula for democratic citizenship were developed in interaction with scientific insights at the experimental and demonstration schools of Teachers College during the Interbellum?*

Chapter two turns to the Netherlands, where the progressive idea of scientifically improving educational practice gained force around 1920 in a specific political context. From the early 1900s onwards, progressive educators in the Netherlands struggled with the Freedom of Education, which limited ways to effectively change what happened in schools on a national level. One of the ways they attempted to organize themselves, was by founding a journal: *Pedagogische Studiën*. The journal was to be a place of national debate, informed by developments in the educational sciences, where educational scientists from all traditions and educators from all backgrounds (except communists) could discuss the direction and organization of education in the Netherlands (Van Hilvoorde 2002; Van Rees 2020). A meeting place, in other words, for educational science, policy and practice. As all meeting places, this one too had some rules determining who could speak, in what way one should speak and who would have the final word. For a journal, these things are determined to a large extent by the editorial board, and for *Pedagogische Studiën* this board has been filled with a host of prominent Dutch educationalists throughout the twentieth century. This chapter reconstructs the debate on education and democracy in *Pedagogische Studiën* in its interaction with the rise and fall of dominant scientific discourses and changing

educational policies over the twentieth century. Chapter two answers the research question: *How was democratic citizenship education discussed scientifically, in interaction with policy and practice, in Pedagogische Studiën over the last hundred years?*

Chapter three investigates the presentation of citizenship and democracy in American Civics textbooks since the Second World War. Chapter one ended with the closure of the experimental schools during the Second World War. After years of fervent academic and political debate over the meaning of democracy and the role of schools in democratic society, the emergence of totalitarian powers on the world stage completely shifted the tone of American educational thinking. What was needed, the general consensus seemed to be, was national unity and clarity on what pupils should learn about democracy and citizenship (Evans 2004; Fallace 2017). One of the leading ideas in American education from the Second World War onwards, was that the country was in competition with other world powers and that education played a vital role in winning. This led to more centralized educational policy (often involving large financial investments at the federal level) and several attempts to change the course of education to bring it in line with the newest scientific insights. However, in the absence of a national curriculum, top-down influence in American education always works through specific intermediaries. This chapter focusses on American Civics textbooks as a crucial meeting ground for educational science, policy and practice. By means of a qualitative analysis of national editions of textbooks by prominent publishers, this chapter traces the changing definitions of democracy, citizenship and education since the end of the Second World War till the early 2000s. Chapter three answers the research question: *Which political and educational discourses were dominant in American Civics textbooks in the period 1940-2005?*

Mirroring chapter three, chapter four looks at Dutch Maatschappijleer textbooks. Where the analysis of the debate in *Pedagogische Studiën* in chapter two focused on developments in science and policy, the fourth chapter analyzes a selection of sources closer to historical educational practice. It presents a qualitative analysis of Dutch *Maatschappijleer* textbooks from 1963, the year the subject was nationally prescribed, until the early 2000s. Somewhat comparable to the American situation, schools in the Netherlands are free to select their own teaching material, as part of the Freedom of Education, and there is a commercial market of textbook publishers. This chapter looks at changing definitions of democracy, citizenship and education in the textbooks and traces how the shifts at the level of scientific discourse and policy made their way into these textbooks. Chapter four answers the research question: *Which political and educational discourses were dominant in Dutch Maatschappijleer textbooks in the period 1963-2001?*

Together, these chapters provide an answer to the main research question: *How has democratic citizenship education been studied scientifically, in interaction with policy and practice, in the United States of America and the Netherlands over the last hundred years*? In the concluding chapter, the results of the different studies will be compared historically and structurally and related to the current debate on democratic citizenship education.

PART I

Democracy and the educational sciences

CHAPTER 1

Democratic education in theory and practice at the experimental and demonstration schools of Teachers College, New York (1917-1947)

I. INTRODUCTION[1,2]

In 1918 the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education published its report *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, proposing a major revision of what and how pupils throughout America should learn (NEA 1918). Instead of preparation for college for a small elite, high school should prepare every child for modern democratic life. According to the committee, changes in society, in the secondary-school population, and in educational theory made such a revision necessary. In light of these changes, the committee called for the development of scientifically based high school curricula for democratic citizenship.

The responsibility of the secondary school increased because modern society and economy called for more education, while "many social agencies other than the school afford less stimulus for education than heretofore", the committee claimed (NEA 1918, 7). Parents were working away from home, leading to a "less unified family life"; urbanization called for new social norms; and the role of the church and the state was changing (NEA 1918, 8). Meanwhile, more and more pupils entered high school, with "widely varying capacities, aptitudes, social heredity, and destinies in life" (NEA 1918, 8). Secondary education was changing from a selective college-preparatory institute for the few into an inclusive institute for general education for all. According to the committee, this was not just a matter of fact, but also a matter of democratic principle. Effective democratic citizenship in modern society required more than just elementary education, and the comprehensive high school provided the perfect instrument for the necessary instruction and socialization.

The committee also called for a "reexamination and reinterpretation of subject values and the teaching methods with reference to 'general discipline'", necessitated by new insights in the educational sciences (NEA 1918, 8). 'Subject values' referred to teaching isolated subjects modelled to their respective separate academic fields, and 'general discipline' to the theory of 'mental discipline', the prevalent theory of education during the late 19th century. This strand of educational psychology viewed the human mind in terms of separate faculties, such as memory, reasoning, will and imagination. These were in turn conceived of as muscles of the mind that could be trained by means of "monotonous drill, harsh discipline, and mindless verbatim recitation" (Kliebard 2004, 5). The theory of mental

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1 Earlier versions of this chapter were presented at the annual meeting of the Belgian-Dutch Association for the History of Education (BENGOO) in October 2020 as: "Een verhaal van twee scholen: debatten over burgerschapsvorming aan Teachers College, New York in de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw"; and at the History of Education Society annual meeting in November 2021 as "Democratic education in theory and practice at the experimental and demonstration schools of Teachers College, New York (1917-1947)"; and published as: Van Rees, P.D. (2021). Burgerschapsvorming in meervoud. Democratische vorming op de scholen van Teachers College New York (1917-1947). *Pedagogische Studien, 98* (3), 185-203.

2 The research presented in this chapter was based on a visiting scholarship at Teachers College, Columbia University, in 2019, funded by the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board and The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the United States Department of State.

discipline had been refuted empirically by William James and later Edward L. Thorndike, and criticized theoretically by many others, including John Dewey. As alternative theoretical grounds, the committee referred to both Thorndike's 'laws of learning' and Dewey's idea of education as situated growth (NEA 1918, 8; 16). Next to these scholarly developments, political events also gave rise to an aversion to 'discipline' and the educational philosophy of traditional education. The First World War made earlier dependence on German models of thought less attractive and according to many, now was the time to develop a properly American, scientifically based curriculum for *democratic* citizenship (Fallace 2017).

While democratic citizenship was to be developed in all classes, one subject in particular was presented as exemplary of the new principles of secondary education: the Social Studies. Introduced as a new course in one of the preliminary reports of the committee (NEA 1916), the social studies would put the cardinal principles into practice. Its aim was not to introduce pupils to various social sciences, but "to study actual problems, or issues, or conditions, as they occur in life, and in their several aspects, political, economic, and sociological" (NEA 1916, 50). As such, it required new educational material, innovative didactical forms and another way of thinking about education. Education for democratic citizenship required practical knowledge, applicable to real world issues and the immediate context of the class.

In both the 1916 and the 1918 report, the committee restricted itself to the formulation of *principles* and called for practical and scientific experiments to give more concrete form to their proposals (NEA 1916, 53). The new function and principles of secondary education were thus at once based on and invited educational research. As such the reports were an expression of and important stimulant for Progressive education in America with its desire to modernize educational practice based on scientific insights. While all progressive educators agreed that educational science should be leading in overcoming traditionalism, they had different ideas on what kind of science that should be. The development of a scientifically based curriculum for democratic citizenship became the focus point of a struggle between different groups of progressive educators. One of the major sites of this struggle was Teachers College, New York, where a wide variety of prominent educationalists worked throughout the Interbellum.

The importance of Teachers College for progressive education in all its forms was widely recognized at the time, as well as in the historiography of American education (Cremin 1961; Evans 2003; Kliebard 2000; Lagemann 2000; Tyack 1974). Besides being an institute where leading national educationalist taught, discussed and wrote about education, their ideas were also put into practice at the three experimental schools of Teachers College: Lincoln School, Horace Mann Elementary and High School for Girls and Horace Mann for Boys. These schools were ideal sites for the practical and scientific experiments called for by national committees.

The historiography of the social studies and education for democracy in America shows a continuous battle over the curriculum, in which distinct groups of educators advocated

their own perspective on democracy, education and the educational sciences (Evans 2004; Fallace 2017, 2018; Kliebard 2004; Thornton 2017). However, much of the literature describes national discourse rather than educational practice. The schools of Teachers College provide an opportunity to see how educational ideas of prominent scholars like Edward Thorndike, William Bagley, William Kilpatrick and Harold Rugg were put into educational practice. Where earlier research on the schools has focused exclusively on Lincoln School (Buttenwieser 1969; Heffron 1999; Perrillo 2016), a comparative analysis of the three schools provides more insight into the conflicts between different ideas during the period and the complicated relation between theory and practice. Drawing on the yearly reports of the schools to the Dean of Teachers College, school brochures, publications of the schools and their staff members and several contemporary research reports on the schools, the practices of democratic education at the schools are presented, answering the question: *What curricula for democratic citizenship were developed in interaction with scientific insights at the experimental and demonstration schools of Teachers College during the Interbellum?*

II. FOUR PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

In his seminal work *The Struggle for the American curriculum*, Herbert Kliebard described the educational landscape between 1893 and 1958 in terms of four competing 'interest groups': humanist, child development, social efficiency, and social reconstructionist (Kliebard 2004, 287). For the humanists, schools were primarily institutes of transmission, where subject teachers introduced pupils to traditional values and the cultural canon. The humanists favoured a *liberal arts curriculum* for all children. This group was sceptic of many (progressive) reform proposals propagated by the other three groups, as well as the scientific claims behind these proposals. The *child development* group believed that education should be aligned with the different developmental stages and the lifeworld of pupils. Their proposals were called the *child-centered curriculum*, in which old subjects were often replaced with thematic projects. The *social efficiency* group understood education in terms of efficient qualification guided by aptitude tests and differentiated schooling. According to them, the curriculum should be organised to prepare different pupils for different societal tasks. The *social reconstructionists* approached the school as an instrument to change society. Pupils had to made aware of political themes such as (the lack of) justice and equality and learn to understand and actively change social structures, based on social scientific insights. Their proposals were called the *society-centered curriculum*.

Prominent proponents of each camp were working at Teachers College during the Interbellum. William Bagley's *essentialism* was an important formulation of the humanist position; William Kilpatrick developed his child-centered *project method* at Teachers College; Edward Thorndike and David Snedden were central figures in the social efficiency

movement; and George Counts and Harold Rugg developed educational programs to change society. Meanwhile, John Dewey held a chair at Columbia University's Philosophy department, just across the street from Teachers College. All these scholars claimed to know what a curriculum for the modern world had to look like and all had their own ideas about democracy and education.

In Kliebard's account, Dewey received an exceptional place. Instead of placing him in one of the camps, Kliebard presented Dewey as a common point of reference for the entire educational field (Kliebard 2004, xix). This was certainly true at Teachers College, where for instance Kilpatrick and Rugg claimed to build on Dewey's ideas, while Bagley formulated his educational views in explicit opposition to Dewey's. When designing a modern curriculum for democratic citizenship, no one could ignore Dewey's *Democracy and Education* (1916).

In this book, Dewey connected democracy and education by means of the overarching principle of 'growth'. Connecting evolutionary, pragmatist and vitalist ideas, he discarded all political and educational views that were either oriented towards the past (tradition), some timeless social order (stability) or the future (an ideal end-state). Among Dewey's guiding ideas in this book was the belief that the process of education was valuable in itself, and did not depend on an external goal to become meaningful. In this, education had the same structure as life itself, according to Dewey, and functioned through the same principle: experimental and open-ended growth. In politics, there was but one system that aligned with the principle of growth and immanent value: democracy. All other political systems and all non-democratic conceptions of education subordinated the political and educational process to an external measure, an ideal to be reached. Instead, both democracy and education should, according to Dewey, be understood and valued in terms of open-ended experimental growth within the present situation: "Since growth is the characteristic of life, education is all one with growing; it has no end beyond itself" (Dewey 1916, 62). For Dewey, this meant that education had to be relevant for the pupils in their present situation and fundamentally open-ended, instead of the efficient and controlled transmission of an externally determined set of knowledge and values.

In practice, Dewey wrote, education properly understood should take the form of collective problem solving, just like democratic citizens should do in public life. A genuine interest of the pupils would give rise to a problem that necessitated enquiry and learning, motivating pupils to collect and apply knowledge relevant for this problem. This education would be at once moral, political, intellectual and social; integrated instead of compartmentalized; democratic instead of authoritarian; and pragmatic instead of idealistic. In Dewey's view, "the school becomes itself a form of social life, a miniature community and one in close interaction with other modes of associated experience beyond school walls", Dewey concluded (Dewey 1916, 418). A curriculum for democratic citizenship would not so much *prepare* for democratic citizenship, but rather consist of *practicing* democratic citizenship in the educational setting.

III. CASES, SOURCES AND METHODS

Within this historical setting, the schools of Teachers College formed sites for development, implementation and experimentation with curricula for democratic citizenship. *Horace Mann* (HM) was founded in 1887 as a demonstration school of Teachers College, "a school for experimentation in curricula and methods, a place where approved practice could be demonstrated and new theories tested" (HM Brochure 1909). It was housed next to Teachers College itself. Because of constant lack of space, the high school of Horace Mann was divided in 1914 and a second school was founded: *Horace Mann High School for Boys* (HMB). This school was located in a large park at the northern border of the city, quite far from Teachers College. Horace Mann continued as a coeducational elementary school and a high school for girls. In 1917, the third school opened its doors a few blocks from Teachers College: *Lincoln*. This was a coeducational elementary and high school, founded with the explicit purpose of developing a curriculum for the modern world. The three schools differed considerably, but all three claimed that their approach could serve as a model for other schools. According to many, a new curriculum did not just necessitate reflection on *what* was being taught, but also on *how*. The schools made their own choices concerning content and methods of teaching, drawing on different theories of learning and democracy.

The description of democratic education at the three schools presented here was based on analysis of material from the digital archives of Teachers College (called PocketKnowlegde) and selected publications of key authors, primarily collected at the Gottesman Libraries of Teachers College. Two collections in the digital archives in particular were used: the yearly *Report of the Dean of Teachers College* for the period 1910-1950 (around 120 pages each, including reports on the three schools written by their respective principals) and the *Demonstration and Experimental Schools at Teachers College collection* (which includes brochures, curricula, photographs, correspondence, publications by staff members, reports on the schools, ground floors, budgets, minutes of meetings and numerous official publications by the schools themselves).

The yearly reports in the Report of the Dean provided an extensive and continuous account of the educational ideals and practices of the schools for the whole period. Furthermore, the yearly Reports of the Dean in their entirety provided information on developments at Teachers College as a whole. The dean reported on major research projects and publications by faculty, but also on Teachers College's relation to developments in American politics, society, education and education science. Whenever the Dean's reports mentioned research, publications or events relating to education for democracy, these were also studied. This process led to an overview of key authors and publications on democracy and education directly related to Teachers College, that was later used to deepen the analysis of what was happening at the three schools.

From the *Demonstration and Experimental Schools* collection of about 2000 documents, those that related directly to democracy and citizenship education and those that presented

the general educational philosophy and practice of the three schools were selected. This led to the selection of a little over 100 key sources: 42 on Horace Mann, 49 on Lincoln and 16 on Horace Mann for Boys. Next to this, additional publications by prominent staff members (for instance all principals) were collected. It should be noted that most of these sources were produced by the institutes under study themselves, e.a. Teachers College or its schools. The sources also include contemporary reports on the schools conducted at the invitation of Teachers College, but carried out by external experts (the 1930 Angell Report was the most elaborate in this respect). But overall the sources reflect the self-understanding and educational aspirations of these institutes, rather than providing disinterested documentation of what happened there.

All of these sources were read and summarized. Combining the analysis of the different sources, this process led to the identification of distinct philosophies of education and democracy for each school, the educational activities in which these views were expressed, as well as the educational research on which they were based. In the result sections below, the practice of democratic education and the actors at the three schools will be guiding, which means that specific scientific theories will only be introduced if, when and how they appeared at the school level. Lincoln will be presented first, as it was by far the most well-known at the time and functioned as the flagship of the progressive movement in education, to which the other two schools had to relate constantly (Cremin 1961; Lagemann 2000).

IV. AN EXEMPLARY MINIATURE SOCIETY: DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AT LINCOLN

In 1917, Lincoln opened with a clear mission statement: to develop a curriculum for modern society, based on scientific experimentation. The school was financed by the General Education Board and modelled after the ideas of Abraham Flexner (General Education Board 1916). In *A modern school*, Flexner claimed that current education was both inefficient and irrelevant because it was burdened by tradition. Education should become 'realistic', shaped by the world outside the school and in line with the interests of the pupils themselves (Flexner 1916, 10). Lincoln was to be the laboratory in which this new school would take shape, including new teaching and testing methods, new materials and textbooks, and a new type of teacher. The first principal of Lincoln, Otis W. Caldwell, travelled around the country to personally select a teaching staff capable of developing the modern school.

Two things were of central importance in the approach of Lincoln: integration of subjects into themes and self-government by the pupils. The teaching staff wrote: "In all subjects, wherever feasible, effort will be made to base school work upon real situations to the end that school work may not only seem real to the pupils, but be so" (Lincoln brochure 1917, 7). And in 1922, the teachers claimed: "The school is something more than a

curriculum made up of modern studies taught in a modern spirit; it is a society of which the pupils are responsible members" (Lincoln staff 1922, 9).

Varieties of an integrated curriculum

At Lincoln, education was often organized in projects with themes from the daily lives and the environment of pupils. "By means of visits to docks, railroad stations, warehouses, and markets, pupils learn about the surroundings in which they live. They come back to the schoolroom eager to re-live in work and play the knowledge they have acquired" (Lincoln staff 1922, 12). In the fourth grade, fundamental problems of human life were central. Pupils received the question: "If people could have only one type of food, what would the most wholesome and nourishing one they could choose?" (Lincoln staff 1922, 35). Under the guidance of several different teachers and with the aid of the library staff, the pupils had to investigate which nutrients made up a healthy diet and in which food these could be found. The class decided that milk would be the best option, which in turn lead to a series of subprojects in which groups op pupils investigated the production, chemistry, trade and different uses of dairy products. In this way, different traditional subjects were related to a specific and familiar topic.

In 1927, *Curriculum-making in an elementary school* appeared, in which the teaching staff explained the method of 'Units of Work', developed by them experimentally in the first ten years of Lincoln. The first principle, in line with one of the pillars of *child-centered* education, was: "The unit of work must be selected from real life situations and must be considered worthwhile by the child because he feels that he has helped select it and because he finds in it many opportunities to satisfy his needs" (Tippett 1927, 31). This did not mean, however, that the teacher could remain passive or that pupils were allowed to do whatever they pleased. The task of the class teacher was to help select a suitable theme and transform it into a project that allowed for the training of basic skills and attitudes, and combined different traditional subjects. Basic skills like reading, writing and arithmetic, traditionally considered the core of elementary education, were tellingly referred to as 'tool subjects' at Lincoln. They were seen as instruments for a future member of society who should be able to yield them in specific real-life situations (Tippett 1927, 40).

Pupils were further encouraged to suggest themes and topics for new projects in class, not just to make sure the content aligned with their lifeworld and interests, but also to teach them that their voice could actually make a difference. "Something happens to boys and girls when they see their own ideas accepted or built upon and put into action. [Through] accepting the enthusiastic suggestion of the child and going to the bottom of the possibilities the teacher has been of real service to him" (Tippett 1927, 55). Examples of the Units of Work that were developed over the years include 'Farm Life' for the first grade and 'Adventures in Boat making' for the sixth grade, where pupils would visit the harbours and learned about calculating the capacity of boats, about the history of sea and river trade, and eventually build their own boat (Curtis 1927).

At the high school of Lincoln, integrated education took another form. Here, Harold Rugg and his team developed a *society-centered* curriculum. Rugg was convinced that pupils did not have the mental and emotional capacities to guide their own educational process. They were too exclusively focussed in their immediate surroundings to make really progressive, socially transformative education possible. If the school were to promote social progress, the curriculum should be based on scientific analysis of 'man and his changing society' (Rugg & Hockett 1925, v). Experts, described by Rugg as "fine minds and rare souls who live on the frontier of thought and feeling", would even be able to establish "what people *ought* to be and to do" (Rugg & Hockett 1925, v). Progress, social as well as moral, demanded purposeful planning and rational control, was a central belief among Rugg's team at Lincoln.

During the 1920s, Rugg developed his *Social Science Pamphlets* at Lincoln, later reworked into a nationally dominant textbook series. Starting point were a number of big societal issues or problems, selected by Rugg's team on the basis of an extensive (but politically coloured) review of scientific literature. Pupils had to learn to discuss these problems informed by social scientific insights, and to develop a critical, progressive outlook. The shared sentiment of the research team was expressed by a staff member in 1928: "[...] illiberal and prejudiced attitudes are in fact synonymous with biased and ill-founded opinions" (Lee 1928, 182). Once pupils were formed into proper social scientists, tradition and ignorance would automatically make way for progress, justice and equality. For Rugg and his team, it was clear that one of the social structures that had to be criticized and replaced was capitalism, as the Great Depression made evident. As two of Rugg's Frontier Thinkers described it: "the age of individualism and laissez faire in economy and government is closing and [...] a new age of collectivism is emerging" (AHA 1934, 55). High school was *the* place where the entire youth of the nation could be engrained with these and similar 'scientific' truths. A good citizen, according to this perspective, was not just aware of the latest developments in social science, but also willing to accept these as guiding in politics.

In the 1930s, principal Jesse Newlon combined the Units of Work developed at the elementary school and Rugg's social reconstructionist approach into yet another form of integrated education. Newlon stimulated the development of a unified curriculum that ran from Kindergarten to graduation (Newlon 1928, 4). Instead of a curriculum designed by external experts, Newlon organized weekly staff meetings between 1930 and 1935, where the teachers themselves came together to discuss American culture, society, economy and politics and reflect on the works of prominent social scientists, psychologists and philosophers (Lincoln staff 1935). Based on a selection of themes the staff attempted to come to a unified idea of the central values, habits, traditions and goals of American life and to shape education at Lincoln to systematically introduce pupils to them. Again, democratic education was central: "[The staff] expressed the belief that people cannot long be free if they do not know the workings of their own government and allow a relatively small group

to control public affairs in their own interests" (Lincoln staff 1935, 29). But democratic education was far from restricted to Civics class. The entire curriculum should revolve around cultural, political and social themes, providing pupils with the opportunity and the motivation to address current issues and stimulate the general betterment of society. The Units of Work were expanded into General Courses, spanning about half the teaching time at school. General Courses were extensive integrated courses that ran throughout the entire year, comprised of different projects (Hopkins & Mendenhall 1934, 4). The accumulation of the General Courses over the grades resulted in a continuous curriculum in which each grade addressed a separate period in American history, leading to the study of current issues in the final grade (PEA 1943, 460).

Around the outbreak of the Second World War, yet another change was visible at Lincoln. Newlon had been succeeded as principal by Lester Dix, who introduced his own ideas on the meaning of integrated education. Instead of societal change, the focus was now on the education of integrated *personalities*, whom Dix considered to be the foundation of democratic societies. Dix claimed that modernity had introduced social neurosis and that the organic cohesion of society was disappearing. Likewise, the individual was at risk of losing itself in a technocratic and mechanic society characterized by constant change. School should be a counterweight to these pathological social developments and provide security and stability for pupils. The striving for radical social change, central to Lincoln during the 1930s, was now seen as part of the problem (Dix 1939, 131). That is why Dix proposed a "personality-centered curriculum" with central themes such as "natural environment, social environment and human expression and communication" (Dix 1939, 71). Instead of the radical social scientific curriculum proposed by Rugg and Newlon, Dix formulated an educational philosophy around social biological concepts like growth, cooperation, social learning and balance.

From the start, a central belief at Lincoln was that content of education had to viewed in connection to educational method. Throughout the period, education at Lincoln was a combination of child-centered and society-centered education, in integrated forms. Many ideas of Dewey were also put into practice at the school. Next to educational content and methods, democratic education was also based on another principle at Lincoln. In 1942, De Lima wrote in *Democracy's High School*, a celebratory book on Lincoln: "A democratic principle cannot function in an undemocratic setup" (De Lima 1942, 69).

The school as a community

Principal Caldwell stated that the central educational aim of Lincoln, "participation in modern life", could only be reached by consequently involving pupils in the actual government of the school itself. To that end, Lincoln organized weekly 'school assemblies' and installed student councils, one for the elementary and one for the high school. The assemblies formed the heart of the shared cultural life at the school. This was where the different year groups presented their projects, often in the form of plays, music concerts, and

art expositions (Tippett 1927, 20). The student councils were organized as town meetings, where everyone could join the discussion and vote on matters important to the pupils themselves. The pupils drafted a constitution for the school, which could be amended. In 1922 for instance, an amendment was accepted which determined that the chair of the student council shall be appointed based on election by the pupils, rather than appointed by the teaching staff (Report of the Dean 1922, 17).

The student council of the elementary school had a similar structure, albeit with some more guidance by teachers. But still, every year group was represented by two elected members who would meet with teachers and other representatives to discuss the government of the school. The youngest of these representatives where only six years old (Lincoln staff 1992, 72). Teachers were supposed to ask questions and motivate the pupils to considers multiple sides to the issues at hand and help structure their thoughts and opinions. The eventual goal was to let the council operate more and more independently during the year (Tippett 1927, 18). The aim was that "pupils may be led to consider their school as a genuine life enterprise in which they are cooperators" (Report of the Dean 1923, 44). As the yearly reports and other sources made clear, there was no room at Lincoln for teachers or other staff members who appealed to their authority, nor for pupils who had a need for discipline or clear guidelines (Angell report 1930).

The idea that the school should be a model society went much further than a shared cultural life and shared decision making. This miniature society also had its own newspaper, a school bank, an employment bureau and a court, all led by the pupils themselves. Regarding the newspaper, Newlon wrote: "There is no faculty censorship or criticism before publication. The editors soon learn from their readers whether proofreading was not done carefully, or whether good taste was offended" (PEA 1943, 476). About the school court, the staff wrote: "A pupil reported for misconduct is given a hearing; if he is dissatisfied with the committee's decision, he may appeal to the director or to the principal of the high school" (Lincoln staff 1922, 73). This way, pupils were introduced to the American principle of being 'judged by a jury of one's peers' and they learned the value, reasonableness and necessity of certain behavioral norms. Through the employment bureau, pupils could acquire 'jobs' such as cleaning, helping out in the canteen and aiding in the library. They received actual money for their work, which they could then deposit at the school bank, where seventh graders took turns as bank employees (Lincoln staff 1922, 74). This way pupils learned that economics, crafts, literature and civics were not just subjects in school, but also practices in real life.

Self-government and the connected self-discipline were central in the education of democratic citizens at Lincoln (Lincoln staff 1938, 32). The traditional school, hierarchical in terms of administration and teaching, was considered by Newlon and others as a training institute for authoritarianism, even if it propagated democratic values (Angell report 1930, 7). Student voice and participation was seen as essential for democratic education: "Students and teachers share in the direction of classroom activities and in the planning committees

which determine to a large degree, especially in the general courses, the choice of subject matter, the media in which students want to work, the activities, and the order and method of procedure" (PEA 1943, 475).

Idealism and realism

All things considered, Lincoln was a bold experiment in which a variety of educational philosophies was put into practice. Moreover, it was a success: the school received so many (international) visitors that they had to start working with a registration system soon after opening; the staff published an astonishing amount of research articles, books and textbooks; and the pupils performed extraordinary well on every available test as well as in their careers after high school (Angell report 1930). The goal of the school was to bring 'real life' into the classrooms and from all sources arises an image of an extremely lively school, with challenging and original education. But there was also critique on Lincoln. It was a place with an abundance of energy, but also a school that demanded a lot of energy and attention from all involved, teachers, pupils and also parents. There was a lot of room for creativity, initiative and self-government, but also a lack of structure, guidance and clarity for the pupils. And even though Lincoln wanted to function as a model school and a model society, how representative could this school be, with its abundance of financial means and elite clientele and teaching staff? Rugg, among others, formulated this fundamental critique of the curriculum developed at the school: it was completely unrealistic on a larger scale. And precisely the larger scale should be guiding in the development of a 'curriculum for the modern world', as the democratization of education was one of the main characteristics of this modern world (Rugg & Hockett 1925).

Some pupils were also critical of the school, even though they formed a minority. They described the school as 'disorganized' and claimed that they had not learned the study skills necessary for college. There were also complaints about the social and moral education at Lincoln, which provided pupils with an unrealistic idea of real life outside the school. "I and a lot of my classmates were spoiled a bit for a tough world, I believe, because we were treated too "personally," because our individualities were too greatly encouraged", one former pupil commented. Another alumnus described his fellow students at Lincoln as "thoroughly selfish individuals", and a third wrote: "Youth is arrogant enough and needs more discipline than was enforced at Lincoln" (Lincoln school 1938, 21). Among the critics of Lincoln were faculty members of Teachers College propagating other forms of education. One group of critics formed the staff of one of the other schools affiliated with Teachers College, where they developed their own, in their view much more realistic curriculum for the democratic education of high school pupils.

V. EDUCATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC ARISTOCRACY: HORACE MANN FOR BOYS

Horace Mann for Boys was founded around the same time as Lincoln. Where Lincoln tried to bring city life into the school, Horace Mann for Boys was located in a large park at the border of New York. When Horace Mann for Boys split off from Horace Mann, principal Prettyman retained a rigorous 'liberal arts' curriculum, but added the ideas of the 'country day school' movement (HMB Brochure 1914). This movement claimed that especially boys were in need of mental as well as physical education based on discipline and a communal 'esprit de corps' (McCardell 1962). The school should be a separate world, away from the daily temptations of the modern city with its toxic fumes and shady inhabitants, a place where eminent subject teachers transmitted clear values and norms. The proclaimed task of Horace Mann for Boys was the training of leaders, with leadership understood as a matter of character: "knowledge is no substitute for character, [...] what a boy is is of far more consequence than what he knows", dean Russell of Teachers College stated at the opening of the school (Russell 1914). Under the watchful eyes of principal Prettyman, who had a principal's house erected on the school grounds, character education was central at Horace Mann for Boys.

Physically as well as ideologically, Horace Mann for Boys was far removed from a lot of what was happening at Teachers College. Part of the educational philosophy of the school was the idea that subject teachers themselves were best able to determine what and how pupils should learn about their subject. Continuity and proven track records were considered important and the staff of Horace Mann for Boys on multiple occasion praised the fact that all teachers remained in service for long periods (Angell Report 1930; McCardell 1962). Charles Tillinghast, principal between 1921 and 1950, opened every year's first school assembly with the same words: "A Horace Mann boy is a young gentleman" (Tillinghast 1962, 32). This aristocratic ethos was seen by progressive educationalists at Teachers College as an elitist relic from times past, but for Horace Mann for Boys, this was no reason to change course. In 1947, the school became independent from Teachers College and it is the only of the three schools that still exists.

Horace Mann for Boys was founded on the belief that different groups of pupils required different types of education. Principal Prettyman wrote: "The old school attempted to do anything for anybody […]. The result of this attempt to do very many things was that no one of them could be done thoroughly" (Prettyman 1915, 11). Horace Mann for Boys would have one clear purpose: to educate the leaders of society, in politics, science and business. And members of the future elite simply required other knowledge and skills than

a child that would become a factory worker. Different positions in society also required different forms of socialization, which meant that pupils at HMB had to be introduced to an aristocratic, almost chivalrous morality. Horace Mann for Boys was proud of preparing its pupils for Ivy League universities and top positions in business (Angell Report 1930). HMB was a counterpart of Lincoln, not just in its aims, but in nearly everything, ranging from everyday school life and pupil-teacher relations, to forms of testing and the content of textbooks. Nevertheless, this school also claimed to serve American democracy, by means of intellectual and moral education of democratic leaders. Like Lincoln, Horace Mann for Boys invoked scientific theories and educational research, but once more, they made distinctly different choices on that terrain.

Democratic and scientific realism

The staff of Horace Mann for Boys held that progressive innovators formulated unrealistic aims for education, based on a misguided image of the task of schooling. The school did not exist to shape a future ideal society, nor to enable children to follow their own whims and interests in the present, but rather to introduce pupils to timeless truths and values. School leaders should formulate a plan that clearly stated what was true and worthwhile, while resisting to let themselves be distracted by childish wishes, changing societal demands or dreams of innovators. Infinitely more important than didactical innovation were the personal bonds between teachers and pupils and the school culture.

A remarkable exception to this general disdain of scientific interference in the school was the question of selection. Here, Horace Mann for Boys drew on insights of educational psychologist Edward Lee Thorndike and educational philosopher Michael Demiashkevich. Both claimed that people are not equal, at least not in terms of talents and intellectual giftedness. "Beyond the elementary grades, it becomes increasingly apparent that nature herself has not been quite so democratic in distributing her gifts to men. Democracy in education, therefore, cannot possibly mean educating everyone in the same things in the same way", as the school explained its position in the midst of the turbulent 1930s (HMB 1937, 72).

Horace Mann for Boys also agreed with both theorists that the wellbeing of countries depended to an overwhelming extend on the quality of its economic, cultural and political leaders. Moreover, the progress of humanity as a whole depended on the work of great individuals. As Demiashkevich put it: "History demonstrates that inventions and discoveries – intellectual, artistic, moral, economic – in other words, the most lasting and creative among the influences which shape the historic process, are essentially the creations of outstanding individuals" (Demiashkevich 1935, 405). Thorndike claimed that social progress, which should after all be the main objective of the so-called 'progressive movement', required investment in the few exceptional pupils, able to reach such fundamental breakthroughs, rather than trying to get mediocre pupils to get a mediocre understanding of complex problems (Thorndike 1940). Thorndike saw democratic

education in terms of societal utility: "In the wars we are incessantly waging against disease, misery, depravity, injustice, and ugliness, we should not provide our best marksmen with the poorest weapons nor ask our bravest to fight with their naked hands" (Thorndike 1932, 345). Participation and voice were, in his view, overrated practices in politics and education alike: "The fact that all men have an interest in a certain activity is not necessarily a reason why they should either control it or know about it" (Thorndike 1940, 808). In a democracy, a few had to learn how to lead and the many had to learn how to follow (Thorndike 1916). What made the process democratic was that the selection of these leaders would be done in a reasonable manner, with the help of objective measurements of talent, aptitude and IQ revealing the 'natural aristocracy' of society. For the subsequent education of this group of leaders, society needed schools like Horace Mann for Boys (HMB 1937, 72).

Discipline and order at Horace Mann for Boys

Looking back on his time at Horace Mann for Boys, Tillinghast remarked that the school was characterized by "what was called by some old-fashioned organization and presentation" (McCardell 1962, 30). A look in the yearly school guides confirms that idea: throughout the whole period, the curriculum consisted of traditional subjects and year after year, the same classic textbooks were prescribed. For modern and classic languages, a lot of canonical literary works were obligated readings and in history class the approach was chronological, with a strong focus on the highpoints of Western Culture (HMB Brochure 1918). There was little to no attention for current events, nor room for a more thematic approach, as was suggested by several national committees. Horace Mann for Boys held on to separate subjects so fiercely that pupils could even be promoted per subject, instead of per year group. The organization of the curriculum was modeled after university education (marking an explicit break with elementary education), with half the points for obligated subjects and half for electives (HMB 1921, 12). A school day at Horace Mann for Boys began a 9 am with a service in chapel, followed by classes by subject teachers, a communal lunch, a short student assembly, and at least two hours of physical education. At the end of the day, another round of classes and 'recitations' was scheduled before pupils returned home at 5 pm (HMB Brochure 1914).

Throughout the period, Horace Mann for Boys resisted the idea that the interests and lifeworld of the pupils should guide education. "It would be a very poor teacher who did not often know what was better for the child than he is likely to know for himself", the school claimed (HMB 1937, 34). At a child-centered school, children would learn that everything in life should revolve around their wishes, feelings and plans. That was not an appropriate preparation for democratic living, as democracy fundamentally meant the subordination of self-interest and personal opinions to the common good. Likewise, the idea that themes from everyday life should form the basis of an integrated curriculum was a dangerous misconception according to Horace Mann for Boys. "Learning, properly considered, is a process first of analysis, of penetrating deeply into the elements of which situations may be

composed; the second step is the synthesis or building into higher patterns of knowledge and skill the elements which analysis has revealed to be present" (HMB 1937, 53). The integrated curriculum skipped the first fundamental step, the systematic study of elements, that is: subjects. Application of knowledge was something for adults, who after completing broad foundational education followed by specialization would be able to combine and apply relevant knowledge. Education that jumped ahead was actually a form of pedagogical negligence, according to Horace Mann for Boys (HMB 1937).

Instead of more daily life, pupils should get a change to enter into contact with things they did not know or experience yet, even if they were not able to see the use of them: Shakespeare, Dante, Plato, and Homer, instead of the local bakery, skipper or housewife (HMB 1937, 51). The confrontation with greatness would teach the boys to strive for excellence themselves, instead of comparing themselves with mediocrity (Demiashkevich 1935). Education should be a consciously guided addition to what pupils already encountered and knew.

In selecting material, the school drew on Demiashkevich and William Bagley, who described their philosophy as 'essentialism'. Demiashkevich called "the right to share in the accumulated experience of humanity" the foundation under all other democratic rights (Demiashkevich 1935, 170). This experience of humanity was stored in books and by being exposed to the lives and deeds of great men, the boys would unconsciously be shaped by their example, "as men walking in the sun have their faces browned without knowing it" (Demiashkevich 1935, 190). Studying daily life and current politics and society would expose them to "opportunism, corruption, and ineptitude", the very thing they should not incorporate. A correct selection of historical and literary examples would acquaint the boys with people who stood for their principles and showed real leadership (Demiashkevich 1935, 303-304). For true exaltation, the pupils were in need of teachers who could guide them through the history of civilization.

The reverence for subject knowledge and "a fine regard for true scholarship" was not just motivated by didactical ideas, but also had a moral ground (Report of the Dean 1939, 73). Principal Prettyman wrote: "After only three months of work, the boys have come to understand that the school is *no place for weaklings and idlers*; that if a boy wishes to hold a place in the school, *he must deserve it*" (Prettyman 1915, 13). Throughout, emphasis was placed on learning the necessary discipline, stamina and a certain reference for the subject matter at hand (Angell Report 1930, 5). Prettyman emphasized that the boys were in need of "training in right living, with fixed habits of vigorous, wholesome play and of hard mental 'work'" (Prettyman 1915, 13). At Horace Mann for Boys, all activities were seen as habituating and pupils needed firm guidance to develop the desired set of habits by means of the right activities (HMB 1937, 61-62).

From its founding onwards, Horace Mann for Boys stressed the importance of discipline in a 'realistic' education. Pupils had to learn to respect authority, to endure surveillance, and to strive for common goals, simply because these elements were also

required in adult life. The real world does not endure people only interested in following their own short-term interests and immediate feelings. Here again, the school drew on Bagley, who claimed that discipline was not just a pragmatic necessity for school education, but rather formed a central part of citizenship education in schools. According to Bagley, every school was characterized by a certain 'fashion', an implicit agreement on what was considered normal and acceptable behavior at the school. The school staff could and should intentionally shape this fashion: "The point of emphasis in the present connection is that the school virtues of obedience, order, and industry may be made matters of fashion among the pupils; that is, that the pupils take these things 'for granted'" (Bagley 1914, 4). This was exactly what Horace Mann for Boys consequently communicated to the boys: these are our values, cherished and upheld by all teachers and pupils, at all times.

Character education in class and on the playground

Citizenship education was seen as character education at Horace Mann for Boys, and it revolved around the acquisition of a number of personal virtues. Principal Tillinghast was convinced that moral education depended on a few simple principles: setting a clear goal (a set of values), providing clear examples (historical, but also in the teachers themselves), and organizing situations in which pupils could practice with these values and behaviours. Echoing Thorndike's influential lecture on *Education for initiative and originality* (1916), Tillinghast stated: "A boy becomes honest as he exercises honesty; he becomes industrious as he exercises industry; and he develops the power to choose and follow right leadership as he actually chooses and follows leadership of the right sort", (1921, 12). He believed that the teaching staff functioned as the moral foundation of the school, but they also formed the ceiling: pupils developed *towards* their teachers, but it could not be expected from them to surpass them, intellectually or morally (Tillinghast 1921, 9-10). Next to the daily interaction between teachers and pupils, moral education took place by means of scouting and sports at Horace Mann for Boys. The ideas and practices of Baden Powell's Boy scout movement received a warm welcome at the school, also because of their overlap with the Country Day School philosophy. Pupils could train their moral virtues by working together on challenging tasks. Scouting provided a framework in which pupils would learn to respect authority, experiment with taking on leadership roles, and learn to take on a general attitude of service. This way, pupils would learn to subordinate their own interest and comfort to the wellbeing of the group (HMB brochure 1917; McCardell 1962; Russell 1917; Tillinghast 1923).

The greatest pride of Horace Mann for Boys was its physical education program, in which physical discipline and stamina was constantly associated with intellectual and moral robustness (Angell Report 1930). "We want thoroughbreds in our schools. We want people who are sportsmanlike, not only as members of teams, but in the school life and on the side lines" (Tillinghast 1930, 299). On and off the pitch, pupils could display what kind of person they were, if they had what it took to get the task done, carry on when things

got hard, follow instructions, dared to engage in competition. But also if they could meet their opponents in a respectful manner, were able to control themselves and were willing to sacrifice themselves for the team. These qualities of sportsmanship were seen by Tillinghast and his staff as the essential virtues of the citizen.

Looking at the whole period, it becomes clear that there was not much historical change at Horace Mann for Boys. Instead, the school developed in the sense of deepening the philosophy that was present since its founding. The school wanted to be a beacon of stability and decency in a time of radical change. It did so by stressing continuity, consistency and a constant reference to timeless knowledge, values and moral examples. With every clarification of the philosophy of Horace Mann for Boys, the school drew on insights from educational scientists and philosophers, but it always remained true to its own fundamental ideas of discipline, moral education and aristocratic manners.

VI. SOCIAL NORMS, SELF-GOVERNMENT AND CHARITY: HORACE MANN ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

Horace Mann was the oldest of the three schools, founded around the same time as Teachers College itself. After the separation of Horace Mann for Boys, the school consisted of a co-educational elementary and a girl's high school. Compared to the other two schools, Horace Mann was more moderate and less outspoken. There was some integrated education and attention for current events, but the school also named discipline and college preparation as central elements of education (HM Brochure 1915; 1922). The school described itself as "a happy balance that avails itself of all useful educational material, whether from sources that are conservative or progressive" (HM 1935, 15).

Nevertheless, the school clearly did have a style of its own and an elaborate philosophy of education. The school stated: "Horace Mann has never faltered in its conception of the school as functioning in terms of children's needs" (PEA 1943, 405). The experience and life world of the pupils was central at Horace Mann. That life world existed first of all in the school itself as a social community, but was also addressed in educational projects on current living and the history of New York City (HM 1917; HM 1922). Democratic education at Horace Mann aimed at learning to live harmoniously in social groups, which required the cultivation of 'socio-democratic attitudes' like compassion, cooperation and self-discipline (Boas 1920; PEA 1943, 405). According to the school, this goal implied a certain curriculum with a specific function for the teacher and organisation of the school as a self-governing community in which pupils learned to subordinate their own interest to the wellbeing of the group. Furthermore, education for democracy showed a gender-specific approach at the high school level. The practice at Horace Mann for Girls contrasted sharply with practice at Horace Mann for Boys: where the boys were trained to *lead* society in a disciplined manner, the girls at Horace Mann High school for Girls learned how to organize *care* for those less fortunate in life and society.

Human experience at the centre

Just like at Lincoln, education at Horace Mann consisted for a large part of big projects combining different traditional subjects, with a lot of room for creativity (Reynolds & Harden 1932, 18). At the elementary level, this took the form of projects on "certain large fundamental questions or problems" that pupils would also confront in their daily lives. One of these projects focussed on New York City, to inspire the pupils "to take a more intelligent and enthusiastic interest in civic betterment" (HM 1917, 1). Exploring trade, immigration, industry, living circumstances and housing, the pupils were expected to gain a better understanding of the city they lived in. Next to knowledge and skills, the aim was to "to inspire them with a desire to do something for the city" (HM 1917, 31).

At the high school level, education was centered around a continuous line of integrated courses, through which the pupils passed through the entirety of human history. This was described as "Epochs of progress. A study of the development of the thought and the work of the world, showing the ideals and achievements of the men and women who have built homes and nations" (HM Brochure 1914, 34). Each year, another period was studied, with attention for the specificities of political, economic, cultural and religious life (PEA 1943). The school did not use textbooks for this part of the curriculum. Rather, the teacher assembled syllabi and adapted those to the interests and questions of pupils, making sure that their initiative was appreciated. For each year, the central question was how humanity lived together in that specific period and place, focusing on cultural artefacts and practices (Reynolds & Harden 1932, 7).

The focus on living and working together that was so present in the curriculum was also implemented in the didactical approach of Horace Mann. Teachers wrote about group work: "As the children are given opportunity under careful guidance to plan and to take responsibility for their own behaviour, they develop into more intelligently self-directing individuals" (Burke & Hurley 1935, 660). They described a situation in which four children were working on the theme 'transportation' and had decided to build a boat out of big blocks. One of the children was taking the lead, which frustrated another child who started to make a fuss. "Now there is trouble, and loud voices are heard, as each boy tries to put his plan into operation. All construction stops. The teacher waits a few minutes to see whether they can settle their difficulty; if they cannot, she joins the group and sees that both plans are put before them and one of them is accepted. With a plan understood and accepted, the building proceeds" (Burke & Hurley 1935, 662). The approach of this teacher was exemplary of education at Horace Mann: conflicts between pupils were consequently approached as learning opportunities in which the group itself was given the responsibility to resolve the issue. Teachers were supposed to guide the process, without ever taking on a position of authority.

The emphasis on autonomy and pupil initiative was formulated in more systematic terms by William Kilpatrick, who was employed at Horace Mann as educational psychologist and researcher. In "The Project Method" (1918), Kilpatrick described "the purposeful act" as

the core of education. He was convinced that autonomy, having control over one's own life and actions, formed the essence of democracy. He contrasted democratic living with a life in slavery or serfdom: "These poor unfortunates must in the interest of the overmastering system be habituated to act with a minimum of their own purposing and with a maximum of servile acceptance of others' purposes. In important matters they merely follow plans handed down to them from above and execute these according to prescribed directions" (Kilpatrick 1918, 6). According to Kilpatrick a lot of traditional education, in which pupils had to listen, follow instructions and learn a collection of facts and formulas selected by others, showed more likeness to this slavish attitude than the democratic outlook on life. The project method would place pupil initiative centre stage, not just because this would lead to better learning outcomes, but even more importantly to teach the pupils that their voice mattered. This would also result in a more democratic relation between teachers and pupils. Kilpatrick claimed that the same educational task could have a completely opposite effect when it was demanded from pupils or when the pupil engaged in it on his own volition: "To the one the teacher is a friend and comrade; to the other, a taskmaster and enemy" (Kilpatrick 1918, 11).

The project method could be used for individual as well as group education, which had the additional advantage of teaching pupils moral and social education. By consequently letting pupils chose as a group what they would do and how they would do it, they would gradually learn to make collective decisions. "The teacher's success – if we believe in democracy – will consist in gradually eliminating himself or herself from the success of the procedure", Kilpatrick wrote (1918, 13). He was also convinced that moral education primarily took place via peer pressure. Instead of placing himself over and against the group as an external moral authority, the teacher should use this peer pressure and formulate behavioural norms with the group. Again, the essential point for Kilpatrick was that democratic citizens should be in control of their own (social) lives.

At Horace Mann, Kilpatrick's work was continued by Roy Hatch, who published several influential books on "citizenship training" (Angell Report 1930; Hatch 1923; 1925; 1926; Hatch & Stull 1926). Next to the school's emphasis on social education, his approach focused on another distinctive practice of Horace Mann: the Civic League and the Girls' League. Hatch connected the project method explicitly with citizenship education and another line of educational development at Horace Mann in which citizenship was understood as a set of social attitudes that could be taught and measured (Report of the Dean 1920).

Noblesse oblige and the Girls' League

Between 1918 and 1921, school psychologist Clara Chassell and elementary teacher Siegfried Upton developed a "scale for measuring the importance of habits of good citizenship". They believed that it should be possible to explicate every educational goal in terms of observable behaviour in order to track progress and communicate more clearly with pupils and their parents. To define citizenship as an educational goal, Upton and Chassell asked: "What are

the habits and attitudes desirable for good citizenship in an elementary school community?" This question in itself already reveals the focus of Horace Mann: education starts and ends with the immediate social surroundings of the pupil, that is, the school community. Upton and Chassell first composed a list of possible social and moral attitudes for citizenship within the overarching definition: "to work for the well-being of the group, rather than for personal ends" (Upton & Chassell 1921, 8). Then, they asked teachers, educational experts and parents to appoint a value to each attitude, resulting in the final scale. Things like "is honest and truthful", "has a sense of civic responsibility", but also "recognizes moral purpose in the universe, and reverences a Higher Power" received the highest value. Less important, according to the 'seventy judges', were "being orderly", "being obedient" and "having a good physical posture" (Upton & Chassell 1921, 33). With the scale in place, the next step was to understand how these attitudes could be developed in pupils. According to Upton and Chassell, every activity in school and every part of the curriculum presented opportunities to promote attitudes and values. Effective citizenship training, they stated, required the conscious effort of the whole school (Upton & Chassell 1921, 18). Just like at Lincoln and Horace Mann for Boys, citizenship education was seen at Horace Mann as an overarching and all-pervading goal.

Hatch elaborated the practice of citizenship education in two directions: the social studies curriculum and the Civic League and Girls' League. In his approach, he combined the insights of Kilpatrick and the ideas behind the Upton-Chassell scale. Combatting egoism was essential, he believed: "The crux of good citizenship is the possession of those attitudes and ideals that result in willingness to sacrifice self for the common good" (Hatch 1925, 3). The Civic League was the pupils' organisation of the elementary school of Horace Mann. According to Hatch, this was the perfect place to teach pupils to collectively determine what kind of behaviour they wanted to promote in school. For instance, the pupils drew up an acronym, COURTESY, in which every letter stood for a desirable personal characteristic. "It was their ideal; they felt a responsibility in seeing that it was lived up to", Hatch wrote, and this was why it was so effective (Hatch 1923, 7). He also pointed out that every class was made responsible for the climate in class and its reputation in school: "The children, as a rule, feel that the room and the school is theirs, and that any serious misbehaviour reflects on them all. The determination to do right is expressed by the preamble to the constitution of one of the rooms: 'We, the children of Room 200 in order to form a more perfect room, to secure justice for all the boys and girls, to help the principal enforce the laws of the school, and to add to the reputation of Horace Mann School do establish this constitution'" (Hatch 1925, 16). As this example shows, things like the American constitution were not abstract historical artefacts at Horace Mann, but were rather seen as inspiration improving daily life, for creating 'a more perfect room'.

Hatch stressed repeatedly that education focused on self-government, self-discipline and pupil initiative did not mean that the teachers could sit back and relax. Rather, the process required constant attention and flexibility from the teachers, which meant that in practice,

their task was far more demanding than traditional education. Although teachers could never take the lead in an authoritarian manner, they had to guide the pupils nonetheless by facilitating and even steering the group deliberations (Hatch & Stull 1926, 10).

Next to organizing school life for the pupils, the Civic League and the Girls' League organized charity projects. Here, the aim was to educate the pupils in empathy, humanity and self-sacrifice (HM Brochure 1916, 34). "The aim of the Girls' League", high school teacher Caroline Hotchkiss wrote, "is to develop among the girls a spirit of social service" (Hotchkiss 1923, 5). To this aim, speakers were invited who introduced possible charities for new fund raisers organized by the girls. A telling example of the general idea of the Leagues was their self-set rule that the money collected was not to be donated by their parents. Rather it should be the result of personal efforts and "represent the utmost the boys and girls could do in self-denial" (Hotchkiss 1923, 13). Selected projects were almost without exception charities for the poor, the ill, the underfed and the "negro Education in the South". The world outside Horace Mann appeared primarily as in need of help, and the pupils learned that personal benevolence, rather than structural change of society, was the form this help should take. Attention for "those less fortunate than ourselves", as the elected chair of the League called it, would teach the girls to check their self-interest. One pupil stated: "The girls don't realize it, but unconsciously it makes them unselfish" (Hotchkiss 1923, 19). The task of the *female* elite, these girls learned, was not to rule or to change society, but to ease the suffering in the world.

Democratic education at Horace Mann consisted of the development of social attitudes and competences, empathy being one of them. In this social education, the ideas of Kilpatrick remained influential. As principal Reynolds summarized in 1938: "The good modern school does believe in control, discipline, but it aims always at the democratic ideal of self-control […]. Control of oneself and of one's affairs is the essence of democratic living" (Report of the Dean 1938, 80).

VII. CONCLUSION

The stories of these three schools present a wide variety of perspectives on and practices of democratic education. These perspectives were connected to the camps in the educational landscape that Kliebard distinguished. At Lincoln, insights from the child development camp were combined with a society centred curriculum. This led to a practice of democratic education around social and political themes and pupil self-government. Democratic citizenship was understood as having a (self-)critical attitude and willingness to take initiative to change society. There was little room for authoritarian or hierarchical relations at Lincoln. At Horace Mann for Boys, the insights of the humanists and the social efficiency movement were combined. Democratic citizenship was based on the acknowledgement of factual differences between people and the development of personal virtues like discipline,

humility and perseverance. Learning to recognize the right authorities, striving for moral greatness and the introduction to the canon of Western culture were seen as essential in the training of democratic leaders. Education at Horace Mann was mostly in line with the ideas of the child development camp with a constant focus on the social life and development of the pupils. Kilpatrick's ideas on autonomy and being in control of one's own life and activities were combined with an emphasis on self-discipline and a social responsibility for those less fortunate.

Comparing the stories of the three schools, a few things stand out. Firstly, at all three schools citizenship education was seen as the internalization of a certain fundamental attitude and everywhere self-discipline was seen as a central element of democratic living. The point was to have the pupils *identify* with something they believed to be reasonable and valuable, rather than to have them passively adopt certain values. Secondly, democratic education was seen as an overarching goal of education, not just another thing that pupils had to learn, but the one thing which united the whole philosophy of education of the school. All activities at school contributed or could contribute to this overarching goal. Thirdly, this meant that democratic education was not just, and maybe not even primarily, a matter of educational content. At all three schools, it was the form and organization of education that determined what kind of citizenship education took place there. It involved the didactics, the type of relations that existed between pupils and teachers, general norms of conduct among pupils, and the school climate. At all three schools, pupils were expected and encouraged to feel members of a school community with a distinct culture. The schools were convinced that the school experience as a whole shapes democratic citizens by means of a consistently implemented philosophy of education.

Even though the practice at the three schools was partly shaped by scientific insights and scholarly theories, here too we see a wide variety. Each of the schools identified with another scientific tradition and in adopting ideas, they also took on an active role. The schools were not so much places where scientific theories were simply put into practice, nor were they just laboratories where theorists could test their ideas. Rather, the schools formed professional and personal communities, in which the staff made use of a variety of academic sources to better understand the practice they were working in, to investigate, question, revise, and improve it. The use of educational theory and research at the three schools shows that the relation between theory and practice was far from one-directional during the Progressive era.

Furthermore, the stories of these three schools and their relation with Teachers College could also be understood in terms of an overarching democratic ideal of educational and scientific *pluralism*. That was how Dean William Russell of Teachers College interpreted the diversity of theories and practices during the Interbellum (Report of the Dean 1929). Teachers College's contributions to the betterment of education were so rich, productive, and profoundly democratic, he claimed, because "we have many educational traditions, we

hold conflicting ideals" (Report of the Dean 1930, 11). The diversity of educational practices at the three schools exemplified this idea that "sound educational theory" and educational quality came in many forms, not one. On all measures (grades, tests, success in college and later life, appreciation by teachers, pupils and parents) the schools scored extraordinary well (Angell Report 1930; PEA 1943; Buttenwieser 1969). Yet the content and form of their education was widely different. Apparently, quality did not necessarily imply uniformity, at least not at this very privileged level of education.

More specifically, the stories of these schools suggest that the quality of citizenship education provided by a school does not lie in compliance to an external measure or guideline, but rather seems to result from the thorough implementation of a philosophy of education supported by the teaching staff. Maybe the schools show us that we should think of democratic education in terms of citizenship educations, in the plural. Just like debate over the meaning of democracy can be seen as an essential part of democracy itself, a collection of various forms of democratic education, with separate and perhaps even contrary aims, might be precisely what *democratic* citizenship education implies.

However, at the end of the 1930s, the educational mood in America turned against such a pluralist and experimental idea of education for democracy. With the outbreak of the Second World War, a period of internal conflict and debate came to an end, also at Teachers College. Where Dean Russell had championed the diversity of scientific experimentation and educational practice during the Interbellum, he now wrote about the 1940 manifesto "Democracy and Education in the Current Crisis": "This manifesto was accepted by unanimous acclaim at a great student-faculty convocation in the summer, and reveals, what many have known for a long time, that the Faculty of Teachers College has never divided over fundamentals, and that in love for our country and work for its betterment, we stand together" (Report of the Dean 1940, 8). The new focus on national consensus, cooperation and educational clarity also led to another dominant model of knowledge production and dissemination. As Dean Russell wrote a few years later, when Lincoln and Horace Mann were discontinued: "Another era in the history of [Teachers] College thus ended and the two splendid Schools which had pioneered in demonstration and experimentation in elementary and secondary education for more than half a century succumbed to the pressing need for educational experimentation through different channels" (President's report 1948, 4). Among these new channels was the Citizenship Education Project (1949-1955), a scientific curriculum and textbook project, build around cooperation with a large number of *average* high schools around the country. The development of a scientifically based curriculum for democratic citizenship could no longer rely on a diversity of extraordinary school practices, but would have to focus on providing unitary material for normal educational settings. How textbooks in particular became important intermediaries between educational science and practice after the Second World War will be explored in chapter three.

CHAPTER 2

Citizenship education in the Dutch educational sciences: the debate on education and democracy in *Pedagogische Studiën* (1920-2019)

I. INTRODUCTION[3]

In the history of Dutch education and democracy, the year 1917 formed a pivotal moment. In that year, the Dutch constitution was considerably revised by means of a political compromise known as the 'Pacification', bringing the so-called school struggle ('schoolstrijd') and suffrage struggle ('kiesrechtstrijd') to a close. Throughout the second half of the 19th century, religious groups had aspired equal public funding for religious schools, while liberals and social democrats sought to secure universal (male) suffrage (Dekker, Amsing & Wichgers 2019). In exchange for more extensive state inspection (leading to a mixed reception of the pacification among Protestants (Exalto 2017)), denominational schools became state financed, while retaining the freedom of establishment, conviction and organization of teaching ('stichting, richting en inrichting' in Dutch). The national government determined the content of primary and secondary education and inspected the quality of education at schools, but it had to refrain from prescribing especially those things relevant to citizenship education: religious, moral and social education, and the didactical form of education. While there were some political debates on the perceived need to prepare citizens for their new political role, not much was done in practice (De Haan 1992). The pacification of 1917, combining the Freedom of Education and universal suffrage, set the stage for debates on citizenship education in the Netherlands.

Meanwhile, the ideals of progressive education also appeared in the Netherlands. At the close of the First World War, education was a new and developing academic field in the Netherlands (Bakker, Noordman & Rietveld-van Wingerden 2010; Mulder 1989). As part of the effort to demarcate a proper domain of expertise, a group of academic pedagogues worked together to found a platform for the dissemination of scientific knowledge on education and upbringing (Van Hilvoorde 2002). In 1920, professors from all four non-confessional universities established the journal *Pedagogische Studiën*. In the opening statement of the first number, they stated the purpose of the journal: it "will not take a specific position, will not represent a certain persuasion or party, it will search for what unites and not for what divides […]. A stance for free speech, a communal academic forum our journal wants to be, no more, no less" (PS 1920, 6). The effort to establish one national academic forum for education challenged the political, scientific and educational structure of the Netherlands at this time, which was characterized by a system of separated schools and educational science along religious and political lines, a situation known as *pillarization*. The aim of the journal was progressive: to improve educational practice by means of scientific enquiry (PS 1924, 2).

3 Earlier versions of this chapter were presented at the 2017 Onderwijs Research Dagen as: "Burgerschapsvorming in historisch perspectief. Tijdschriftanalyse *Pedagogische Studiën* 1920-2000"; at the 2017 AMCIS/LLAKES European Conference on Citizenship Education as: "Studying Citizenship Education. 'Objective' and 'political' science"; at the 2019 ISCHE conference as: "The Dutch educational debate on citizenship education. *Pedagogische Studiën* 1920-2020"; and in an invited lecture at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York in 2019 as: "History of citizenship education in the Netherlands".

Pedagogische Studiën was founded in 1920 by prominent members of the first generation of academic educational scientists in the Netherlands and is still published today. At least until the last quarter of the twentieth century it held a central place in the Dutch educational sciences, and subsequent members of the editorial board feature among the most prominent educational thinkers in the Netherlands, many of whom were also actively involved in shaping Dutch educational policy (Depaepe & Bakker 1998; Van Hilvoorde 2002, 2013; Van Rees 2020). Throughout its history the journal tried to overcome partisanship by means of scientific objectivity and to bridge the domains of educational science, policy and practice (Van Rees 2020). As such, it was an important platform for scientific discussions on education and democracy in the Netherlands. Throughout its history, the journal saw the rise and fall of different research traditions (Van Rees 2020). This chapter traces how different conceptions of democratic citizenship developed in relation to changing dominant views on the educational sciences in the journal. *How was democratic citizenship education discussed scientifically, in interaction with policy and practice, in Pedagogische Studiën over the last hundred years?*

II. METHODS

The research presented in this chapter focusses on a selection of articles from *Pedagogische Studiën*, that were selected, coded, grouped, contextualized and then presented in four historical periods in which specific views on democratic citizenship, education and educational science were dominant: 1920-1942; 1946-1969; 1970-1999; and 2000-2019.

Based on the annual tables of content, all articles dealing with democracy and education broadly conceived (including those dealing with political, moral, social and religious education and the role of the school in a democratic society) were selected. Based on these articles, a coding scheme was developed which consisted of five categories indicative of the type of citizenship education and the type of educational science employed. Each article was then coded in its entirety: it was assigned *one* code for its research tradition, *one* for the type of citizenship, and so on. Next, the results of coding were aggraded per decade and plotted into graphs, which show the relative prominence of, for instance, research traditions and types of citizenship over the course of the century. This initial analysis led to a rather crude but nevertheless insightful overview of developments. In the second part of the project, the results were nuanced, contextualized and further explored to come to a historical narrative on the group of educational scientists that published and edited the journal. The coding scheme and the list of selected articles can be found in the Appendix.

Selection of articles

Citizenship is such a complicated term that it is not evident which articles actually deal with the topic. Research on historical transformations of scientific research on citizenship

education, ruled out relying on a current definition. To avoid anachronism, the initial parameters were set as wide as possible, capturing a bundle of themes rather than a preset idea of citizenship education. Manually checking the yearly tables of content three times, all articles that dealt with personal, moral, social, political or values education, those dealing with the societal or pedagogical task of education, and those dealing with the relation between education and democracy were selected. For example, among the titles selected are, "Some social pedagogical remarks" (Nieuwenhuis, PS 1949), "Character education and the pedagogical encounter" (De Miranda, PS 1959), "The ideology of self-realization" (Duijker, PS 1973), and "A developmental perspective on the 'is-ought question'" (Van Haaften, PS 1984). Selection was based on titles, because other methods (such as key term searches) would not have been discriminative enough. Including all relevant key terms would lead to a list too long to be practicable (composed of all words related to political, social, religious, and values education). Another logical method would be to read the summaries of the articles, but these were only available from the 1970s onwards. If it was unclear from the title whether or not an article was relevant, the introduction or first few pages of the article were read to make a decision. This process led to the selection of 194 articles.

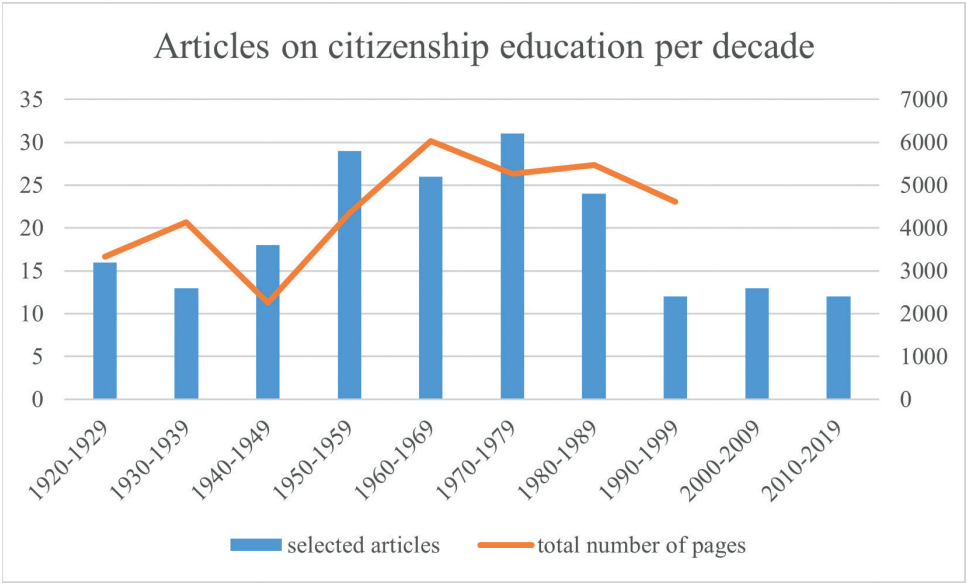

Figure 1. *Selected articles per decade*

Figure 1 shows the distribution of these selected articles over the decades. It also shows a line indicating the total number of pages per decade (based on the PDF files of these volumes, available online for the years 1920-2000), to give an indication how prominent articles on citizenship education were over the years. The spread of the selected articles over the decades somewhat follows the development of the size of the journal, but also shows some remarkable gaps and peaks. For instance, in the 1940s and 1950s relatively a lot of articles dealing with democratic education appeared, in the 1930s and 1990s relatively little.

Coding

Each selected article was assigned one code in the following categories: type of citizenship; research tradition; auxiliary science; relation to educational policy; and form. The coding scheme was developed intuitively, except for the research tradition category, which was adopted from Meijer (1997). This means that both the categories and the codes were developed and refined during the process of reading the articles, based on what appeared to be distinctive qualities of a reasonable number of articles. The logic behind this was the wish to avoid anachronism, to follow the historical discourse instead of imposing an external framework, while at the same time establishing order and providing overview. In this sense, the process of intuitive coding employed here has some overlap with the method of grounded theory, in which the analytical concepts are to be found in the sources themselves and then systematized into codes and categories which are subsequently used to analyze the collection of sources (Bryant & Charmaz 2008). Based on a preliminary scan of each 5th volume (1920, 1925, 1930 etc.) an initial coding scheme was constructed, which was revised and expanded, based on insights gained during a round of actual coding of the articles. For instance, when a considerable number of articles showed another form of citizenship than the ones present in the initial coding scheme, a new code for this specific form of citizenship was devised. The coding scheme was considerably revised two times, based on this iterative process and on feedback received during multiple conference presentations of the preliminary results.

The results of the coding process showed four distinct periods, in which different types of citizenship education overlapped to a large extend with changing views on the form of educational science. Combining these results with the historiography of Dutch education and educational science, it became clear that there were key authors who held leading positions in the journal, the Dutch educational sciences in general and the debate on democracy and education. Often, these key authors combined a specific view on citizenship education on the one hand and the proper form of the educational sciences on the other. In the presentation of the results below, each period is further characterized by following the work (often also in publications of monographs, reports and articles in other journals) of the leading figures who set the tone of the discussion in *Pedagogische Studiën*.

III. EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY AND THE FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE (1920-1942)

Pedagogische Studiën was founded in 1920 as "a communal academic forum" that strove to overcome partisanship in educational science, policy and practice. However, the Dutch political and educational reality at the time was characterized by pillarization, in which Protestants, Catholics and Socialists and Liberals had their own separate institutes. In this setting, the effort to manage democratic *unity in diversity* was the general backdrop for discussions on democracy and education in *Pedagogische Studiën*, while the political role of citizens received little attention. Among the founders of *Pedagogische Studiën* were J.H. Gunning (1859-1951) and Ph.A. Kohnstamm (1875-1951), two founding figures of the Dutch educational sciences. Both wrote extensively on moral and democratic education, with a strong focus on the development of the 'person' of the child and his conscience (Exalto, Groenendijk & Miedema 2015; Mulder 1989; Van Essen & Imelman 2003). Their views dominated the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën* on nearly all topics, as they published an enormous amount of articles and had a determinative voice in the editorial board (Van Hilvoorde 2002). However, there were some diverging, less prominent voices, stressing themes like social efficiency and the empirical study of education. The debate on citizenship education and the relation between democracy and education before the Second World War revolved around the development of personal conscience and, later on, the threat of national socialism.

Personalistic pedagogy and progressive education in a pillarized democracy

In a series of public lectures published in *Pedagogische Studiën*, Gunning stated: "Our traditional school no longer functions as an educational institute for life, but only for the school itself" (Gunning PS 1927, 231). The school of the 19th century, which Gunning characterized as intellectualist in nature and based on the outdated educational psychology of Herbart, was "utterly incapable of fulfilling her duty to help educate a new generation, able to meet the incredible demands and dangers of this post-war era" (Gunning PS 1927, 197). In light of two major developments, industrialization and democratization, a new school was needed that would accommodate cooperative learning around real life issues. The new school was thus to be a school for modern democratic life and distinct educational innovations were discussed abundantly in *Pedagogische Studiën*, focusing particularly on the work of Maria Montessori, Helen Parkhurst, John Dewey and Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster (Gunning PS 1924; Kohnstamm PS 1926; Diels PS 1927).

In his lectures, Gunning presented an exemplary school in this regard, where academic insights were translated into an educational practice for modern life: Lincoln School of Teachers College (Gunning PS 1927, 295). Here, Gunning told his audience, one could see what an alternative for individualistic, competitive and intellectualistic education would look like. The communal study of real-life problems, integrating all sorts of knowledge and

skills truly prepared the pupils for democratic life. Part of the success of this experiment, Gunning claimed, was the practice of self-government by the pupils. In another publication, he had described the practice of the School Council at the Amsterdam Lyceum, of which he was the headmaster, as a successful experiment with education for democracy. He remarked that the obvious outcome was that individual pupils developed their capacity for self-government, but more importantly the school as an institute developed this capacity as well. After a few years, the school culture incorporated the practice of self-government and more and more things could be left to the pupils themselves, headmaster Gunning remarked rather self-congratulatory (Gunning PS 1925, 265). The rules of the school council were revised over the years, and the institute became integrated into the school. Other contributions in *Pedagogische Studiën* also discussed the question of "discipline and freedom" at schools (Diels PS 1925; Drewes PS 1924) and the use of newspaper clippings to bring 'real life' into the classroom (Duyverman PS 1937). New educational forms would thus constitute modern democratic education.

While advocating education for democracy by means of specific educational practices, the authors and editors of *Pedagogische Studiën* remained outspoken critics of *citizenship* education as a pedagogical idea, especially when this was demanded through educational policy. Citizenship education throughout this period was framed in terms of 'state pedagogy' in *Pedagogische Studiën*, and state pedagogy was the antithesis of democratic education (Kohnstamm 1919). Especially Gunning and Kohnstamm formulated critique on citizenship education from the perspective of *personalistic* pedagogy, which formed the broader framework for nearly all of the contributors to *Pedagogische Studiën* in this period (Van Hilvoorde 2002; Van Rees 2020).

The newly established academic field in the Netherlands was called 'Pedagogiek' in Dutch, a combination of the science of child rearing ('opvoeding' in Dutch) and education ('onderwijs' in Dutch), and initially particularly oriented towards the German *Geisteswissenschaften*. Both Kohnstamm and Gunning stated on numerous occasions that the nuclear family was the natural place for upbringing, both in an empirical (this was where upbringing mostly takes place) and a moral sense (the parents had a decisive voice in all matters of upbringing) (Kohnstamm 1929, 386; Gunning PS 1924). In line with the ideas behind the Freedom of Education, the school was primarily seen by them as an institute that supported the pedagogical task of parents, while adding the element of instruction.

Kohnstamm's views on both democracy and education revolved around his existential notion of the person and personal conscience. Kohnstamm held (based on a quite elaborate study of the philosophy of science and morals) that it was impossible to formulate a rational ground for any worldview or system of morals, and hence that there was a multiplicity of coherent and meaningful worldviews (including a normative dimension) available for us as rational beings (Kohnstamm 1927). Democracy was the political system that respected and accommodated such a diversity of coherent worldviews. The main task of pedagogy according to Kohnstamm, was to guide the child to the point where he or she could

choose between these different reasonable worldviews and become an integrated person (Kohnstamm 1929, 61). This required a decision of conscience, which had the paradoxical quality that it expressed and determined the person at the same time (Kohnstamm 1929, 59). The central characteristic of a decision of conscience for Kohnstamm that the person, when asked why he made the choice that he made, cannot answer differently than "Here *I* stand, I could not have done otherwise" (Kohnstamm 1929, 60).

Kohnstamm distinguished two basic outlooks on the world and man's place within it, which he called 'idealism' and 'personalism', leading to two fundamentally opposed views on education (Kohnstamm 1919; 1922; 1929; 1934). Idealism was described by Kohnstamm as the belief that the ultimate reality is not the world of individual things and persons we live in, but rather consists of a rational order of ideas. Plato's philosophy and politics were seen by Kohnstamm as the most consequential formulation of idealism in this sense. In Plato's *Republic* the state ruled on the basis of reason, led by the most capable. Education took the form of uniform intellectual instruction, with as its ultimate goal 'citizenship education': since the state was the bearer of reason, education should be totally controlled by the state, and other (irrational) educational institutes, like the family, should be abolished (Kohnstamm 1922, 248). While Plato formed the ideal type for this view on life, politics and education, Kohnstamm saw similar tendencies in contemporary educational psychology and sociology. The educational psychologists, in Kohnstamm's view, were too much focused on the effective transmission of knowledge and unable to properly address the development of conscience, while the sociologists ran the risk of putting the demands of society above the development of the individual child (Kohnstamm 1929, 117). Gunning made similar points in *Pedagogische Studiën*, while reflecting on the international practices of "education for society". Gunning wrote that both the German "*Sozialpädagogik*, the ancient and modern *staatsbürgerliche Erziehung*, and the American education for social efficiency [did] not even qualify as upbringing in the strict sense [opvoeding], but merely as preparation [opleiding]" (Gunning PS 1924, 334).

The other worldview, personalism, had in Kohnstamm's view a completely different and truly democratic basic premise: reality was expressed in an equally valuable way in different individual persons. Instead of being a diminished and unclear expression of pure ideas, all fundamental values were multiple for the personalist. Kohnstamm made this point clear by referring to actual historical figures: Luther and Saint Francis each expressed a distinct but valuable form of goodness; Dante and Einstein do not express one truth about being, but rather expressed two incommensurable forms of truth; and Giotto and Rembrandt expressed beauty, but each in their own specific way. The point was that each of these persons is not valuable relative to how much they share in one conception of goodness, truth or beauty; they are valuable precisely in their particularity. In Kohnstamm's religious language: "As God's revelation in this empirical world unfolds, it does not become poorer, more uniform, simpler, but on the contrary, it becomes richer, multiple, more differentiated" (Kohnstamm 1922, 217). In this world view, the function of the state and the

school is to secure the expression of this multitude of values, beauty and truth (Kohnstamm PS 1926). That, according to Kohnstamm, was the core of personalistic pedagogy, which for him overlapped with democratic education.

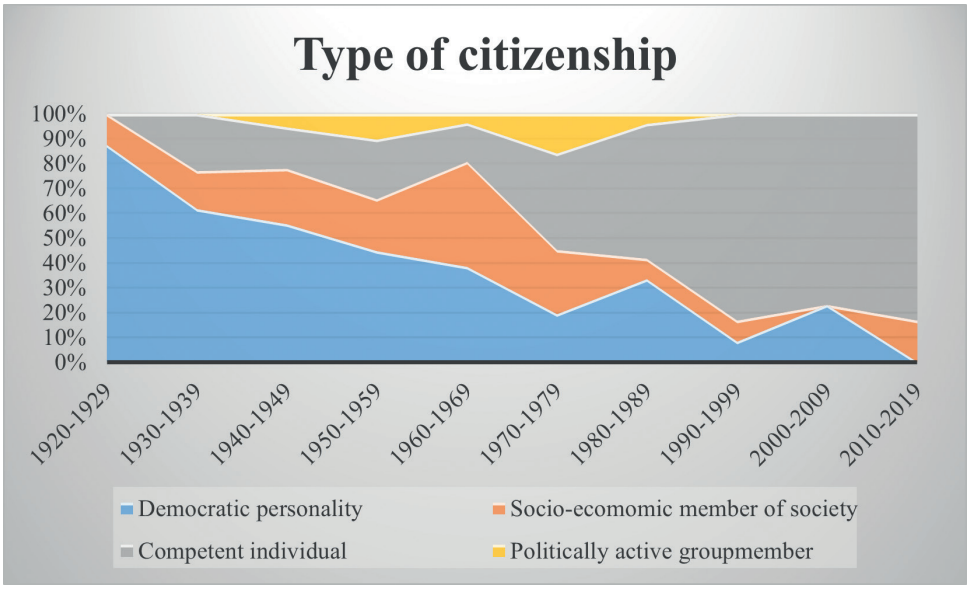

Figure 2. *This graph shows the dominance of the idea of citizenship as having a 'Democratic personality' in articles dealing with citizenship education published before the Second World War. Kohnstamm and Gunning were the main proponents of this conception in the editorial board of Pedagogische Studiën and published the majority of articles in this tradition.*

According to Kohnstamm, social and political education at school should not be ideological (in the sense of instructing children what to value or believe) but rather consist in learning how to live in a society that was divided on fundamental issues. The best school for this purpose would be a mixed, public school, where children would learn to interact and work together with children from different religious and political backgrounds. The goal, however, should always be the development of the unique personality of the pupils, by exposing them to different forms of religious and moral life. Never to overcome difference, but rather to facilitate it (Kohnstamm & Gerhard 1923). Overcoming difference through a unitary public school was seen by Kohnstamm as a form of 'state pedagogy', a profound threat to democracy.

In the 1930s, the threat of 'state pedagogy' transformed from an abstract idea into a very real and present danger. In articles called "Consolidated pedagogy" [Gelijkgeschakelde pedagogiek] and "Democracy, Dictatorship and Education" Gunning and Kohnstamm described the educational practices of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia as the opposite of personalistic education. Gunning described a system of *Staatserziehung* in which education

was completely subjected to the ideal of the state, further sanctioned by an educational science that was also subjected to a political project (Gunning PS 1934, 248). Kohnstamm described both political systems as the submission of persons to an idea of the state. "Dictatorship: Democracy = Dressage: Education. Dictatorship is a system of mass dressage to increase her efficiency in the hands of the leader or leaders; democracy is a system of public education in and through the conviction that *each* human being has a conscience and may never be reduced to an object in service of others" (78). Dictatorial dressage was meant to silence personal conscience, education to develop it (Kohnstamm PS 1926; Kohnstamm 1938).

On the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën*, Kohnstamm and others expressed the personalist view on democracy and education. Democratic education was seen as important, but the constant fear of anti-democratic state pedagogy also made discussion of concrete educational policy difficult. Instead of mandatory or centralized citizenship education, contributions in *Pedagogische Studiën* were more focused on didactical innovation as a means of improving education for democracy. Especially the ideas of Montessori, Kilpatrick, Dewey and Parkhurst were favorably discussed and connected to the dominant personalist view. The overlapping ideals in all these innovations was that education should become more child-centered, cooperative, focused on personal development and connected to life, instead of intellectualistic and focused on individual academic achievement. While the educational structure was to remain one of Freedom of Education, the educational sciences could inform the didactical form that education for democratic citizenship within schools should take.

Minor voices: Education, society and the science of means

While Kohnstamm and Gunning were clearly the dominant figures in *Pedagogische Studiën* in this period, they were not the only ones writing on education and democracy. Two divergent voices in particular merit attention, as they represented two other traditions in the Dutch educational sciences. The first was H.J.W.F. Brugmans (1884-1961), university lecturer in educational psychology at the University of Groningen. Brugmans opposed Kohnstamm on many crucial points, most importantly on the relation between philosophical reflection and empirical research on education. In 1934, Brugmans published the article "Levensbeschouwing en opvoedingsvragen" [Philosophy of life and questions of upbringing] (PS 1934). He claimed that the educational sciences should be modeled after the natural sciences and look for laws of effect and efficiency in learning. It should not, as Kohnstamm argued, extend its field to the question of values and ultimate goals of education and upbringing, as these clearly lay beyond the scope of objective knowledge. Brugmans accepted that there was a multiplicity of worldviews, and also that the practice of upbringing and education are guided by moral and religious norms, he just did not think that this was relevant for the *science* of education. The science of pedagogy, in as much as it is a real science and not speculation, only provided what Brugmans called

'hypothetical judgements': "if you want to achieve X, this is how you do it" (Brugmans, PS 1934, 178). These scientific hypothetical judgements could be achieved by means of structured observation and experiment. Normative judgements, in the form 'this is what you should try to achieve in education and upbringing', fell outside of the domain of science and should thus be kept out of the scientific study of education. "Purpose-setting science is a contradiction in adjecto", Brugmans concluded. Educational science proper could only be "a science of *means*" (Brugmans, PS 1934, 182). Within *Pedagogische Studiën* and the broader educational world, Brugmans had little allies at the time, but his empirical-analytic approach to education would become very prominent after the Second World War.

A second minor voice was that of social efficiency thinkers, who saw the relation between democracy and education in light of placing each individual in the correct place in society. In the editorial board of *Pedagogische Studiën*, the only real representative of this view was Gerrit van Veen, whose work was more than once topic of internal debate, because others saw them as radical and too political for a scientific journal (Van Hilvoorde 2002). In the 1920s, he published a series of articles in which he claimed that educational scientists should orientate the school towards the needs of society, rather than the needs of the individual child. His view on education was influenced by the work of German social pedagogues like Paul Barth and Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster, but he added a technocratic idea of centralized planning. Van Veen argued that the science of education should emancipate itself from Romantic notions of free development and turn to the modern sciences of psychology and sociology to formulate an answer to the questions "How should I educate the individual, to achieve a good society? And – How should I organize society to breed good people?" (Van Veen, PS 1924, 104). One of the primary tasks of the school in a democratic society, according to Van Veen, should be to select people (on the basis of scientifically established psychological characteristics) for one of three main tasks in society. The great majority of people would always become 'executives', people who carry out the actual work that has been planned for them by another group, the 'directives'. And then there was a very select group of 'inventives', who provide new ideas to the directives. "Science does not permit us to believe, that human society shall ever present another picture than this", Van Veen concluded (Van Veen, PS 1924, 71). The educational system should socialize each individual for his place in society and teach the value of cooperation and a sense of pride in the wellbeing of society as a whole. This was a of course a very radical proposal, but the idea that education should first of all be seen as an institute of *society*, a means of perpetuating and improving the whole, instead of a service to families or children, was not that strange. In fact, a lot of educational science that models itself after sociology investigates the societal preconditions and effects of education. This idea, in less utopian (or dystopian) mold, was always present in some form in *Pedagogische Studiën*.

Throughout the first period, there were thus some different educational and scientific perspectives on democracy and education present on the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën*. However, there was on perspective that was clearly dominant: personalism, expressed

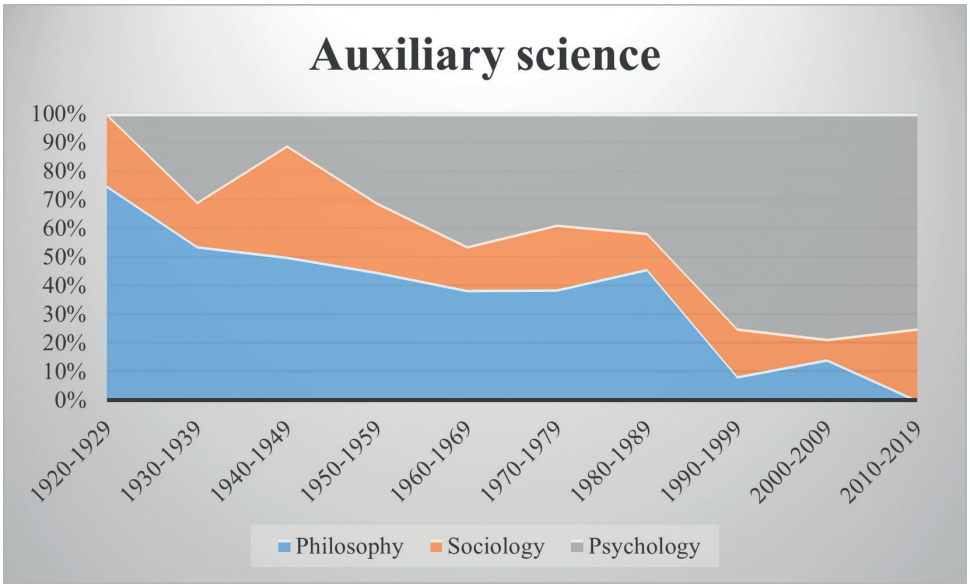

Figure 3. *This graph shows the relative dominance of articles dealing with citizenship education from the perspective of philosophy in the early years of Pedagogische Studiën. It also shows the constant presence of articles drawing on educational sociology and the near constant rise of those in the field of educational psychology.*

mainly by Kohnstamm and Gunning. During the Nazi occupation, Kohnstamm (who was Jewish, although he practiced Protestantism) was forced to resign from his functions, and in 1941, the editorial board of *Pedagogische Studiën* decided that the journal could no longer function as a free academic forum under these circumstances. The journal would be continued shortly after the War in 1946.

IV. BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY, MASS YOUTH AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF EDUCATION (1946-1969)

When the war ended in 1945, a great sense of relieve but also of great urgency was present in the Netherlands. After five years under a dictatorship, both politicians and educationalists felt that democracy had to reconstructed, but also reconsidered. On the political level, the newly formed social democratic Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA; Labor party) tried to establish a 'breakthrough', meant to dismantle the system of pillarization. For the moderate liberal, socialist and confessional politicians united in the new party, the old system now appeared divisive and a hindrance to achieving national solidarity and democratic unity (De Jong, 2014). Many of the editors of *Pedagogische Studiën* were associated with the PvdA, and Kohnstamm even helped writing the sections on education of its program (Mulder 1989; Stolk 2014; Vermeer 1987). The idea of a political 'breakthrough' translated into an agenda

for educational reform, with a focus on more scientifically grounded national educational policy. On a political level the breakthrough was not successful and culturally the pillarization soon retained its pre-war dominance. In education, however, the breakthrough ideas did achieve result, but not by questioning the juridical structure of Freedom of Education. Rather, a new type of educational science arose in conjunction with the establishment of national educational agencies (such as a national institute for educational testing (CITO, established in 1968)), which in practice limited the effective power of individual schools over the course of education (De Rooy 2018). The debate on the role of education in a democracy shifted from the pre-war focus on freedom of conscience, towards the preparation for full socio-economic membership of society and the question of educational equality. Many post-war developments cumulated in the 1963 law on secondary education, nicknamed the *Mammoetwet* (the Mammoth-law) because of its comprehensive revision of the national system of education. One of the biggest effects of this law was that in enabled many to climb the social ladder by means of education.

In the editorial board of *Pedagogische Studiën*, Philip J. Idenburg (1901-1995) was an important proponent of the new form of educational science and focus on the socio-economic function of education (Van Wieringen 2016). Meanwhile, the debate on moral education saw the rise of a new phenomenon that received a lot of attention in *Pedagogische Studiën* and educational policy circles during the 1950s: problematic youth. Right after the war, many educationalists claimed that the youth were no longer properly rooted in a moral worldview, which resulted in a generation adrift and the rise of the 'mass person' (De Rooy 2018; Langeveld 1952). In *Pedagogische Studiën*, Kohnstamm's protégé Martinus J. Langeveld (1905-1989) developed a phenomenological pedagogy that addressed the development of the complete person (Bos 2011; Levering 2015). In the 1950s, his report on "The societal bewildering of the youth" resonated with others in *Pedagogische Studiën*. In the end, however, his attempt to continue Kohnstamm's pedagogy as a unitary philosophically based science was overtaken in *Pedagogische Studiën* by the more technocratic and specialized educational sciences standing in the empirical-analytic tradition. Along with a new conception of democracy, a new form of citizenship education and a new educational science began to dominate the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën*.

A new democratic ideal

The first number of *Pedagogische Studiën* that appeared after the war opened with a text by Kohnstamm, entitled "Taak en positie der paedagogiek in de opbouw ener nieuwe gemeenschap" [Task and position of pedagogy in the construction of a new community]. The biggest task at the time, he wrote, was to develop the field of "*social pedagogy* […], devoted to the upbringing of man in light of his task in the state and society". He introduced "a new name for the political education that our people now require: […] 'personalistic socialism'" (Kohnstamm, PS 1946, 8). This marked a shift in focus on his part, away from the development of personal conscience towards the question of socialization, but also

reflected a generally felt need to define democracy anew. Various authors published articles in *Pedagogische Studiën* dealing with 'educational reform', and nearly all of them claimed that the old system of distributive educational policy (where the government basically restricted its interference with schools by determining how much money they would receive) lead to conservative educational practices and hindered the implementation of scientifically grounded innovations. Regarding citizenship education, many claimed that the lack of centralized planning was not just harmful for the intellectual development of children, but also frustrated their social and democratic development.

In 1946, long-time secretary of the editorial board of *Pedagogische Studiën* and professor of education at the University of Groningen Hendrik Nieuwenhuis (1904-1993) published the article "Onderwijsvernieuwing en democratie" [Educational reform and democracy] (PS 1946). He reformulated the main task of pedagogy as a task for the school, stressing that "the formation of the personality" implies "the formation of the personality-in-community" (Nieuwenhuis PS 1946, 85). The proper democratic way of life could only be reached, he claimed, by making democratic education an explicit social-pedagogical task of the school. In a way reminiscent of John Dewey's views on democracy and education, Nieuwenhuis argued that the old school worked against the development of "a feeling of social responsibility" in the children, by forbidding cooperation and stimulating competition by focusing on the measurement of individual achievement (Dewey 1917; Nieuwenhuis PS 1946, 86). Only by introducing new methods of teaching and testing would the school become a real school for democracy, where children would learn to work together as they would have to do in society. The school was the proper institute to do this: while the family could remain the main institute concerned with the development of the individual personality of the child (including worldview, conscience and religion), the school was the place where children should receive *social* education. Part of this social education should consist of learning to work together with people from different walks of life, both religious and socio-economic. Nieuwenhuis and others in *Pedagogische Studiën* thus viewed the *public* school as the proper institute for democratic education, like Kohnstamm had done before (Nieuwenhuis PS 1951).

A typical exponent of the new view of democracy and education was the national "Werkcomité voor opvoeding tot democratie" [Working committee for Education for Democracy], which existed from 1948 till 1965. The working committee tried to unite educationalists from across the political and religious spectrum in the Netherlands to formulate a national agenda for the education for democracy. As such, one of its first aims was to come up with a unitary national idea of democracy. The working committee organized meetings and published brochures to promote a view on democracy aimed at consensus and cooperation (also at the international level) that would also shield the youth from the threat of totalitarian propaganda and agitation (De Jong 2009, 28). The antipodes of democracy were extremism and parochialism, both inducing conflict between people, as the chairman declared in *Pedagogische Studiën* (De Boer PS 1953, 310). Among the

members of the working committee were some influential figures like former minister of education F.J.Th. Rutten, educational sociologist and historian P.J. Bouman and educational scientist Adriaan de Groot (De Jong 2009, 36). The committee played an important role in the introduction of the high school course 'Maatschappijleer' [Study of society] in the 1963 law on secondary education (De Jong 2009, 38). In terms of democratic citizenship, the committee adopted the idea of the democratic personality, but (like Kohnstamm and Nieuwenhuis) it stressed the social and cooperative nature of the democratic personality.

The problem of youth and educational phenomenology

Another important publication from the postwar period also stressed the need for more societal guidance of developing democratic persons. In 1948, the Dutch ministry of education issued a national research project into "the so-called mass youth" (Langeveld 1952, 9). Directly after the war, concern arose about the moral situation of the youth. The years of the war had meant a pedagogical pause, next to the obvious exposure to the general moral disarray of war. On top of this, it was felt that urbanization and industrialization had crumbled the previously clear and solid societal surroundings in which the youth was socialized (Langeveld 1952, 14). The effects of what the final rapport called a 'pedagogical vacuum' were seen in youth that appeared to be directionless and morally immature. To find out what was going on and what was to be done about the mass youth, seven institutes were asked to work together on a national investigation, the first of its kind in the Netherlands. Respecting the Dutch situation of pillarization, institutes form all denominations were involved. However, during the actual research the Catholic institute decided to publish its own final report, and the protestant institutes were very reluctant to contribute much work (De Rooy 2018, 168). The result was a national research project carried out by the more liberal and social democratic oriented institutes located in Amsterdam, Utrecht and Groningen (Langeveld 1952, 8). The final report, entitled "De maatschappelijke verwildering der jeugd" [The societal bewildering of the youth] was written by Langeveld, another monumental figure in the history of the educational sciences in the Netherlands and longtime editor of *Pedagogische Studiën*. Social researchers were sent out to communities thought-out the country to report on the activities and lifeworld of local youth. Near the end of the research project, a large pile of initial reports, differing in style, shape and scope had been written, but the research team had difficulties to integrate all this data into a coherent story. It was decided that Langeveld should distill a general statement based on the reports. This gave him the opportunity to mix in the findings with his own pedagogical view, resulting in a rather phenomenological analysis of the mass youth.

In this period, Langeveld was an internationally acclaimed pedagogue, who (together with likeminded philosophers, sociologists and other behavioral scientists) established the so-called 'Utrechtse school', devoted to the development of a phenomenological behavioral science. Throughout his career, Langeveld was particularly hostile to all attempts to study any aspect of education in isolation, independent from a comprehensive theoretical view on

upbringing and education, attempts he saw in the growing fields of educational psychology and sociology (Levering 2015, 105). In his *Beknopte Theoretische Pedagogiek* [A Concise Theory of Education], which was used for decades in university introductory courses throughout the Netherlands, Langeveld developed this comprehensive theory.

In this book, Langeveld described the development of autonomous, integrated persons capable of "zelfverantwoordelijke zelfbepaling" [self-responsible self-determination] as the inherent goal of upbringing (Langeveld 1979, 59). An adult was someone "who can say what he is and what he is not, also in a moral sense, someone who *stands* for what he is and what he does, and also *wants* to stand for this" (Langeveld 1979, 60). An adult, in other words, was a *person* with integrity, a person with "a life plan, a line, an aim, a sense of fidelity to what one has determined for oneself" (Langeveld 1979, 59). Like Kohnstamm before him, Langeveld connected the development of personality with the development of personal conscience, but he broadened the definition of conscience from a primarily religious term to human receptivity for any demanding moral order (Langeveld 1979, 93). In the second edition of the book, he also included a social aspect to personhood. Being an adult person also meant being "a constructive partner in social life" and only fully formed adults were capable of being socially responsible, reliable partners at an equal footing with each other (Langeveld 1979, 60). This meant that Langeveld's social pedagogy was cast in terms of the development of democratic personalities, able to work together, but never subjected to service to the community or the state (Langeveld 1979, 95). Like Kohsntamm before him, Langeveld rejected 'citizenship education' as an ultimate pedagogical goal, since for him, it implied the submission of personal conscience to the interests of the state. But this did not mean that he had no place for education for democracy.

Langeveld's broader views determined his interpretation of the reports on mass youth. The key observation he made in the final report, was that the so-called 'problematic youth' was actually an expression of an underlying problem, which he described as "a pedagogical vacuum" (Langeveld 1952, 24). Based on his phenomenological analysis of the pedagogical situation, Langeveld believed that children left on their own were not capable of raising themselves to become adult persons. They rely on educators (either parents, religious authorities or the school) to introduce them into a morally structured world, in relation to which the children then develop their own moral order and sense of self. Langeveld's main point in the report was that all pedagogical institutes were increasingly failing in this respect, because of dire economic circumstances of the family, a decline in religious life, a disregard for the pedagogical function of the school and a general decline of clear social and spiritual structure of society (Langeveld 1952, 20-24). The problems that gave rise to the research project, such as a perceived hedonism, consumerism, and a lack religiosity, initiative and respect on the part of the youth, were all interpreted by Langeveld as consequences of failing pedagogical guidance. Because of this pedagogical vacuum, the youth remained at the level of direct satisfaction of needs, superficial concern about status rather than personal development and the general lack of a life plan (Langeveld 1952,

23-26). In terms of morality, the youth had never learned to orientate themselves towards values and remained bound to an infantile form of egocentric reward-and-punishment morality. Langeveld called this "the morality of tariffs", based on externally imposed norms and punishment ("not allowed, and when committed, at this cost"), as opposed to true morality, which builds around the internal question of conscience: what kind of person am I and do I want to be? "The socially bewildered youth has sunk from a life structured by tradition, social habit, morality and faith. The proper I no longer has a form and shape. Hence, the world in which the youth lives no longer has form and shape" (Langeveld 1952, 47). Langeveld proposed measures on three fronts where upbringing was failing in his view: the family, the school and the domain of leisure. In all these domains, upbringing should be placed center stage, meaning that helping young people to develop their personality, their life plan and worldview, should be reinstated as the main task. That way, not just the youth, but also democratic society could be saved.

Langeveld expressed similar ideas in *Pedagogische Studiën*, and the problem of 'mass youth' was also discussed by others (Langeveld PS 1953; Nieuwenhuis PS 1949; Perquin PS 1960; Plessner PS 1946). Langeveld also used the journal for polemic publications, responding to, in his view, troubling developments in the educational sciences in the Netherlands. He was especially critical on the rise of empirical educational sciences and educational psychology, as these failed, according to Langeveld, to place their findings in the proper theoretical frame, rooted in an analysis of the pedagogical situation. His main adversary on this point was Adriaan de Groot, who propagated a Popperian social science, aimed at the experimental testing of specific hypothesis (De Groot 1961). Langeveld never became chair of the editorial board of *Pedagogische Studiën*. Instead, another figure gained influence and eventually steered *Pedagogische Studiën* away from the *Geisteswissenschaftliche* and into an empirical-analytic direction, with another idea of the role of education in a democratic society.

Education and (in)equality

Shortly before the war, an article appeared in *Pedagogische Studiën* entitled "De statistische methode in dienst van wetenschappelijke onderwijsleiding" [The statistical method serving scientific educational policy] (PS 1939). Its author was the newly appointed head of the national bureau of statistics (CBS), Ph.J. Idenburg (1905-1995). Even though he was personally close to Kohnstamm (he was married to Kohnstamm's daughter), Idenburg stood in a diametrically opposed research tradition. Rejecting the exclusive focus on the pedagogical micro level (the direct personal relation between educator and child) and the primacy of the development of individual conscience, Idenburg approached education through "the study of mass phenomena" (Idenburg, PS 1939, 73). In his book, *De sleutelmacht der school* [The key power of the school], Idenburg claimed that the school had become such a decisive force for the societal and economic future of children, that the national government had to tighten its grip over education if it was to properly govern the development of society as

a whole (Idenburg 1958). Stressing the democratic ideals of equality and justice (arguably at the expense of the value of freedom), Idenburg believed that the key to achieving a truly democratic society was the promotion of the equality of educational opportunity (Idenburg, PS 1959). The proper way to do this, was not to reflect on the pedagogical situation or come up with specific didactical interventions, but to collect educational data on a large scale and revise the educational *system* based on sociological insights (Idenburg, 1971).

Idenburg claimed that the personalistic pedagogy of Kohnstamm and Langeveld might be of value for the guidance of individual children, but hardly provided guidelines for effective educational policy. In fact, it played into a misguided idea on the role of education in a democracy that had prevented the development of professional class of educational policy makers. By defining democracy in terms of freedom of conscience, and confining the national debate on educational policy to the issue of Freedom of Education, the Netherlands were failing to address the economic role of education, according to Idenburg. This was all the more troubling as society was becoming more and more complex, meaning that the future role of children was less straightforwardly determined by the role of their parents. The school had to combine a pedagogical and a selective function, Idenburg wrote in 1958, and this selective function was just as crucial for a truly democratic system of education. "We have realized our responsibility towards religious freedom earlier and clearer than our responsibility towards each individual, regardless of his financial situation, to receive education that fits his talents and abilities" (Idenburg 1971, 241). Meritocracy was the new democratic ideal, and the educational system was crucial in establishing it.

The qualification that education should fit individual talents and abilities is crucial here, and ties into a long line of discussions in *Pedagogische Studiën* on the relation between aptitude, testing and school tracking (Van Hilvoorde 2013; Deen 1971). The Netherlands always had a system of early selection and tracking, and in the wave of educational reform after the war, this system was not seriously questioned by the majority of Dutch educational scientists. Most of them shared the belief that there are basically two types of children, bound for different roles in society: the intellectuals and the manuals (Amsing & Bakker 2012). These two groups were believed to require distinct and separated types of secondary education, which made the transition from elementary to secondary school of seminal importance. According to Idenburg and others publishing in *Pedagogische Studiën*, what distinguished a democratic system of education, was not so much educational equality or participation in government, but the selection of a societal elite on the basis of individual merit (Van Wieringen 2016, 84).

In order to revise the national educational system, Idenburg argued for a 'constructive education policy', designed and controlled by centralized institutes, headed by a newly formed class of educational experts (Idenburg PS 1967, 438). *Pedagogische Studiën* formed an important platform for this new class, and Idenburg used his position as chair of the editorial board to introduce likeminded, young educational scientists, who would eventually take over the whole editorial board around 1970.

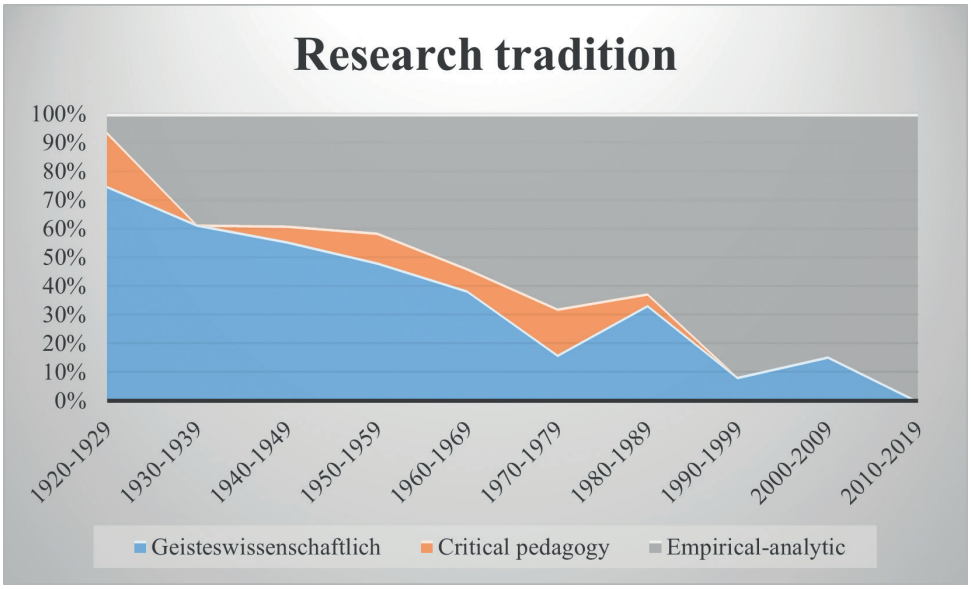

Figure 4. *This graph shows the constant decline of the Geisteswissenschaftliche tradition and the near constant rise of the empirical-analytic tradition. Critical pedagogy was never prominent in Pedagogische Studiën. When Idenburg left the journal in 1971, nearly 60% of the articles dealing with citizenship education were classified as standing in the empirical-analytic tradition.*

Idenburg was not the only person propagating a new view on the educational sciences and the role of education in democracy in *Pedagogische Studiën*. In 1961, the already mentioned psychologist Adriaan de Groot (1914-2006) published a book that was in many respects the antipode of Langeveld's *Beknopte Theoretische Pedagogiek*, simply called *Methodologie* [Methodology]. The book challenged the dominance of the continental *Geisteswissenschaftliche* pedagogy in the Netherlands by introducing the Anglo-Saxon empirical-analytic educational sciences, and soon became influential in introductory courses at the universities (Busato, Van Essen & Koops 2014). At its basis, *Methodologie* applied the philosophy of science of Karl Popper to the field of behavioral science, including the educational sciences. Popper had argued that scientific knowledge is different from other forms of knowledge in that it consists of statements that are in principle subject to empirical testing. Popper called this the principle of falsification: for each scientific statement, it has to be possible to set up a test that could refute the statement (Popper 1959). De Groot followed Popper and explained *the* scientific method in terms of the empirical cycle, which consists of a series of steps that have the same structure in any scientific research project, irrespective of the object of study (De Groot 1961a, 29).

In striking contrast to Langeveld's phenomenology of the pedagogical situation, individual cases were only scientifically relevant for De Groot in so far they helped the scientist to formulate or test general statements. De Groot also claimed that the scientific

method required one to formulate as specific as possible what the predicted outcome of an experiment should be. In the educational sciences, this meant that the individual child and teacher (the center of Langeveld's pedagogical situation) should be overcome as much as possible and that the educational goals should be specified in terms of measurable elements (which is problematic for the development of personality or conscience, as these were considered qualities beyond the grasp of precise definition or quantification). Where Langeveld had claimed that empirical findings could only be meaningfully understood in a lager phenomenological framework of upbringing which in turn was only meaningful in its elucidation of a specific pedagogical situation, De Groot argued that the phenomenological observations of specific individual cases could only have a function in the initial stage of hypothesis-formulation, while the experimental testing of these hypothesis were the proper domain of science (De Groot 1961a, 50). De Groot's idea of science was explicitly unpersonal, and he attacked phenomenology on multiple occasions as being subjective (that is: relative to the person conducting the research) and only producing unfalsifiable and thus unscientific statements. Educational science proper would be the experimental study of the effectivity of means of teaching clearly specified educational goals, a view that would become ever more dominant in *Pedagogische Studiën* over the years.

In a lecture for the Working committee for Education for Democracy discussed earlier, De Groot applied his vision of educational science on the issue of education for democracy. If you wanted to make democracy or citizenship a scientifically grounded educational goal (and De Groot claimed that this should be done), then it would be necessary to define what citizenship is in terms of clearly established educational outcomes, such as social competences, political knowledge and democratic attitudes (De Groot 1961b, 147). Vague and esoteric terms like 'democratic ethos', 'democratic values' or 'complete personality' required scientific operationalization, if they were to be taught effectively. This meant, that they had to be redefined in terms of observable behavior (most likely giving certain correct answers in a test, but it would also be possible to observe social interaction in class or even assess the quality of moral reasoning in group discussions). In line with the ideas of the committee, De Groot stressed the idea of consensus and defined the capabilities necessary to reach consensus in a group as the primary social skills democratic citizens should learn in school (De Groot 1961b, 146). He called knowledge of democratic procedures and skills like forming and expressing an opinion, exchanging views with others and reaching a conclusion as a group "basic democratic techniques". Just like other techniques, they could be taught and their growth could be measured to evaluate the effectiveness of teaching practices (De Groot 1961b, 148). De Groot was one of the key figures in the empirical turn in the behavioral and educational sciences in the Netherlands, and he formulated citizenship education in terms of the socially capable individual, a view that would later become dominant in the scientific discussion on citizenship education (see figure 2).

At the end of the 1960s, the debate on citizenship education in *Pedagogische Studiën* was highly diverse: there was still a considerable group that understood citizenship in terms

of the complete democratic personality, but the dominance of this group was seriously challenged by educationalists who took a more sociological or psychological approach, looking at the societal role of the educational system or trying to develop objective and effective teaching methods for basic democratic skills. During the next period, the debate between these groups continued, but other perspectives also entered the field, placing democracy under the banner of social justice and active political participation, or seeing citizenship education as a special case of evidence-based teaching aimed at the effective development of the socially and intellectually competent individual.

V. DEBATING EDUCATIONAL NORMS AND EDUCATING THE COMPETENT INDIVIDUAL (1970-1999)

When the *Mammoetwet* was implemented in 1968, not all educationalists were satisfied with the scope of the reforms, as it did not challenge the basic structure of the educational system. One element in particular remained unchanged and became the object of critique: the division between tracks in secondary education. *Pedagogische Studiën* editor Leon van Gelder wrote "Our educational system is [...] an elitist, anti-democratic system [...]. The discriminatory situation has been solidified, for the new law is nothing more than the accumulation of pre-existing school types" (Van Gelder 1968). Van Gelder and others in *Pedagogische Studiën* propagated the introduction of a comprehensive, non-tracked Middle School, meant to complete what they described as the democratization of education. The government instituted experiments with the Middle School, which were extensively discussed in *Pedagogische Studiën* during the 1970s and 1980s. During the 1980s, the debate shifted from the aims of the Middle School experiments towards the evaluation of the effectiveness of these experiments. In line with a changing political landscape, the educational sciences now focused on educational output, effectiveness and evaluation. The *Mammoetwet* did introduce a new course for secondary education that was meant to better prepare pupils for their role in a democratic society: Maatschappijleer [Study of society]. Just like the Middle School experiments, the intentions behind this new course were quite progressive, aimed at educating empowered, critical citizens by means of experimental teaching methods. But like the Middle School experiments failed to fundamentally change the educational structure of the Netherlands, Maatschappijleer was transformed during the 1980s from an experimental course to become more like a regular course (De Jong 2014, 253-293).

While the discussions on the Middle School experiments and Maatschappijleer during the 1970s and early 1980s could be seen as minor peaks of the idea of critical citizenship education, the main current of the debate on citizenship education in *Pedagogische Studiën* during this whole period went into another direction. From 1975 onward, articles showed a rise of the idea that citizenship education should consist primarily in guiding the normalized social and emotional development of individual children. Ideas from the fields of social and

developmental psychology became dominant as the educational sciences moved away from the politically heated 1970s. The rise of the idea of the citizen as a socially and emotionally competent individual showed a remarkable overlap with the rise of evaluation research and of studies relying on insights from the fields of social and developmental psychology in the publications in *Pedagogische Studiën* during this period.

Democratization of education and the Middle school experiments

Since the 1940s, the educational system in the Netherlands saw an enormous increase in participation in secondary and in the 1960s, higher education followed. This development was described by educational sociologists as a democratization of education (Idenburg 1964, Grandia PS 1968, Grandia PS 1969, Matthijssen 1972). For a long time, access to secondary and tertiary education had practically been limited to children of middle and higher class parents. After the war, growing welfare and increased government spending made secondary and tertiary education available for nearly all children. However, there was a widely shared belief among educationalists that social class still determined to a large extent in which track pupils were placed after primary school. This was either due to prejudice on the part of elementary school teachers (whose advice was determinative) (De Groot 1966; Van Gelder, Van Kallen & Knoers 1977), lack of parental support or the discrepancy between the social and linguistic codes of the school and the life world of these children (Matthijssen 1972, 1982). The situation was believed to lead to suboptimal results for society (as talent was wasted) and the children themselves (unfair denial of educational opportunity). During the 1970s and early 1980s, several educational sociologists argued in *Pedagogische Studiën* that this first wave of democratization had to be followed by a more fundamental process of democratization, aimed at the breakdown of the elitist structure of the school system. This, both Van Gelder and M.A.J.M. Matthijssen claimed, was not so much an idealistic wish, but rather demanded by the changes in society itself. The keystone of the process of democratization was to be the introduction of the Middle School, in which all children between the age of 12 and 16 would receive education in integrated classes.

Discussions on the Middle School had been preceded in *Pedagogische Studiën* by discussions on comprehensive education in the late 1950, but at that time, the authors displayed little enthusiasm (Brouwer PS 1957; Nieuwenhuis PS 1957; Stellwag PS 1957). During the 1970, more supportive articles appeared, and at the end of the decade, the government initiated experiments at serval schools throughout the country. The social-democratic minister of education Jos van Kemenade, professor of sociology of education at the University of Nijmegen, proposed a daring revision of the educational system in his *Contourennota voor een toekomstig onderwijsbeleid* [Sketch of a future educational policy]. He stated that the current system of education was too much treated as "a supply company of skilled labor for the market", selecting and educating people for their future jobs instead of the guiding the self-development and actualization of all children (Contourennota I, 1975, 20, 33). The school was serving a specific form of society, one based on social stratification

and obedience, but it could also be used to reach a more democratic society, Van Kemenade believed (Contourennota I, 1975, 8). In order to achieve this, education should become less 'scholastic' and intellectualistic, and less focused on establishing hierarchies between pupils. Instead, pupils should learn to work cooperatively on real life problems, such as "prosperity, employment, social security, changing roles for men and women, environmental issues, the Third World, crime, city planning, public transportation". All pupils, regardless of scholarly aptitude, should learn about these topics because, Van Kenenade claimed, dealing with such issues collectively and forming an informed opinion about them was the hallmark of democratic citizenship (Contourennota I, 1975, 13). The old 'scholarly school' left "pupils disempowered and socially vulnerable. Not because they did not learn anything, but because the learned relatively little about the social reality and because they have not learned to apply their knowledge to that reality" (Contourennota I, 1975, 13). The Middle School was to tackle two problems at once: it eliminated the unfair selection at the age of 12 and was to employ a curriculum built around problems, not abstract subjects.

In *Pedagogische Studiën*, editor Van Gelder and sociologist of education Matthijsen were the main proponents of the Middle School. In 1971, Van Gelder and Vos described the Middle School in *Pedagogische Studiën* as "a means to transform the traditional, elitist pillarized system into a democratic, horizontal system" (PS 1971, 312). A bit confusing, the term 'pillarized' did not refer to the system of denominational and public schools here, by rather to the existence of separated schools for different social classes. This system, Van Gelder and Vos claimed, might have been appropriate in a traditional class society, but a modern democratic society called for another school system (Van Gelder & Vos PS 1971, 325). Matthijssen, in a 1983 article in *Pedagogische Studiën* and monographs with the telling titles *Klasse-onderwijs* [Education of the classes] (1972) and *De elite en de mythe* [The elite and the myth] (1982), presented a more radical view on the logic and goals of the Middle School. According to Matthijssen, the sociology of education showed that in any given society the goals of education in were set by "dominant groups in power", who determined which types of "giftedness are socially desirable" (Matthijssen 1982, 9; 1972, 95). From around 1850 onwards, the Dutch society was led by a power elite who embraced a "professional expertise model" (Matthijssen 1972, 119-124). This model, in which knowledge was seen as composed of separate, intellectual, theoretical subjects, in turn also determined the structure of the traditional secondary school. Educational inequality was understood in this frame by means of the "deficiency-theory", which held that the children from lower class families were unable to measure up to the middle class norm of the school. As an alternative, Matthijssen proposed to stop the compensatory projects (meant to bridge the deficiency), and instead revise the uniform and intellectualistic achievement norm of the school itself. He called his alternative the "self-determination model", in which each pupils themselves would be involved in determining the content and achievement standards of their own education (Matthijssen 1972, 140). According to Matthijssen, social and political unrest throughout the Western world in the 1960s and 1970s showed that the

professional expertise model, with its hierarchies, was no longer functioning. In fact, he claimed that it was being challenged by another form of rationality, which he described as "social rationality" (Matthijssen 1982, 43). The new social order called for a new school, one that did not just promote equal access among the classes of society, but one that actually valued different things than intellectual, technical knowledge. This required an integrated curriculum, project education, and the much more attention for the personal, emotional and social development of pupils (Matthijssen PS 1983). For Matthijssen, the goal of the Middle School was to serve a new society, characterized by social rationality. "Social rationalization", he wrote in *Pedagogische Studiën*, "aims to bring societal relations – the division of labor and power – under the control of democratic procedures of participation and joint decision making with equal input of all involved" (Matthijssen PS 1983, 117). A horizontal society required a horizontal school, aimed at educating critical citizens, trained in participating in decision making.

Related to Matthijssen's view of emancipatory education, the 1970s also saw a debate on the new secondary school course Maatschappijleer. After years of discussion, a course specifically devoted the social and political development of pupils was introduced as part of the Mammoth-law in 1968. For progressively minded educationalists, Maatschappijleer would be the crown of the new type of education that was being developed in the Middle School experiments: a course that dealt with actual societal problems, drawing from a variety of subjects, aimed at educating critical citizens (De Jong 2014, 273; W. Langeveld 1975). Maatschappijleer gained considerably less attention in *Pedagogische Studiën* then the Middle School experiments. In *Pedagogische Studiën*, one author in particular presented the idea that Maatschappijleer should be the key course in raising politically active, critical citizens: Willem Langeveld (not related to M.J. Langeveld). In a handbook for teachers, W. Langeveld wrote that political education so far had not reached beyond socializing pupils into obedient members of the existing society. If there was any explicit political education at all, the main lesson for pupils was hypocrisy, he wrote, because they were taught that democracy meant "honesty, reliability, truth and solidarity", while they were at the same time subjected to a school regime built on "achievement, competition, envy and individualism" (W. Langeveld 1975, 42). If children were to be truly democratically socialized, the school itself should become a much more democratic institute and the curriculum should address societal conflicts and struggles over political power, instead of teaching illusive democratic values in an undemocratic educational setting (W. Langeveld 1975, 60-75). Others, like N. Perquin, were critical of the politicizing ambitions of proponents of the new course, and suggested that it should be limited to an introductory course in sociology (PS 1964, PS 1965). The more radical position of W. Langeveld did not resonate with others in *Pedagogische Studiën*.

In *Pedagogische Studiën*, the Middle School was favorably discussed during the 1970s and early 1980s. But during the 1980s, the debate shifted from the aims of the Middle School, towards a discussion of the evaluation of the experiments carried out from 1979 onwards. An

influential group of editors and authors, including H.P.M. Creemers, A. de Vries, H. Leune, W.J. Nijhof and J. Scheerens all claimed that the experiments were not properly structured, because the individual schools had been given too much freedom to shape the experiment according to their own ideas, making systematic evaluation impossible (PS 1981, 357-385; PS 1984, 102; PS 1990, 85). While embracing the ideal of equal educational opportunities, this group opposed the idea of further democratization of education, in which individual schools, teachers and pupils themselves codetermined the content and evaluation of education. They also opposed the introduction of what they saw as vague educational goals, like 'self-actualization' (Duijker PS 1976, 1977). Educational equality, in their view, should be achieved by scientifically evaluating the effects of educational programs on the spread of educational outcomes. Because of their belief that educational quality could only be secured by scientific evaluation, they limited the possible range of educational goals to those that were liable to rigorous evaluation (De Corte PS 1971; Van Parreren PS 1973; Duijker PS 1977; Doddema-Winsemius & Hofstee PS 1987; Nijhof & Scheerens PS 1990). While the Middle School experiments were discussed in Parliament in terms of possible indoctrination and the perceived damaging effects for gifted children (Greveling, Amsing & Dekker 2015), the experiments were rejected in *Pedagogische Studiën* on the grounds of their lack of scientific rigor. One of the effects of this shift towards measuring effectiveness was that the debate on educational equality returned to the earlier focus on equality of access to different levels

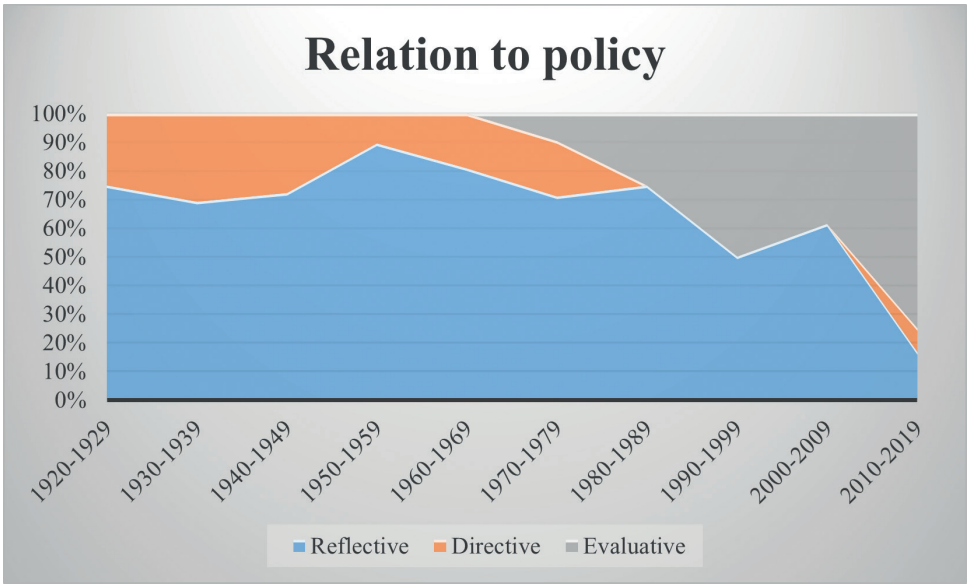

Figure 5. *From 1970 onwards there was a significant rise in evaluation research in Pedagogische Studiën. Proponents claimed that educational science should inform policy by measuring which interventions lead to measurable improvement of educational output. Scientists should not themselves reflect on educational goals, thus securing their objectivity.*

of education and educational output in relation to social class, the "deficiency-model" as Matthijssen had called it (Leune PS 1983, Dronkers PS 1990, Meijnen & Kloprogge PS 1993, Leune PS 2001).

Within *Pedagogische Studiën*, the deficiency-model was also applied to the question of the educational chances of children of migrant parents. While there was quite some attention for the educational challenges of these children (especially language issues and a perceived lack of effective parental support), the debate was limited to scholastic achievement (Dekker, Ten Doeschatte & Schuurman PS 1984, De Jong, Klapwijk & Van der Leij PS 1995, Fase PS 1997). In this period, the contributions in *Pedagogische Studiën* did not address immigration in terms of value differences or multiculturalism as a political challenge. The frame was meritocratic (how to ensure fair educational opportunities and compensate for disadvantaged backgrounds), not (multi)cultural, as it would become later.

The rise of normalizing educational sciences: the competent individual

During the 1980s, the debate on the educational sciences in *Pedagogische Studiën* saw the rise of a group of educational scientists who stood in the tradition of Brugmans and De Groot. This group believed that the educational sciences should be modeled after the natural sciences and restrict itself to the objective study of the effectivity of educational means. Their preferred method was that of evaluation research (De Corte PS 1971; Van Parreren PS 1973; Duijker PS 1977; Scheerens PS 1984; Nijhof en Scheerens PS 1990; Dronkers PS 1990). Educational goals had to be reformulated in terms of clearly defined norms of achievement (Van Rees 2020). This view also resonated in the debate on citizenship education, which in *Pedagogische Studiën* during the 1980s and 1990s was reframed in terms of normalized moral and social development: development as measured and evaluated in relation to a scientifically established *norm*. In the case of both social and moral development, the work of American psychologist Laurence Kohlberg became the standard around which the discussion in *Pedagogische Studiën* evolved. Several authors criticized his precise formulations, but his general idea that there were progressive stages in moral development and moral reasoning, and that children could and should be educated to reach higher stages was widely accepted in *Pedagogische Studiën*. Meanwhile, the discussion among sociologists of education in *Pedagogische Studiën*, after the short detour of discussions on more radical forms of democratization of education during the 1970s, returned to a focus on educational inequality in terms of the deficiency model (Leune PS 1983; Leune PS 1997). Here too, the prime objective of education in a democracy was to effectively educate all children to reach the highest level of achievement on clearly defined educational goals, regardless of socio-economic, cultural or ethnic background. Democratic education was placed under the banner of norms for social, moral and scholastic development, while the educational sciences developed their expertise and claim to objectivity by means of evaluation of educational programs.

In 1984, a special issue of *Pedagogische Studiën* appeared with the topic "Foundations of moral education" (PS 1984, 233-281). Editors M.H. van IJzendoorn and W.L. Wardekker opened their introduction to the special issue by recounting one of the moral dilemmas formulated by Kohlberg to test the level of moral reasoning in children. Inspired by the work of Jean Piaget, developmental psychologist Kohlberg had formulated a theory of moral development in children. Based on cross-cultural research, in which he collected the responses of children and young people to various moral dilemmas, he formulated the idea that there are structurally distinct stages of moral reasoning (Kohlberg 1981). Kohlberg was not so much interested in distinguishing right from wrong responses to the dilemmas, but rather looked at the way the children argued.

Kohlberg's theory was discussed in *Pedagogische Studiën* by three theoretical pedagogues: Wouter van Haaften, Ben Spiecker and Jan Steutel. Van Haaften claimed that the theory had to be amended to make it into a proper pedagogical one, by insisting that the higher stages should not just be morally superior based on philosophical arguments, but recognized as superior by the children themselves. He did not challenge the main idea, that there are stages of moral development (Van Haaften PS 1984, 278). Steutel claimed that Kohlberg was too exclusively focused on the development of moral reasoning, while neglecting the development of the proper moral attitudes. "A person can possess the ability to discern right from wrong *without* being motivated to put the moral rules into practice. That is why the educator has to do more than teach the child moral concepts, and promote a certain disposition, namely a disposition of positive *engagement with moral rules*" (Steutel PS 1984, 254). Steutel proposed virtue education as more effective alternative. Still, his proposal embraced the idea that the core of moral education consisted of guiding the child towards mastering a pre-established set of virtues. Steutel claimed that even though their structure and related pedagogy might be complicated, virtues functioned as clear educational goals: "the educator […] has to strive to anchor these dispositions firmly into the child's emotional life" (Steutel 1992, 35).

Spiecker made a similar point about Kohlberg's theory, but proposed another alternative, which he described as "education of moral emotions". In a book composed of revised articles previously published in *Pedagogische Studiën*, Spiecker claimed: "Moral education aims to not just teach children how to reach moral judgments ('moral reasoning'), educators also want that their children identify with certain traits of character (or virtues) and appropriate emotions" (Spiecker 1991, 7). What Kohlberg was missing, was that children must also learn to properly feel the demanding force of moral imperatives and feel the moral weight of the needs of others. For this, Spiecker claimed, it was necessary to develop the "dispositions of empathy and sympathy" in early childhood. He discussed the case of "psychopaths and autists" to show what happens when moral emotions were not properly developed (Spiecker PS 1984, 242). Like Steutel, Spiecker thus amended Kohlberg's theory, but the central idea that there is a progressive process of moral development that

provided educators with a pedagogical norm was accepted by him. Kohlberg, Steutel and Spiecker all emphasized the importance of developing empathy in moral education.

Both Steutel and Spiecker added another aspect to normalized moral development that made it more explicitly linked to political education. Next to moral emotions and virtues they also stressed the importance of developing intellectual virtues and rational emotions to counter indoctrination. "Intellectual virtues are those dispositions that support us in the questioning, meaning: *thinking* about the justification of statements. Taking serious account of facts, being unprejudiced, being diligent and having the courage to revise your opinion are all dispositions or attitudes that are at the basis of all reasonable or rational acts", Spiecker wrote (Spiecker 1991, 103). He referred to openness, intellectual honesty, a willingness to address counterarguments, impartiality, a respect for logic and rational procedure. In an article called "On moral and intellectual virtues", Steutel presented a similar view, in which rational moral discussion was modeled after the procedures of scientific discussions (Steutel PS 1989, 116). He connected the development of intellectual and moral virtues with autonomy. Autonomy, Steutel argued, did not develop automatically in children, but required "the internalization of moral as well as intellectual values" (117). Only rational moral actors could be called autonomous, while others remained trapped in their irrational (because unreasoned, unquestioned) allegiance to external norms. Spiecker concluded that moral persons were characterized by a "love of reason" and the emotional stability that was required to actively question one's beliefs. "The critical person is thus someone who is psychologically 'healthy'; someone who feels emotionally secure, self-confident and has a positive self-image" (104). The opposite of this moral and psychological 'health' was caused by either an inherent inability (as was the case with psychopaths and autists) or the result of indoctrinating education.

Spiecker defined indoctrination as a conscious attempt by the educator to block the development of a critical attitude in children. On this basis, the child was imprinted with certain convictions, without learning about their justification (which would require the development of a critical attitude). Spiecker mentioned that the topic of indoctrination has received relatively little attention in the Netherlands, because of the Freedom of Education: doctrine had been perceived as a legitimate part of schooling (Spiecker 1991, 94). As had been done earlier in *Pedagogische Studiën*, denominational education was seen by Spiecker as a liability to proper democratic citizenship education. The main problem with indoctrination was not that it teaches children untrue things, it was rather that it blocks children from even assessing the doctrine in terms of truth or reasonableness (Spiecker 1991, 95-102). "In service of the unquestionability of certain convictions or doctrines, the indoctrinator tries to induce the development of intellectual *vices* and *irrational* emotions (discomfort, fear and guilt) in children" (Spiecker 1991, 103). In Spiecker's view, the dogmatic attitude was itself a sign of an unhealthy moral upbringing: dogmatists were emotionally, intellectually and morally immature.

In the light of the historical discussion on citizenship education in *Pedagogische Studiën*, it is interesting to notice that both Spiecker and Steutel understood moral and

political education as eliminating irrational moments in the reasoning of children. In the process, they redefined a central term in the discussion. For personalistic pedagogues like Kohnstamm, Langeveld, and (during the 1980s and 1990s) J.D. Imelman, conscience was an existential faculty that guided decision making when rational deliberation reached its limits (Imelman & Meijer PS 1989; Imelman 2000). For Spiecker and Steutel, the term 'conscience' rather referred to being receptive to morality, feeling empathy, and love of reason. In their view, a democratic citizen would be a rational moral agent, who had properly developed moral and intellectual virtues and was psychologically healthy.

The centrality of developing empathy and sympathy was also stressed in many publications in *Pedagogische Studiën* that dealt with social education during this period. In 1973, Van Lieshout et al. published an article on "Influencing social behavior in school", in which they described social development as a process of "social decentering". In this process the child learned to "evaluate which social behavior in a certain situation is best adjusted to the interaction partners. To carry out this evaluation process, a person has to be able to see the world, himself included, from the perspective of others" (Van Lieshout et al. PS 1973, 438). This framework from the field of developmental psychology was built around the idea that children progressively learn to interpret situations less and less from their own egoistical frame of reference, and become more and more receptive to the needs of others and abstract moral demands. The way to achieve this was through role-taking exercises, in which children are asked to imagine themselves standing in the shoes of someone else, as described by Kohlberg. In 1987, Geurts et al. claimed that there was a clear difference between desirable and undesirable social characteristics of children, and described the desirable ones as "ego-control" and "ego-resilience", meaning the control of impulses and the ability to deal with social problems in a non-conflictual manner (PS 1987, 104). Janssen, Gerris and Janssen in turn applied tests to measure "prosocial moral reasoning" and "prosocial behavior" in children, again focusing on the level in which children were able and willing to evaluate situations from the perspective of others (PS 1990, 403). An examples of the test questions was: "When I see a girl cry, I almost have to cry myself", asking children to indicate how much they agreed with this statement. Prosocial moral reasoning was measured by presenting children with stories "in which they have to choose between their own interest and that of others". They were then asked to explain their answer and their arguments were then coded as either "egoistic reasoning" or "emphatic reasoning". The more egoistical reasons children mentioned, the lower their score (Janssen, Gerris & Janssen PS 1990, 407).

What all these studies had in common, was that they relied on a notion of social development that ran from an initial ego-centric state towards one in which children had learned to place the interests of others and the demands of rational moral principles above their self-interest. Moral reasoning and social behavior were thus placed in a frame of consecutive stages, forming a *norm* of socially and emotionally *healthy* development. The main question for a lot of educational researchers publishing in *Pedagogische Studiën*

was to find out which educational interventions helped to effectively raise children along this ladder of moral and social development. Some of the authors explicitly connected this normalized moral, emotional and social education with democratic political education (Steutel PS 1989; Spiecker PS 1986; Van IJzendoorn PS 1986). Both from the field of developmental psychology and that of the sociology of education, the discussion on the role of education in a democracy centred around norms of optimal development, either in terms of social behaviour or scholastic achievement. The goal of education was to educate the socially and intellectually capable individual. Attempts to hold on to older (personalistic) aims or to introduce more innovative (politicizing) aims received only marginal attention in *Pedagogische Studiën*. These attempts ran counter to the now-dominant view of the educational sciences as evaluating the effectiveness of educational interventions, which required the formulation of clear and unitary norms of achievement. The rise of publications on social and moral education within a framework of developmental and social psychology and evaluation research set the tone for the debate on citizenship education in the period after 2000.

VI. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION 'PROPER', MEASURING DEMOCRATIC ALLEGIANCE AND SUCCESSFUL SOCIAL FUNCTIONING (2000-2019)

Around the turn of the millennium, the political landscape in the Netherlands took an unexpected turn for many. The 1990s had been characterized by economic growth and political cooperation. Social democrats and right-wing liberals had worked together under the presumption that the world had reached 'the end of history', as the philosopher Fukuyama had concluded after the collapse of the Soviet Union. There was no longer any viable ideological alternative for liberal capitalism, meaning that political conflicts from now on were no more than discussions on the pragmatics of reaching a shared vision of the ideal society. Shortly after 2000, this world view was shattered in the Netherlands by terrorist attacks abroad, the rise of populist politics, political assassinations in the Netherlands and a rising concern about multiculturalism. In public discourse, politics and on the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën*, a call arose for citizenship education as one of the main solutions for dealing with perceived threats to democracy. Schools should actively instill allegiance to shared democratic values in children to counter anti-democratic tendencies they might have picked up elsewhere and to secure social cohesion.

The call for citizenship education did not appear out of nowhere. Already in 1992, minister of education Jo Ritzen had pleaded to reconsider "the pedagogical task of the school" (Ritzen 1992). According to the minister, the educational system had been overtly focused on its qualification function, while neglecting its socialization function. In practice, this meant that the system succeeded in raising the level of educational achievement measured

in basic scholastic skills and diploma's, but failed to educate for social responsibility and the domain of values in general. In light of perceived individualization, declining political involvement of citizens and problematic integration of immigrants, Ritzen claimed: "Schools have to make it clear to pupils what a democratic society entails, and what this demands of people who are allowed to live and work in it" (Ritzen 1992). His call was met with critique and the minister was accused of proposing 'state pedagogy' (Veugelers PS 2006, 164). Just thirteen years later, the government revised the laws on all forms of foundational education to include mandatory attention for citizenship education and democratic values. In 2018, a law was passed that further specified the "citizenship assignment of schools", intended to make citizenship education more alike across different schools and to provide the Inspectorate of Education with a clearer yardstick to evaluate the quality of citizenship education (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2020, 5). Within 25 years, citizenship education changed from a controversial educational goal, into one of the most important pillars under a complete revision of the curriculum of Dutch primary and secondary education (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2020, 10).

The debate on citizenship education in *Pedagogische Studiën* (from 2005 onwards explicitly formulated in these terms) was characterized by a similar shift as the political debate. From an early call to reinstate the 'pedagogical task of the school', towards a call for explicit citizenship education, to the development of standards and measurement instruments for citizenship competences. And like the developments in educational policy, the focus shifted from dealing with cultural and ethnic diversity, towards a focus on shared democratic values. In *Pedagogische Studiën*, two lines of inquiry relating to education and democracy came together during this period and were now presented as central elements in citizenship education: equality of educational chances and the normalized social development of pupils. One author in particular formulated an influential view on citizenship education and the role of the educational sciences in promoting this educational goal: Geert ten Dam.

Operationalizing citizenship education

The initiative to reconsider the pedagogical task of the school was met with enthusiasm in *Pedagogische Studiën*. Several authors supported the view that "societal developments such as the widening gap between politics and society, 'senseless' violence, political assassinations and social and cultural problems with 'newcomers' have increased the pressure on education to fill in its pedagogical task. *Citizenship education* is a central concept in this effort", as W. Veugelers put it (Veugelers PS 2006, 156; Ten Dam & Volman PS 2002). However, there was also recognition for the fact that citizenship is a contested concept and that citizenship education must also allow for the development of personal views of the pupils, including views on democracy itself (Veugelers PS 2006, 163; Kelchtermans & Simons PS 2007; Vis & Velthuis PS 2007). In her first publications on the topic in *Pedagogische Studiën*, Ten Dam wrote: "It seems obvious that education must prepare pupils to participate as citizens

in society. However, citizenship in modern societies requires other competences than in the past. Nowadays, people are not so much expected to 'know their place', but rather to 'state their position'" (Ten Dam & Volman PS 2002, 167). For the authors, the main aim of critical citizenship education should not be the discussion of abstract political controversies, but rather critical engagement in the direct social environment of the pupils, meaning the classroom and the school. The authors proposed a form of critical citizenship education consisting of "learning through participating" from "an attitude of care, empathy and engagement" (Ten Dam & Volman PS 2002, 175).

In a later article, in which they presented an influential "measurement instrument for citizenship competences", Ten Dam et al. stated that there was too much attention for political education in the literature on citizenship education and too little for social functioning. "At stake are the competences that young people need to act as citizen now and thus gain experiences on which they can reflect, not what is necessary for future citizenship" (Ten Dam et al. PS 2010, 315). Based on their definition of citizenship as "the capacity to act adequately in daily social situations", the authors set out to define the precise collection of "knowledge, attitudes, skills and reflection" needed to "adequately perform four social tasks". These social tasks (acting democratically, acting socially responsible, dealing with conflicts, and dealing with diversity) were derived from literature on citizenship. "The selection of the four social tasks and the definitions [of the relevant knowledge and skills] were then presented to experts from primary and secondary education, the Inspectorate of Education and educational scientists, who judged them as being representative and meaningful for citizenship practices of youth in the age of eleven to sixteen" (Ten Dam et al. 2010, 316). Ten Dam et al. then developed a questionnaire for pupils and teachers to assess the levels of social competence on eight scales, which made it "possible to measure and track in time the citizenship competences of pupils at an individual, class, and school level" (330). This assessment test became dominant in the publications on citizenship education in *Pedagogische Studiën* and functioned as a model for later curriculum revisions at the national level (Ledoux et al. PS 2011; Sins & Van der Zee PS 2015; Ellfers, Van de Werfhorst PS 2015; Dijkstra, Ten Dam & Waslander PS 2019).

The measurement scales of Ten Dam et al. were significant in the debate on citizenship education for several reasons. First of all, they made citizenship into something that could be scientifically measured in a way that earlier conceptions were not. Citizenship became structured like other educational goals, such as improving reading abilities or gaining knowledge of the natural sciences. Secondly, by consulting experts (teachers as well as educational scientists and the Inspectorate) during the development of their measurement instrument, they relocated the debate on what good citizenship is from the classroom to the curriculum drawing board. What mattered was that the procedure of formulating teaching goals was done in a democratic manner, a strategy that was later also applied in consultation rounds in the development of a new national curriculum. This implied, as a third aspect, that only one form of citizenship was now seen as truly democratic and

rational. This, in turn, had the effect of presenting the debate on citizenship education as one about measuring deficiencies in certain populations and testing the effectiveness of educational interventions (meaning those interventions that led to higher scores on the tests for citizenship competences).

Where the moral education in the 1980s and 1990s was trying to assess and improve the level of moral reasoning of pupils, the measurement instrument of Ten Dam et al. only looked at responses (correct or incorrect) to multiple choice questions. Citizenship was also defined broader than healthy social development: "A healthy development cannot just be defined as the absence of psychosocial problems, but should also be evident from a growing willingness and capability to collaborate with others" (Veugelers PS 2006, 161). While the focus was thus less exclusively on preventing problems, the formulation of the test questions now indicated a much wider but equally uniform idea of desirable social behavior. For instance, the questionnaire for pupils included "I enjoy talking with others about what is happening in the world" and "Differences between cultures make life more fun", where the response "I totally agree" was scored as the most desirable response. With the demand of largescale measurability citizenship became a matter of right and wrong responses, believed to indicate democratic and anti-democratic attitudes. The stress on measurement also drew the educational focus to the individual. "The social and societal competences of young people form the primary social output of education. It concerns individual output […]. This is also the level at which schools can have a direct effect" (Ten Dam, Dijkstra & Janmaat 2016, 263). In this view, the individual is not seen as a singular person faced with existential choices, but rather an individual data point that stands in relation to an established norm.

As to the view on citizenship and democracy that Ten Dam et al inscribed into their measurement instrument, it was clear that they replaced an earlier focus on learning about cultural and ethnic diversity with a focus on shared democratic values. In their view, the goal of citizenship education was to promote "successful social functioning" and this required allegiance to a set of shared democratic values, "like equality, the renunciation of violence and endorsement of the rule of law" (Ten Dam, Dijkstra & Janmaat 2016, 266). At the political level, this consensus and values-based idea of democracy was also embraced. The Minister of Education declared that the main aim of citizenship education was to "teach respect for and knowledge of the fundamental values of the democratic rule of law" (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2020, 1). Indicative of the priorities "respect for" was placed in front of "knowledge of" by the ministry. "Children are not born with a 'democratic genome'", the ministry explained this central concern, "and they do not self-evidently gain knowledge and respect for the basic values of our society" (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2020, 5). The school thus had to compensate for failing democratic education at home by presenting a common core of democratic values.

Over the last decade, citizenship education aimed at improving the social skills and the respect for democratic values in individual pupils, in an effort to diminish political and cultural conflict. In *Pedagogische Studiën*, all authors agreed that the most important

task of citizenship education was to promote the development of democratic attitudes in pupils: "*Having knowledge of democracy* is good, *being able to act democratically* is even better, but what it's really about is *wanting to act democratically* in the political domain and in daily life", Veugelers wrote in 2006 (Veugelers PS 2006, 165). Articles expressing a critical stance towards this moral and social definition of democracy or of the idea that the state should mandate certain values to be educated were very scarce throughout the whole period. Only Kelchtermans and Simons published an article in which they claimed that citizenship education should not be characterized by control and uniformity, but rather by a risk present in any pedagogical relation (Kelchtermans & Simons PS 2007).

Combining the qualifying and socializing function of the school

Where in earlier periods two views on the task of education in a democracy were in competition with each other in the publications in *Pedagogische Studiën*, the new form of citizenship education explicitly combined the task of promoting democratic attitudes and striving for social equality. When the socializing task of the school was reintroduced in the 1990s, it was described as a separate function of the school next to its qualifying task. But with the introduction of measurement instruments, citizenship competences became comparable between groups of pupils. Structural differences in measured citizenship competences between pupils with different background characteristics were now seen as a form of social inequality that could and should be remedied by the school. Several authors claimed that the development of citizenship competences was not just good for society, but also played an important role in promoting the cognitive development of pupils (Jacobs & Struyf PS 2010; Ledoux et al PS 2011; Brekelmans, Van Tarwijk & Severiens PS 2011; Claessens et al PS 2011). Others argued that democracy implies equal participation of all citizens, and that this implies that pupils of all levels should receive the same form of citizenship education and reach as equal as possible levels of citizenship competences (Van de Werfhorst PS 2011; Dijkstra, Ten Dam & Waslander PS 2019). Differences in citizenship competences on group level were thus not only problematic for society, but also left some pupils less able to fully participate in society. "Qualification *and* socialization together determine to a large extent the chances and possibilities of people" (Ten Dam, Dijkstra & Janmaat 2016, 260). Only people who have the right scholarly and social knowledge, skills and attitudes could be full participants in society and citizenship became the catchall term to describe successful social functioning in society.

The goal of citizenship education, Ten Dam, Dijkstra and Janmaat wrote, "is to reduce social inequality in citizenship" (Ten Dam, Dijkstra & Janmaat 2016, 272). Studies showed, they argued, that "successful school careers have a positive effect on the livability of society

and on reduction of public spending on health care, social security, crime and citizenship" (Ten Dam, Dijkstra & Janmaat 2016, 262). Good citizenship thus encompassed more than having social and democratic attitudes, it also meant not being a burden to society by having a job and staying healthy. And in order to achieve all that, research indicated, success at school was key. By describing citizenship as successful social functioning (instead of developing an identity or being politically active), citizenship education became focused on being a good pupil at school, socially capable, not causing problems, and achieving good results on cognitive as well as citizenship tests. Citizenship skills and attitudes were reframed as a part of the qualification that every pupil needs to be successful on the labor market and society in general.

Educational science in service of educational policy: evidence-based citizenship education

The publications in *Pedagogische Studiën* showed a remarkable overlap with the wishes expressed on the political level in this period. Both the ministry and the authors claimed that society and the schools demanded more clearly defined educational goals and scientifically validated effective methods for citizenship education. They also both claimed that citizenship education should be built around "respect for and knowledge of non-negotiable fundamental values" of the Dutch society and rule of law. In this shared view, the role of the Inspectorate of Education was seen as central in securing the "quality of citizenship education" (Dijkstra, Ten Dam & Waslander PS 2019; Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2020). The only perceivable way to effectively control the quality of citizenship education throughout the country was standardized testing, bringing together the educational scientists publishing in *Pedagogische Studiën* and the Inspectorate. The basic analysis of both the ministry and the authors in *Pedagogische Studiën* was the same: there is broad societal consensus on a set of core democratic values; there is a broadly felt need to promote allegiance to these values through citizenship education; and it is necessary to monitor the development of this allegiance by means of standardized tests. The role of the educational sciences in this frame was to operationalize the knowledge, skills and attitudes related to the core values and to empirically test the result of different citizenship education programs, aiming to specify "optimal learning processes" (Dijkstra, Ten Dam & Waslander PS 2019). Regarding citizenship education, the government and the educational scientists publishing in *Pedagogische Studiën* were clearly on the same page. This resulted in a rise of publications that presented empirical-analytic evaluation research (see figure 3 and 5).

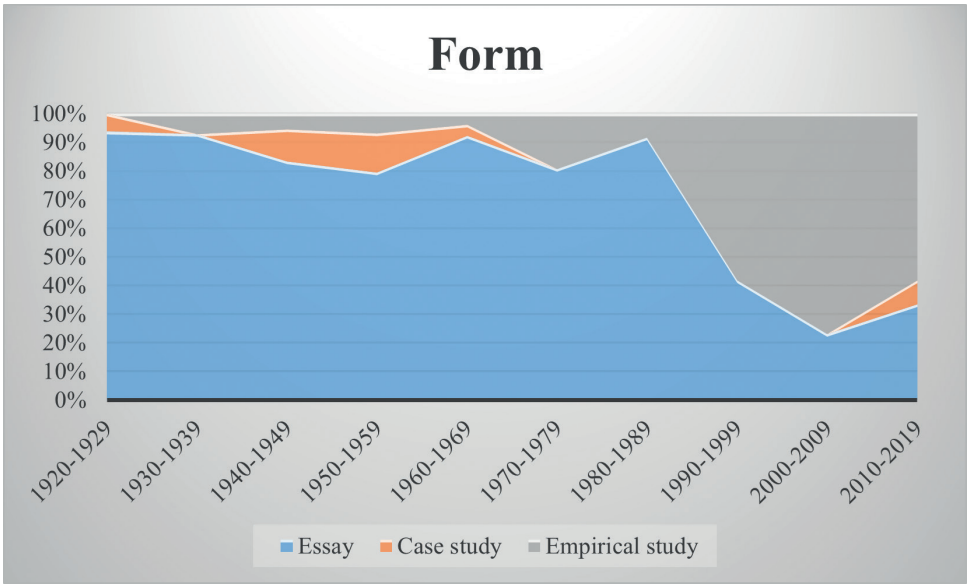

Figure 6. *For a long time, publications on citizenship education in Pedagogische Studiën took the form of argumentative essays. From 1980 onward, articles presenting empirical studies became dominant.*

Other forms of scientific reflection on citizenship education, for instance from a philosophical, personalistic or critical perspective, were almost completely absent from the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën*. This was remarkable, since the consensus between the ministry of education and the educational sciences provided ample opportunity for critique. Both the idea that citizenship education should consist of preparing for successful social functioning and the idea that the state could legitimately formulate one vision of citizenship and democracy to be promoted in all schools, could be challenged from other pedagogical traditions. In *Pedagogische Studiën*, besides one article in 2007, they were not.

In 2019, a special edition of *Pedagogische Studiën* appeared in honor of the centennial of Kohnstamm's inauguration. Dijkstra, Ten Dam and Waslander published an article in which they argued that Kohnstamm's ideas were in line with the current focus on clearly defined, quantifiable and centrally determined citizenship competences. To make this point, they focused on Kohnstamm's remarks on the necessity of promoting critical thinking. However, they did not address the centrality of personal conscience in Kohnstamm's writings, nor his idea that the school should primarily support the role of the parents, nor his critical stance towards state pedagogy and his continuous support for the Freedom of Education, nor his critique of testing and quantification in education (Van Rees 2021). Instead, the authors wrote that "the societal importance related to the promotion of citizenship calls for more balance between the autonomy of the school and central control" (Dijkstra, Ten

Dam & Waslander PS 2019, 315). In their view, centralized control and supervision by the Inspectorate did not violate the Freedom of Education, since the content of citizenship education was defined in terms of shared democratic values (to which all denominations should adhere) and successful social functioning (also defined in non-controversial terms). By framing the content of citizenship education as non-controversial, they were able to present it as a rational educational goal and shifted the discussion from the domain of contested concepts towards the question of efficient education, quality control and equality of education. This view dominated the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën* during the period in terms of research tradition (empirical-analytic), type of citizenship (the socially competent individual), type of research (empirical study), relation to policy (evaluation research) and scientific orientation (social and developmental psychology). When it came to formulating mandatory goals for citizenship education, this view of the role of education and the educational sciences and this type of citizenship provided what politics and society at large seemed to demand. "Citizenship education is a core task of all schools", the minister of Education declared, and since the state had to secure the quality of education, it required clear ideas on what good citizenship education should be (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2020, 5). The educational scientists publishing in *Pedagogische Studiën* provided the definition, the norms and the tests for good citizenship education.

VII. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the scientific debate on citizenship education in *Pedagogische Studiën* since 1920 was traced. It was based on an analysis of relevant articles and key publications by prominent authors and editors of the journal. How was democratic citizenship education discussed scientifically, in interaction with policy and practice, in *Pedagogische Studiën* over the last hundred years? This analysis shows that throughout the history of *Pedagogische Studiën*, different groups of educational scientists dominated the discussion on citizenship education in different periods. They held distinct views on the task of schools in a democratic society, in which different views on the educational sciences and different conceptions of democracy overlapped. Over the years, conceptualizations of democracy, education and educational science have always been closely intertwined in the scientific discussion on citizenship education in *Pedagogische Studiën*. On a structural level, the analysis of the discussion in *Pedagogische Studiën* shows that each of the different scholarly perspectives on education for democracy integrated certain fundamental views on scientific objectivity, the nature of education and the meaning of democracy. The central historical development visible in *Pedagogische Studiën* was one towards positivistic measurability and standardization of democratic citizenship education, in which the ties between educational science and policy became increasingly close.

In the first period, personalistic pedagogy was the dominant view in *Pedagogische Studiën*, most prominently in the numerous contributions by Kohnstamm and Gunning. For the personalists, pedagogy formed a part of philosophy, informed by the social and behavioral sciences, but never reduced to them. In their view, democracy was understood as a political system that guaranteed plurality and freedom of conscience, which required the development of democratic personalities. On a structural level, this meant that the Freedom of Education was embraced as an intricate part of a democratic society in *Pedagogische Studiën*. Schools should be *pedagogical* institutes, supporting parents in developing the conscience of children. However, societal and scientific developments did necessitate a new task and organization of education in schools. The new school should educate for *democratic life*, and not (further) scholarly success. This implied practices of integrated learning around real life issues and self-government by pupils. While supporting education for democracy, explicit citizenship education was seen by the personalists as a dangerous form of state pedagogy, practiced in its most extreme form in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

During the second period, from the end of the Second World War to 1969, the personalistic view was present in the research project on mass youth, but it was challenged by two other views in *Pedagogische Studiën*. Idenburg and others introduced the idea of democracy as meritocracy and argued that the state should guarantee equality of educational opportunity through constructive educational policy, backed by educational statistics. De Groot presented education for democracy in the form of specific educational programs devoted to the development of basic democratic techniques. He was one of the first to describe citizenship in terms of individual social and political competences. Both Idenburg and De Groot understood educational science as an empirical field of study, employing methods from either sociology or psychology. During this period, different conceptions of democracy were present in *Pedagogische Studiën*: democracy as meritocracy, as rational deliberation and as unity in diversity. The fear of state pedagogy diminished, and together with a more positivistic idea of educational sciences, this also opened up more avenues for the group around *Pedagogische Studiën* to modernize education by means of educational policy.

After 1970, two other perspectives entered the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën*. The first aimed to complete the democratization of education by means of the Middle School experiments and the new high school course Maatschappijleer (on which more in chapter four of this dissertation). For sociologists like Van Gelder and Matthijssen, the school should become an instrument for combatting class divisions in society. They also challenged the middle-class norms of achievement and worth. W. Langeveld devised teaching materials to train critical citizens who could analyze and challenge actual societal ills. More durable influence was exerted by theoretical pedagogues and a group of authors that stressed the importance of rigorous empirical evaluation of educational processes. Steutel and Spiecker presented a framework of moral and emotional development, that they tied to a vision of

democracy as reasonable moral deliberation. Meanwhile, others argued that all educational goals should be formulated in terms liable to evaluation. In both cases, citizenship was understood as being a socially, morally and intellectually capable individual. What should be stimulated in schools was normalized or healthy social and moral development.

In the last period, citizenship became an explicit educational goal, in the educational sciences as well as in educational policy. The development of norms and measurement instruments for good citizenship specified in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes became a central theme in *Pedagogische Studiën*. Citizenship was now understood as successful social functioning and allegiance to nationally shared democratic values. Democracy was understood in terms of social cooperation, shared values and unity. In comparison to earlier periods, the publications in *Pedagogische Studiën* now showed a very strong faith in objective measurement, as well as in the legitimacy of the school to correct what was seen as 'anti-democratic' influences of other pedagogical institutes, such as the nuclear family and communities. Binding educational policy on citizenship education was no longer perceived as a possible danger to democracy, but rather a necessity for maintaining it.

Looking at the scientific discussion over the whole hundred years, one central development stands out. Citizenship education became more and more normalized, that is: understood, practiced and governed in relation to a scientifically validated norm of good democratic citizenship. Related to this, the involvement of the state in citizenship education grew constantly. The rise of educational norms was intrinsically tied up with the rise of empirical-analytic evaluation research. In the case of citizenship education this meant that a unitary view of citizenship and democracy was the most obvious candidate for the development of centrally planned and scientifically evaluable curricula. Earlier pedagogues like Kohnstamm, Gunning and Langeveld all denounced citizenship as a proper pedagogical goal, because it implied that education was subjected to the state. Instead, they argued that democracy implied that education had to be a domain separate from the state, because the main pedagogical task was the formation of personal conscience. In fact, throughout the publications in *Pedagogische Studiën* on education and democracy over the years, whenever the term 'citizenship education' was used, it meant social and political education in service of the state. Within a broader discussion on democracy and education, citizenship education was treated as one possible form that education for democracy could take. What changed over the years was not so much the concept of citizenship education itself, but rather the dominant evaluation of it, from totally dismissive before the Second World War to very supportive in recent years.

PART II

Textbooks as educational mediators

I. INTRODUCTION

The first two chapters of this dissertation presented practices of education for democracy at the schools of Teachers College and the scientific discussion on democratic citizenship education in Pedagogische Studiën. Both analyses showed that it is somewhat problematic to understand education for democratic citizenship as a goal for one specific course in secondary education. Integrated into broader comprehensive philosophies of education, democracy and science, specific forms of education for democracy shaped the entire educational experience at the distinct schools of Teachers College. Similarly, the dominant educational discourses in Pedagogische Studiën formed integrated perspectives on the science, form, content, and governance of education for democracy.

At the same time, however, both historical analyses did feature a specific high school course that had the explicit function to prepare pupils for democratic life: the *Social Studies* in American, and *Maatschappijleer* in Dutch secondary education. Notwithstanding all the progressive initiatives, secondary education in practice remained primarily organized in terms of separated courses with their own learning goals, tests, textbooks and teaching methods throughout the twentieth century (Tyack & Cuban 1995). Within that structure, both in America and in the Netherlands, the perceived need to educate for democratic citizenship in secondary education received a specific place on the school schedule. In America, the *Social Studies* were designed early in the twentieth century with this aim and in the Netherlands, much later, but with a similar rationale behind it, *Maatschappijleer* was introduced in the 1960s.

The last two chapters of this dissertation will focus on these two high school courses, where broader ideas on education for democratic citizenship formulated in scientific or policy publications had to be translated into concrete educational form. What did changing perspectives on the science, form, content, and governance of education for democracy mean in terms of actual learning activities, the selection of specific knowledge and skills to be mastered and pupil-teacher interactions? In order to trace transformations at this level, the last two chapters will present analyses of historical textbooks for both countries. Both studies analyze textbooks for 14-15 year-old pupils, which is also the age group most studied in contemporary research on citizenship education. For America, the analysis focuses on textbooks for the 9th grade Social Studies Civics course; for the Netherlands on Maatschappijleer textbooks for the lower classes in secondary education.

II. METHODOLOGY

Textbooks are rich historical sources, containing multiple elements that could be analyzed meaningfully on their own. One could trace the occurrence of certain words, the number and content of illustrations, the type of exercises, the amount of attention for specific topics;

the effects of changing production techniques; the role and background of authors; the implicit or explicit relation between the textbook and the teacher (see Fuchs & Bock 2018 for an insightful overview of traditions and methods in historical textbook research). Rather than focusing on either one of these elements in isolation, specific sections of each textbook were approached as a whole, in which these different elements were related. This made it possible to see the connections between the text, layout, illustrations and exercises, and make underlying educational ideas explicit.

The most established way to uncover such underlying ideas is *discourse analysis*. Discourse analysis provides the opportunity to analyze textbooks as sites of interaction between educational policy, science and practice and to trace changes and continuities in the presentation of the contested terms 'citizenship' and 'democracy'. In a similar textbook project, Tina van der Vlies recently claimed that we should consider textbooks as "mediators of discourses" and not (as is often done) as books that either present a "correct" or a "distorted" view of (in the case of her research) history (Van der Vlies 2022). Educational philosopher Michael Apple described textbooks as "gate-keepers", containing what he called "official knowledge". Inclusion in textbooks institutionalized certain ideas, but also values and attitudes as "legitimate and truthful", at the expense of rival ideas and values (Apple 1985, 1991, 2000a, 2000b). As *mediators* of discourses, textbooks show which knowledge, values and attitudes were considered legitimate in specific periods, but they also *did* something to this official knowledge by putting it in specific educational form. Textbooks thus had a mediating function between educational science and policy on the one hand, and educational practice on the other.

The analysis focuses on the interaction between two types of discourses in the textbooks: educational discourses and political discourses. The analyses of the textbooks were based on a Foucauldian understanding of discourse, which includes a way of speaking, but also of interacting and governing, that is shaped by a way of (scientific or theoretical) thinking, or as Foucault called it, a specific rationality (Foucault 1970). For each of these, three aspects of discourses will be analyzed. First of all, a functioning discourse is not just about what is said or how it is said, but also about *positionality*: who is placed in which position to speak, listen or be observed? In the case of textbooks, this regards the implied positionality of the teachers, the pupils and textbook. Who is allowed, encouraged, required to speak or to listen? Whose voice is valued? Where does the relevant 'truth' lie? In the case of democracy and citizenship, it is about the distribution of political roles, voice, authority and attitudes towards figures of authority. Secondly, a discourse includes *rules of interaction*, and again this is clear in the case of textbooks: they prescribe activities for the teachers as well as the pupils. Teachers are instructed to explain this, give an example of that, see to it that the pupils use the book in the correct manner, test the students in an exam that has this or that specific form, design a lesson around this theme, etc. Students are required to make these exercises, discuss that statement, go out to test this idea, or rather sit down, be silent and make this test. Textbooks are full of instructions for (inter)

action. The same is true of political discourses: they do not just prescribe what the ideal democratic citizen should be, but also what such a citizen should do (Westheimer & Kahne 2004; Knight Abowitz & Harnish 2006). A third central element of discourse is its link with *specific forms of knowledge*, rationality or scientific theory. In the case of textbooks, there are two relevant fields of knowledge: the educational sciences in general, as well as the related academic field. For the Social Studies and Maatschappijleer this was a rather complicated relation, since both courses were to integrate insights from a variety of social sciences. Each textbook somehow had to navigate the differences and conflicts between different scientific fields. And just like each textbook implies certain positions, interactions and relations, it contains a certain educational theory, an idea of what learning is and how it works, an idea of what teaching is and how it works, often including specific ideas on shaping and supervising the educational process (like designing lessons and tests). Analyzing textbooks in terms of discourse thus means looking at these three aspects: positionality, interaction and the underlying (educational and social scientific) theory. The analyses thus focused on changes and continuities in the educational and political discourses in the textbooks, how they interacted with each other and with changing political, societal and educational contexts in America and the Netherlands since the Second World War.

III. ANALYSIS, CODING AND GROUPING

Research on changes and continuities in dominant discourses in the textbooks can make use of broadly speaking two possible designs. Either one starts with a set of possible discourses derived from existing literature or theoretical frameworks, and then checks which ones were present in the different books, thus coding the books deductively; or one starts with the data and derives distinct discourses by means of successive steps of analysis, coding the books inductively (Maxwell 2013). In order to let the sources speak, also in unexpected ways, the choice was made not to determine discourses beforehand, but rather let the discourses arise from the textbooks themselves.

The inductive manner of analysis also plays out at the level of periodization. As with the discourses, the distinctive periods could also be defined beforehand on the basis of existing literature (answering the question: which discourses do we find in these preset periods), but again the opposite was done by letting the distinct dominant discourses determine the periods. Starting out with inductive coding and analysis made it possible to approach the issue of periods as a separate research question, instead of a pre-established framework (which periods of relative dominance of specific political and educational discourses can be identified in the collection of textbooks?). Comparing the periods thus distinguished to periodizations proposed by others yields interesting new insights and questions, making the findings more relevant for the historiographic debate.

The coding took place in several phases in both projects. Coding was done by hand for the American textbooks and with the aid of Atlas.ti for the Dutch ones. Coding the books in their entirety seemed both too time-consuming and redundant. Based on an initial quick scan of the books, educational and political discourses appeared to be identifiable in recurring and relative isolated parts of the books. The educational ideas and the general perspective on Civics and Maatschappijleer were found most explicitly in the general introductions of each book. Secondly, the parts dealing directly with democracy, politics and the political role of citizens were selected. And thirdly, since one of the main issues of citizenship education is that of diversity, the parts of the books dealing with political, religious, cultural and/or ethnic diversity were also selected for analysis. To trace changing ideas regarding the implied relation between pupils and the official knowledge in the textbooks, the exercises and learning activities in the parts studied were analyzed. On average, these sections together comprised about a fifth of each whole book.

The second step was a round of open coding of each book. Alongside the process of coding, within case analyses were written to document how democracy, citizenship and education were defined and related in each separate book. As it turned out, part of the definition of democracy and citizenship was given in the form of *counter frames* in the books: democracy and citizenship were often described by explaining their opposites, either in the form of other political systems or in undemocratic behavior or attitudes of individual citizens. On the basis of these within case analyses and the open codes, axial codes were developed that captured elements of specific political and educational discourses. Grouping different open codes under these axial codes and drawing on the within case analyses, the books were grouped into chronological periods, each showing the dominance of a distinctive educational and political discourse. In both projects, three such periods could be distinguished, which furthermore overlapped to some extent between the two countries.

In line with the research question, two sets of axial codes were developed: the one relating to educational discourses and the other to political discourses. There were three educational discourses that could be distinguished: traditional (focused on transmission of established knowledge and attitudes); intellectual (focused on epistemological growth of the pupils and the development of scientific thinking and research skills); and applied (focused on application of knowledge to real world social and political problems and the life world of the pupils). Regarding the political discourses, these were less obviously overlapping between the periods. Rather than shifting dominance between more or less stable categories, the discourse on citizenship and democracy for each period was remarkably distinct, in both the American and the Dutch case. The result sections in the two chapters discuss the relative prominence and specific form these discourses took in the different periods.

The chosen research question and methods leave (as always) a big mark on the results. In this case, the aim was to identify *dominant* discourses by means of inductive coding and subsequent grouping into periods. The analysis and presentation were focused on what

united the books, showing overlapping patterns. This might have led to sharper distinctions *between* the periods identified, as well as *closer affinity* within them then other analyses on the basis of the same material might have found. Even though the chosen approach does provide a lot of *clarity* in terms of the presentation, some people might argue that this clarity comes at the cost of a lower *accuracy* of the analysis. And indeed a lot of nuance was lost in the process (nuance that was present in the initial within case analyses, for instance), but for the purpose of this project (tracing developments over a longer period of time) such abstraction and aggregation does appear useful and justified.

CHAPTER 3

Textbook politics. The transformations of democratic citizenship in American Civics textbooks (1940-2005)

I. INTRODUCTION[4,5]

Because of the decentralized structure of American education, historians face a difficulty in locating national developments in curricula and educational goals (Thornton 2008). Whereas many studies on the history of American education tend to either analyze developments at the level of national discourse or focus on local case studies (Thornton 2017), this chapter discusses a specific corpus of intermediary sources: national editions of Civics textbooks. Next to national legislation, committees, standards, guidelines, and testing regimes, the textbook industry functioned as an indirect national curriculum maker (Thornton 2008; Ross 1997). Given the contested nature and historically changing definitions of citizenship and democracy, this chapter answers the following research question: *Which political and educational discourses were dominant in American Civics textbooks in the period 1940-2005?*

Textbooks and textbook publishing in American education

A 1949 publication by the American Textbook Publishers Institute opened with the following mocking monologue, summing up some difficulties of textbook-writing:

> *What do I think is the best way to write a textbook that will make a lot of money? That's easy. Just write what you believe that an editor will believe that a salesman will believe that a superintendent will believe that a supervisor will believe that a teacher will believe that a child will read with understanding, with pleasure, and with profit (Bates, Hagar & Loveland 1949).*

As in 1949, textbook publishing throughout the twentieth century required negotiating different demands. Notwithstanding a long tradition among educationalists of predicting and demanding the end of textbook-centered education, textbooks have had and continue to hold a central position in American education. Tyack & Cuban (1995) concluded that textbooks form a central part of "the grammar of schooling", the robust infrastructure of education. According to some scholars, the textbook industry in fact functioned as an unofficial but effective curriculum maker, in the absence of an official national curriculum (Ross 1997; Thornton 2017). As several educational historians have shown, behind the presentation in textbooks lie political, societal and scientific debates with historically changing outcomes (Evans 2004; FitzGerald 1979; Loewen 1995; Moreau 2004; Zimmerman 2002).

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4 Earlier versions of this chapter have been presented at the History of Education seminar of New York University in 2019 as "Textbook politics. Citizenship and democracy in Civics textbooks"; at the 2019 ISCHE conference in Porto as "Citizenship and democracy in American Civics textbooks (1940-2005)"; at the 2018 AMCIS/LLAKES European Conference on Citizenship Education, University of Amsterdam as "Textbook Politics. American Civics Books (1940-2010)"; and at a 2017 Research seminar of the Georg Eckert Institute, Braunschweig Germany as "Unity and Diversity in American and Dutch Civics Books (1940-2010)".

5 The research presented in this chapter was based on a visiting scholarship at the Leibniz-Institut für Bildungsmedien in Braunschweig, Germany (formerly known as Georg Eckert Institute) in 2017, funded by a Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research Visiting Scholar Fellowship.

Throughout American history, textbooks have been produced and distributed by commercial publishers in a semi-structured market. Today, about half of the states are so-called adoption states. In these states "a central textbook committee or the state department of education reviews, amends, and selects the textbooks that schools may purchase with public monies for students across the state" (Fordham Institute 2004, 4). In non-adoption states, there were no statewide lists of approved textbooks, but such lists were sometimes made at lower levels (for instance at the district or city level). In both adoption and non-adoption states, the actual choice for specific textbooks (either from a state or local list, or from all available textbooks) was made by schoolboards and/or teachers. Since textbooks were very expensive to produce, publishers strove to make one textbook for the entire national market (Loewen 1995; Moreau 2004). This meant that they had to negotiate the wishes, guidelines and regulations of all adoption states (or at least the big ones: California, Texas, Florida and North Carolina (Taylor and MacIntyre 2017)) while also remaining competitive in the non-adoption states. That this was a complicated and often frustrating process is clear from the many publications that criticized the educational publishing business (Delfattore 1992; FitzGerald 1979; Fordham Institute 2004; Loewen 1995; Ravitch 2004; Sewell 2005; Tyson-Bernstein 1988). Nonetheless, the resulting textbooks did constitute an unofficial, but influential national 'curriculum' that can be traced over time (Thornton 2008, 17).

However, it must be kept in mind that textbooks themselves do not provide us with any information about historical classroom practice or the actual use of the textbooks by teachers and pupils. Textbooks do not equal educational practice. Also, historical textbooks were the result of a mixture of estimations of the wishes, capabilities, goals and values of audiences at different levels (including officials, teachers, pupils, but also politicians, parents and citizens). As such, the presentation of democratic citizenship in textbooks did not simply reflect an existing consensus, but rather *constituted* one. Thirdly, even though publishers strove to reach the complete national market with one national edition, this does not necessarily mean that these national editions were actually being used in most classes throughout the country. In fact, there is no data available on how well individual books sold (Fordham Institute 2004). What can be derived from a collection of historical textbooks is that major publishers estimated that the books they produced at great costs would appeal to the widest possible audience. Overlapping content and presentation among textbooks is sometimes described as the 'textbook market consensus' (Woodward & Elliot 1991). This specific textbook market consensus regarding the contested notions democracy and citizenship will be traced in this chapter.

Source selection, research questions and method

The research for this chapter was conducted at the Leibniz-Institut für Bildungsmedien (formally known as Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research (GEI)), in Braunschweig, Germany. This specialized institute holds an elaborate collection of historical textbooks from all over the world, including a large collection of American textbooks. Two

major events mark the period under study (1940-2005). The beginning of the Second World War is widely recognized as an important pivot point in the history of Social Studies and Civics education (Evans 2004; Fallace 2017; Lybarger 1991; Thornton 2017; Woysner 2006). The events of 9/11 2001 arguably formed another pivot point, appearing prominently in textbooks after 2005. In order to make comparison possible, only books for Junior High School Civics classes were included (there is some indication that these 9th grade classes had a larger reach then the Senior High Civics classes in the period (Evans 2004)). Within these parameters (period 1940-2005; level Junior High; subject Civics), the collection at GEI held around 100 textbooks. From these, only the books published by major national publishers were included in the study, resulting in a selection of 28 books. Based on both historical and contemporary sources on textbook publishing in America (Bates, Hagar & Loveland 1949; Black 1967; Bragdon 1969; Brammer 1957; Cronbach 1955; Elliot & Woodward 1991; Fordham Institute 2004; Jovanovich 1968; Sewall 2005; Taylor and MacIntyre 2017), the following publishers were deemed 'major national publishers' throughout the whole period: Allyn and Bacon, American Book Company, Ginn, Glencoe McGraw-Hill, Harcourt, Houghton Mifflin, Merrill, Prentice Hall, and Scott, Foresman.

The sample was validated in three steps, to ensure that the GEI collection did indeed contain the most important national Civics books reflecting a national 'textbook market consensus'. First, comparable samples were drawn from two other extensive collections: the Gottesman Libraries of Teachers College, New York, and the catalogue of the American Centre for Research Libraries, Chicago. The three samples were compared, and books only present at the GEI were deleted from the sample. This narrowed the sample down to 21 books, reasonably spread over the different decades in the period. Secondly, the selection was compared to the nationally influential Texas adoption lists from the period. Most books that were present in all three collections were also present on the Texas list at some point. Thirdly, the selection was checked against textbooks discussed by other historians of Civics education. For this purpose, and also to contextualize the findings of the research, the literature discussed in four historiographies was consulted (Davis 1981; Lybarger 1991; Thornton 2017; Woysner 2006). This step further validated the selection of major publishers and the selection of textbooks.

Table 1. *Chronological list of analysed American Civics textbooks*

Year	Title	Authors	Publisher
1942	*This America. Our land, our people, our faith, our defense*	Wilson, H.E., Bowman, N.E., & King, A.Y.	American Book Company
1952	*Your life as a citizen*	Smith, H.F., Tiegs, E.W., & Adams, F.	Ginn
1955	*When men are free. Premises of American liberty*	Vincent, W.S., & the Citizenship Education Project	Houghton Mifflin
1961	*Building citizenship*	Hughes, R.O., & McCrocklin, J.H.	Allyn & Bacon
1967	*American Civics*	Hartley, W.H., & Vincent, W.S.	Harcourt, Brace & World
1970	*Investigating man's world. Political science modular learning unit*	Hanna, P.R., Kohn, C.F., & van Steeg, C.L.	Scott, Foresman
1971	*The people make a nation*	Sandler, M.W., Rozwenc, E.C., & Martin, E.C.	Allyn & Bacon
1972	*American political behavior*	Mehlinger, H.D., & Patrick, J.J.	Ginn
1974	*The human experience*	Weitzman, D., & Gross, R.E.	Houghton Mifflin
1977	*Decision-making in American government*	Fraenkel, J.R., Kane, F.T., Sutherland, J.W., & Tretten, R.W.	Allyn & Bacon
1978	*American society*	Allen, J.	American Book Company
1979	*Scott, Foresman Social Studies*	Stepien, W.	Scott, Foresman
1981	*Law and citizenship in America*	Bauer, N.W., Enis, H., & Enis, T.J.	Harcourt Brace Jovanovich
1982	*Civics for Americans*	Patrick, J.J., & Remy, R.C.	Scott, Foresman
1983	*American Civics*	Hartley, W.H., & Vincent, W.S.	Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich
1984	*Civics. Government and citizenship*	Fraenkel, J.R., Kane, F.T., Cornbleth, C., & Wolf, A.	Allyn and Bacon
1986	*Civics for Americans*	Patrick, J.J., & Remy, R.C.	Scott, Foresman
1986	*Civics. Citizens in action*	Turner, M.J., Long, C.J., Bowes, J.S., & Lott, E.J.	Merrill
1990	*Civics. Government and citizenship*	Fraenkel, J.R., Kane, F.T., & Wolf, A.	Prentice Hall
2002	*Civics. Responsibilities and citizenship*	Saffell, D.C.	Glencoe McGraw-Hill
2003	*American Civics*	Hartley, W.H., & Vincent, W.S.	Holt, Rinehart and Winston

II. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES: PERIODS AND ORIENTATIONS

There is already a quite extensive historiography on the Social Studies and Civics education. In two recent overviews, educational historians Stephan Thornton (2017) and Thomas Fallace (2017) synthesized major publications from the last thirty years, providing a periodization and an explication of perspectives on the Social Studies.

Nearly all historical studies stressed that the outbreak of the Second World War "ushered in consensus on many educational issues" (Thornton 2017, 22). Where the period before 1940 was characterized by social meliorist trends, progressive experimentations and current-issues education (Evans 2004; Halverson 2013; Hertzberg 1981; Kliebard 2003), the Social Studies were now placed in light of the struggle between democracy and dictatorship, where a certain amount of indoctrination was deemed necessary and legitimate (Evans 2004). Instead of critically assessing the 'problems of democracy' (as the senior high school Civics course was called), pupils should learn to value democracy. Fallace (2017) described the period starting in 1940 as 'the age of consensus'.

A second major event was the Cold War and involvement of the federal government in extensive curriculum development projects following the National Defense Education Act of 1958. In reaction to the launch of the Sputnik, educationalists in America declared an educational crisis that threatened national security. Pupils should improve their academic skills to keep up with the Soviets (Evans 2010). This impulse led to the development of the so-called "new Social Studies", focused on raising "Junior High social scientists" (Mullen 2004). The major premise of the new Social Studies was summarized in Bruner's *The Process of Education*: "[I]ntellectual activity anywhere is the same, whether at the frontier of knowledge or in a third-grade classroom… The difference is in degree, not in kind" (Bruner 1960, 13-14).

While the curriculum projects were producing new material, American democracy was confronted with broad societal debate in the wake of the Vietnam War, student protests and the Civil Rights movement (Foner 1998). Around 1970, this led to a new focus on 'relevance' and current-issues, sometimes described as the "newer Social Studies" (Evans 2004; Hahn 2010; Hertzberg 1981; Howard 2004; Mullen 2004). During the "age of diversity", as Fallace (2017) described it, issues of representation, diversity and equity became important in curriculum development (Banks & Nguyen 2008). However, critics claimed that this focus obscured the common story of American democracy, promoting diversity instead of unity and critique instead of patriotism, while also diminishing academic achievements (Moreau 2003; Zimmerman 2002). In the 1980s, this critique gained force, and attempts were made to establish new standards for "excellence in education" (National Commission on Excellence in Education 1983) and a common framework of "cultural literacy" (Hirsch, Kett & Trafil 1987). During the 1990s, this resulted in national debates on standards and high-stakes testing (Symcox 2002). According to critics, standardization and the focus on

testing moved Social Studies education away from educating critical citizens and dulled down Civics education to memorization of facts and passive socialization into the status quo (Evans 2004).

Evidently, different conceptions of education and democracy played a role in the history of the Social Studies. Fallace (2017) distinguished three ideal type orientations: traditional, disciplinary, and progressive. "The traditional orientation to the Social Studies focusses on the transmission of cultural heritage; the disciplinary orientation focusses on socialization into discipline-specific ways of thinking; and the progressive orientation focusses on the application of knowledge to real-world problems" (Fallace 2017, 42). Fallace distinguished the orientations by looking at the "immediate, observable outcomes of teaching the Social Studies": correct reproduction of facts in the case of traditional education; cognitive and epistemological growth shown by successful engagement "in open-ended inquiry into authentic problems in history and social science" in the disciplinary approach; and "the emergence of knowledge from real-world problems and the application of knowledge to real-world issues" in the progressive orientation (Fallace 2017, 44-45). These three orientations placed pupils in different relations to official knowledge in education.

How did changes in educational discourse described in the historiography appear in Civics textbooks over the years? To what extent were the three orientations on Social Studies visible? And how were the contested concepts 'citizenship' and 'democracy' presented? In the following results sections, these questions are answered for three periods in which a distinctive Civics textbook market consensus could be identified: the period of Postwar consensus 1940-1969, the period of the New Social Studies 1970-1980, and the period of the Conservative restoration 1981-2005.

III. THE (POST) WAR CONSENSUS (1940-1969)

> *Being a good citizen requires living according to the principles for which our country stands […]. They are called Premises because they are assumptions […]. They can't be proven as if they were scientific principles, and we don't have to prove them. We just say, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident,' and govern our lives accordingly (Vincent 1955, 5).*

Thus opened *When men are free*, the Junior High textbook produced in the Teachers College-led *Citizenship Education Project*. It captured the main features of Civics education in the period: American democracy was presented in terms of shared moral values. Throughout the book, the premises were printed in bold typecast, either in the imperative voice ("Consider the common good before group and class loyalties" (Vincent 1955, 93)) or stated as fact ("We are a peaceful people and work to rid the world of war and the threat of war" (Vincent 1955, 155)). The consistent use of 'we' and the authoritative manner of presenting the 'premises'

of freedom indicated that pupils were to internalize (instead of question, discuss or assess the actualization of) the foundational moral truths that united the American people. The goal of Civics education was to "help young people understand what freedom in America really means" (Vincent 1955, 5). During the Second World War and the early Cold War, democracy and citizenship were most explicitly formulated in contrast to the enemies of freedom and democracy: fascism and international communism.

United against the enemies of freedom and democracy

Comparisons between democracy and its fascist or communist adversaries could be found throughout the books in this period. A common theme was that America had a government 'for the people', while in dictatorial regimes, the people served the state or the party. "Tyrants and dictators may content that the 'individual is nothing, the state is everything', this can never be true in a democracy […]. In a democracy every individual counts", it read in the section 'Respect for each person' in *This America* (Wilson 1942, 105). People living under totalitarian rule were described as victims who are fooled into servitude by self-serving and manipulating governments: "After people have sacrificed their liberties, however, they have discovered that they did not assure themselves of security either" (Wilson 1942, 133-134). The message was clear: only democratic rule ensured freedom and security to the people. Democracies and dictatorships were distinguished on several grounds, including the role of education and the control or freedom of information.

Several books claimed that education in dictatorial regimes was used to control the people, in fact constituting propaganda and deception:

> *[The dictator] and his party members teach the people what they want them to believe, give them only the information that they wish them to have, and threaten them with punishment if they dare to express conflicting ideas […]. We believe that public opinion, based on accurate information and free deliberation, can give our nation real security (Smith 1952, 427).*

Education in America on the other hand, should enforce the people in their control of government. Respect for the individual and freedom of thought and expression were presented as keystones of democracy, but this did not mean that anything was allowed. In order to secure the proper functioning of public opinion, the textbooks stressed that pupils should develop their common sense and be weary of propaganda and one-sided sources of information. Since communism thrived on deception of the people and the manipulation of information:

> *all young Americans need to learn how to identify Communist propaganda. But even more important, all young Americans need to understand and to cherish the priceless freedom they enjoy under our free, democratic government (Vincent 1967, 551).*

Learning to distinguish between true and false, right and wrong was of key importance for the security of the country and the American way of life.

Serving the common good through public opinion

In their discussions of public opinion, the textbooks presented a specific form of democracy that revolved around the common good, common sense and compromise. In order to function in this consensus based democracy, pupils should learn how to think and contribute to public opinion. Again, the contrast to dictatorial regimes was stressed:

> *The average man who lives under a dictator has an easy job of his thinking, for he is simply told what to believe and whom to obey […]. Our democratic task of thinking is more difficult, because every person has the responsibility of inquiring, comparing opinion, gathering and weighing evidence, conferring with others, and assisting, on the basis of that evidence, in the formation of public opinion (Wilson 1942, 112-113).*

All textbooks stressed the importance of freedom of opinion and press, but more important was that citizens understood their own role: "open communication does not guarantee sound public opinion […]. Sound public opinion requires actively thinking individuals" (Smith 1952, 428-430). This 'active thinking' consisted of two aspects: the willingness and freedom to address mistakes made by governments, and the ability to rise above one's personal interest to an evaluation of the 'common good'.

The only way to arrive at the common good, the books described, was through open and reasonable debate among fellow citizens.

> *Form opinions carefully; keep receiving lines open. [Ask yourself] do I have good friends in several different age groups, so that I get a variety of opinions on current topics of discussion? Have I any friend whose background or interest offer a contrast to my own? Do I belong to any organizations which provide experience in working with others of different points of view? (Smith 1952, 440)*

Since government did not control the flow of ideas, citizens must themselves show responsibility for gaining relevant information. There was a concern for diversity visible in the textbooks, but the range of 'different points of view' was limited and civilized conversation was always presented as a means of bridging them. Sensitive issues like race or profound political disagreement were not discussed in the textbooks.

An exercise in *When men are free* was indicative of the ideal of democracy and the moral tone of instruction in these books:

> *Appoint a committee to present a skit showing how members of a group that is divided on some question compromise their differences […]. Why is it necessary for a group to consider the common good before it makes a decision or takes action? Why, in your opinion, do members of groups so often find it hard not to think solely of what is 'good for our group' and forget what is good for everybody else? (Vincent 1955, 95).*

In the form of democracy idealized in this period people could have private ideological, religious, ethnic and cultural differences, but these were not presented as politically relevant. The public domain was reserved for people who overcame personal differences and collectively served the common good: "when any group says 'Me first', with no thought for what happens to the rest of the nation, it has to be reminded, even forced, to remember that the first loyalty is to the common good – the nation" (Vincent 1955, 93). Good citizens should check their self-interest and be wary of political extremism.

The many faces of selfishness

Next to external threats to democracy, American Civics education in this period presented a clear image of internal dangers. Since democracy was defined in terms of the common good, *selfishness* was seen as the main threat, and it came in many forms. Civic negligence for instance, was presented as a form of selfishness, a way of favoring your own petty concerns above serving the common good.

> *It has been said that every right carries with it a duty. If every citizen realized the two-sided nature of citizenship, we should be much better off than today. Too many people talk too much about their rights and forget corresponding duties […]. Patriotism means everyday service; it means keeping out of your mind motives and temptations to be selfish or to disregard the authority of our country (Hughes 1961, 17-21).*

Neglecting civic responsibilities (not voting, or not voting 'intelligently') was not only morally reprehensible, but in the end also self-defeating because it interacted with another form of selfishness. All books addressed the threat of 'party machines', who fool the people for their own benefit: "The top men of the machine really direct the business of the community, not for the good of the general public, but for the sake of their selfish interests" (Smith 1952, 348-349).

Throughout the books in this period, party politics was negatively contrasted with the good work of 'public servants', selected on the basis of the 'merit system'. Political parties

were presented as selfish, because they invoked party loyalty above national loyalty, because they tended to place 'private' opinion (that is: a political ideal) above common sense, and because they appointed people based on their service for the party, instead of their service for the country. Since there were no politically relevant differences among the American public in the consensus model of democracy, politics did not really revolve around political ideas, but should best be left to experts without political color.

> *It might be an advantage not to use national party names in contests for local offices. What difference does it make whether a man calls himself a Republican or a Democrat, if all that is required of him is intelligence, good judgement, and honesty! (Hughes 1961, 128-129).*

The main political task for citizens, next to contributing to public opinion, was to select their leaders 'wisely': "It will be your duty to find out what the qualifications of the candidates for office are […] so that you can vote intelligently" (Smith 1952, 338). These qualities were explicitly non-political. Consensus based democracy needed experts, not politicians.

Conclusion: traditional education through moralizing narratives

> *The beauty and majesty of our nation makes us proud to be Americans. They inspire in us a feeling of patriotism, or love of our country. This feeling of patriotism will be increased by a study of Civics. As we learn more about our great nation and its ideal and its achievements, we come to cherish its liberties and freedoms (Vincent 1967, 5).*

The greatness and moral superiority of America over other countries ran as a guiding tread through all Civics education during the 'age of consensus'. The books taught pupils to follow this tread, that guided them to cooperation, civic responsibility and the common good. All of the books focused on 'transmission of cultural heritage' and thus fall into the category of 'traditional education'. The focus did not necessarily lie on the reproduction of factual information, but rather on internalizing moral values. These values were nowhere topic of serious debate in the books. Some of the books included discussion questions or creative exercises, but these exercises and discussions were cast in very moralizing terms, leaving little room for thorough discussion. In *American Civics*, for instance, pupils have to "Write a letter to a friend describing your study of Communism and telling him why Communism would be hated by anyone who truly loved freedom. Write a poem comparing life in the Soviet Union and in the United States" (Vincent 1967, 556). The near absence of 'progressive education' reflects the idea that this type of learning had fallen out of favor, but the lack of any 'disciplinary education' is striking. Well into the 1960s, Civics education was dominated by a moral version of traditional education and a consensus model of democracy.

The changing orientation described in the historiography of the Social Studies only became evident in the textbooks after 1970, when a combination of progressive and disciplinary education introduced discord and discussion into American Civics classes.

IV. THE 'NEW SOCIAL STUDIES' (1970-1980)

The 1971 textbook *The people make a nation*, opened with the following statement:

> *This book is probably different from any other history or Social Studies text you have ever read. In using most textbooks, you are expected to accept the author's version of what happened or of what people said. In this book, you will read firsthand accounts by people who contributed to the making of America and secondhand accounts by many different historians and journalists. You will then be given the opportunity to draw conclusions and make judgments based on the evidence you find in your reading (Sandler 1971, v).*

The textbooks from the 1970s were indeed very different from the earlier Civics books, in tone, content, layout, but most of all, in terms of expected pupil activities. The curriculum development projects, financed under the 1958 National Defense Education Act, and rapid political and societal changes (Civil Rights movement, Vietnam protests, student revolts and the second wave of feminism) taking place in the 1960s, now resulted in Civics textbooks that promoted another form of democracy and other forms of teaching and learning. Consensus and moral clarity were out, conflict and (academic) ambiguity were in.

From external to internal challenges of democracy

Where textbook from the (post)war period urged pupils to be guardians of the unique and exemplary achievement of American democracy in a struggle against foreign threats, the 1970s textbooks presented the struggle for democracy on another field. Not on a world scale between an evidently good and an evil world power, but rather on the national scale, among American citizens who held different definitions of what 'a government of the people, for the people, by the people' really meant. Instead of telling pupils about their duty to perpetuate the proper functioning of democracy in America, textbooks now presented democracy as something to strive for and debate. The first image pupils saw when they opened *American Political Behavior*, produced in the federal curriculum projects, showed two young black men wearing buttons stating 'Vote' and carrying an American flag (Mehlinger 1972, 1). In the introduction of *Decision-making in American government*, pupils read: "we focused on gaps, where they exist, between myth and reality" regarding democracy, politics and equality in America (Fraenkel 1977, v). Democracy was presented as a promise, something

that lay in a possible future, not something that was handed down in a completed form from the founding of the nation onwards.

The constant comparisons between democracy and dictatorships found in earlier books were largely absent, or had been replaced by contextual treatments of different political cultures and value systems. *The Human Experience* stated that:

> *we must be careful when we look at another society. We cannot judge one set of rules to be the 'right way' and another set the 'wrong way' to regulate society. 'Good government' is not the same everywhere. Rather, it is the government that works best for this group of people or that society […]. Actual forms of government are 'experiments in organized living' (Weitzman 1974, 388).*

People living under other forms of government were no longer viewed as victims of selfish leaders, but as members of a different society, with other value systems: "As we examine political systems around the world, it is important to begin with people's values" (Allen 1978, 437). *American Society* distinguished three broad political orientations in the world, based on their valuation of freedom and control: totalitarianism, authoritarianism, and democracy. Interesting, the book presented authoritarianism, and not totalitarianism as the biggest global rival and domestic threat. The real danger was that "many people find authoritarianism an attractive system. It allows certain kinds of freedom while not requiring the citizens to exercise political responsibility. The idea is to let someone else do the governing" (Allen 1978, 440). In the 1970s, being a good democratic citizen involved more than 'selecting your leaders wisely'. As *American Political Behavior* put it: politics was not reserved for elected experts, rather "political behavior occurs among all groups of people" (Mehlinger 1972, 2).

Conflict, rights, and authority

The image of a healthy democracy in the books was one of legitimate conflicts of interests and ideas. Civics education in the 1970s was about:

> *the management of conflicts, the resolution of issues, the distribution of rewards and punishments, the mechanisms of social change, and the maintenance of order […]. The subject is concerned essentially with public controversy, the articulation of human needs, and the decisions of authorities about who gets what, when, and how (Mehlinger 1972, i-ii).*

This meant that people and groups in American society did not share one common good, but rather had conflicting interests and fundamental disagreements: freedom of expression and assembly gave "interest groups the right to form and act on their own behalf" (Allen

1978, 198). Conflicts were presented at the heart of politics and social processes, not as something to be avoided: "Conflicts can help us understand others better and learn self-discipline […]. Conflicts offer us a chance to make things better" (Stepien 1979, 326).

In most of the selected books, conflicts were described using real or very realistic examples. *The people make a nation*, for example, asked pupils to compare statements about the right to demonstrate in two short texts. One was written by Eldridge Cleaver, from the Black Panther Party, stating that "we have the right to defend ourselves against the pig cops". The other was from another political extreme, George Wallace from the American Independent Party, stating: "That's right, we gonna have a police state for folks who burn the cities down. They aren't gonna burn anymore cities" (Sandler 1971, 200). One of the opening stories in *American Political Behavior* was called "The clan comes to town" dealing with the freedom of expression and demonstration for racist groups, presenting a real conflict of fundamental rights to the pupils. Again, two polarized opinions were presented as main sources for inquiry: a letter written by "An angry black man" and one signed by "A 100 percent American" (Mehlinger 1972, 5). The first characteristic of 'political behavior' discussed in the book was "Political behavior involves conflict" (Mehlinger 1972, 9).

Another important aspect and a striking difference with the earlier Civics books, was that politics was now presented as involving emotion. Where earlier books only addressed the positive emotion of patriotism, the conflicts described here involved anger, fear, happiness and frustration. All these emotions were presented as legitimate, natural and important elements in political life. Even patriotism was rewritten in the books, no longer in terms of loyalty to the country and the common good, but in terms of the right and duty to speak out and dissent. "Political dissent is a long and honorable American tradition" (Mehlinger 1972, 154). Other books included sections from Thoreau on civil disobedience (Weitzman 1974, 463) or stressed that "the Bill of Rights was, and is today, a means of protecting Americans from control by other Americans" in their thinking and valuing (Allen 1977, 49). Being a loyal subject of reasonable authorities was no longer presented as a political virtue.

Challenging educational and moral authority

Even though only a few of the books were actually produced in federal projects, all of them followed the educational theory formulated by Bruner: pupils could and should learn to think like (social) scientists. This approach had some very thorough consequences for the role of Civics education. Instead of being socialized into a pattern of values and a body of knowledge, the pupils were asked to question, investigate and evaluate knowledge and values. Textbooks ceased to be moral instructions, as they no longer told pupils what to believe. *American Political Behavior* even asked pupils to consider the difference and complicated relation between facts and values: "Which of the preceding questions can be answered with facts, hypotheses, value judgements? What are the differences between questions that are answered with facts, hypotheses, and value judgements?" (Mehlinger

1972, 166). Another good example of the new stance towards educational authority was *The people make a nation*. The book consistsed of a collection of primary and secondary sources grouped together around themes, combined with very short introductory texts and a lot of 'source questions' and assignments. In one section, pupils were asked to investigate a draft version of the Declaration of Independence, look for significant changes and consider 'the problem of definitions'.

> *Ask five people to write the definition of the following words without looking in a dictionary: justice, chair, freedom, beauty, newspaper, religion, and house. Which words were easier for them to define? For which word is there least agreement about the definition? Why? (Sandler 1971, 103).*

Pupils should learn that the writers of the Declaration were struggling among each other about the meaning of central political terms, and different ideas continue to exist today. This was not only a way of demystifying the 'sacred' founding document of America, it also presented pupils with a complicated question without giving a solution: how should we deal with different ideas of justice and freedom in a democratic society? Not only did the textbook refuse to provide moral guidance, it also did not provide any educational authority. It was not the textbook, nor the teacher who had to answer this question. It was the 'junior high social scientist' who should investigate possible answers.

Diversity and confusion

The disciplinary 'new Social Studies', and the progressive 'newer Social Studies' brought new ideas on democracy and education into Civics textbooks, but they did not provide clarity and unity. The collection of 1970s textbooks showed that teaching pupils to think like social scientists was a rather complicated matter in a field that has been multidisciplinary since its beginning. For nearly all books, it was possible to define a specific scientific outlook: *Investigating man's world* presented a systemic version of political science (Hanna 1971), *American Political Behavior* was full of insights from the field of political psychology (Mehlinger 1972), *The human experience* applied an anthropological perspective (Weitzman 1974), and *American society* featured a lot of political philosophy (Allen 1978). Each discipline had its own approach and type of exercises, but also its own way of defining politics, citizenship and democracy, in either political, sociological, philosophical or anthropological terms.

Secondly, the books were much more difficult to use for pupils and teachers, as they required more active engagement and they were much less clear in terms of their moral message, as later accounts of the new Social Studies also concluded (Mullen 2004; Hahn 2010). Instead of telling pupils to be patriotic, these books asked pupils to investigate the concept 'patriotism'. Now what should they take from this? Is it good, necessary, required? Or bad, the root of war, and something to be critical of? The books did not give the pupils

an answer. Reflecting new cultural and educational ideas, the textbook was no longer the authority that prescribed pupils what to do or how to think. Thirdly, a majority of the books promoted a form of critical citizenship, which also made them subject to criticism voiced by more traditional educators and political conservatives. Critics claimed that the lack of moral socialization itself signified a specific moral and political, anti-patriotic agenda (Evans 2004).

Conclusion: combining disciplinary and progressive education

In the 1979 book *Social Studies*, the chapter on politics was called 'Power'. Pupils did not learn directly about the branches of government or voting procedures in America, they rather learned that power could be distributed in a variety of ways and can have different forms, among which were voting and political power.

> *Power is the ability to do something, or to influence or control someone. It is used by individuals and by groups like government and businesses. A person can have a role that is powerful. An idea, too, can be called powerful (Stepien 1979, 278).*

The general concept was explained through examples in the direct environment of the pupil: speed regulations in a school area, the advice of a dentist, and having a space of your own, like a treehouse. Pupils were asked to consider the different forms of power implied in these situations, informed by scientific theories of power. Other books asked pupils to investigate historical or sociological issues, for instance by comparing historical (Sandler 1971; Weitzman 1974) or contemporary sources (Mehlinger 1972). These were all examples of the mix of disciplinary and the progressive forms of education found in the 1970s Civics books. The goal was to apply higher order concepts to actual issues, sometimes academic, sometimes in the lifeworld of the pupils. In the Social Studies, it turned out that the line between academic and real world issues was not always easy to draw. Where the historiography presents a neat division between the disciplinary 'new Social Studies' and the progressive 'newer Social Studies', the textbooks themselves show a mixture of the two throughout the 1970s.

The new Social Studies also introduced new difficulties. Three forms of confusion in particular (unclear moral education, unclear disciplinary education, and a focus on critique) began to arouse critique, leading to a 'back to basics' movement in the 1980s. The period started with the initiatives to promote scientific thinking and curriculum development, but in the case of the social sciences and studies, this turned out to be a rather demanding, controversial and at some points confusing enterprise. At the end of the 1970s, the period of experimentations was over and the political and educational mood changed yet again.

V. THE 'CONSERVATIVE RESTORATION' (1981-2005)

In the introduction to *Civics for Americans*, pupils read about a fictional 14-year-old character, Tony Martin. "At school, Tony has the right to learn […]. In return, Tony has certain responsibilities. He should follow school rules. He should cooperate with other students and teachers to make the school a good place to get an education" (Patrick 1982, 6). His situation at school mirrored his civic life: "Tony has the right to enjoy the services of the government […]. In return for these benefits Tony has responsibility for seeing that the laws in his city, state, and nation are obeyed […]. He owes loyalty to his country" (Patrick 1982, 6-7). Civics education took a new form in the 1980s, one that focussed on national pride, respecting authority and processing information. This implied a return to traditional education and more traditional values, something Apple (2000a, 2000b) and Evans (2004) described as a 'Conservative restoration'. However, the presentation of citizenship and democracy in these books was not a return to the post-war focus on consensus and the common good. A new market model of democracy replaced the question marks of the 1970s, as education and textbooks became more standardized, and testing became ever more important.

Conditional citizenship: the political contract

Promoting patriotism and national pride among pupils was an explicit goal of many of the books: "We should all be proud of the many rights and responsibilities we have as United States citizens. And we should always work to uphold these privileges" (Patrick 1986, 3). Like books from the first period, this was described as a straightforward and uncontroversial fact: American citizens simply were patriotic and proud. But it was also presented as a responsibility in a very specific form, as something that citizens owe to their country, as in the story of Tony Martin. Citizens and the state were now presented as sharing a contract, in which the state guaranteed rights and provided services in return for patriotism, obedience and participation from the citizens. "United States citizenship guarantees Americans many rights, but also brings with it certain responsibilities. Most importantly, it calls for participation by citizens, with all their energy and know-how", pupils read in *Citizens in action* (Turner 1986, 3). *American Civics* presented a list of ten "Qualities of a good citizen", including (after being a 'responsible family member' and 'respecting and obeying the law') "Good citizens are loyal to their nation and proud of its accomplishments" (Hartley 1983, 5).

The textbooks helped pupils become responsible citizens by clarifying the terms of the contract between citizen and state, explaining how government served them and what they owed in return.

> *Because Americans live in a democratic society, they must take part in the process of self-government. This means that as an American you are responsible for how your government functions and who your leaders are. Participation by concerned citizens is key to keeping a democracy thriving. By studying and learning Civics, you become the kind of citizen your country needs – an informed citizen (Hartley 2003, xx).*

All textbooks stressed civic responsibilities, explaining that fulfilling these duties was good for the country and its citizens. Including images of smiling pupils with all kinds of backgrounds as well as success stories of minority members, the books conveyed the message that all could and should contribute. Being a good student in Civics class was the first duty pupils had in their political contract with the nation.

Government for the people: Influencing government, interest groups and political parties

While the books stressed the responsibilities of citizens, they also stated that a democratic form of government was a 'government for the people': "Its main purpose is to serve the people" (Hartley 1983, 21). Because government was there to serve the people, it needed to be informed about the wishes and preferences of the people. The books presented two main communication channels between the people and the state: political parties and interest groups. "[Parties] play an important role in helping the people of the United States practice self-government. The parties enable people to communicate with their government leaders and help ensure that government remains responsive to the people" (Saffell 2002, 159). The books extensively explained how parties function and where the two major parties differ, making it clear that parties were at the heart of the political process in American democracy.

The summit of democratic life was no longer the protest, debate or conversation with others, but election day. "It is through exercising their right to vote that the people can rule. That is democracy!" (Bauer 1981, 145). Political parties aggregated the wishes of the people, expressed in terms of interests:

> *The term public opinion is misleading, however. It suggests a uniformity of opinion that does not exist […]. Many factors affect a person's opinion on any public issue. Age, gender, income, hobbies, race, religion, occupation, and so on may play a role […]. An African American woman may favor affirmative action employment laws, whereas a white man may not (Saffell 2002, 188).*

Background and interest thus determined political orientation, the pupils read, and this was presented as legitimate. The goal was becoming "an effective citizen – a citizen able to promote individual interests, as well as the interests of a free nation" (Turner 1986, 1). Political struggle was addressed in terms of interests, not ideas or values: "while labor unions

might demand a higher minimum wage, business groups might urge that it be kept at the current level" (Saffell 2002, 193). Interest groups, honed in the 1950s as selfish organizations, were now presented as fundamental to democratic rule. "Many people think special-interest groups are harmful to American democracy because they exert too much influence over political decisions. In reality, interest groups serve a number of useful functions" (Saffell 2002, 200). The activities of lobbyist and interest groups "provide lawmakers with a tremendous amount of information", and since democracy was defined as a system serving the people based on their preferences, this information was vital to a healthy democracy (Saffell 2002, 202).

Responsible citizenship in a market model: volunteering

In a political system dominated by political parties representing interests, there were two possible tasks for citizens and young people. Either becoming active as volunteer in a political party, or volunteering for a worthy local cause. *Civics for Americans* recounted the story of the California Frontflash, a group that "included hundreds of teenagers and young adults" who convinced the Democratic party to let them help in a campaign: "They showed that young citizens can participate effectively in an election campaign" (Patrick, 1983, 271). All three editions of *American Civics* (1983, 1986, 2003) included the section "Teenagers help their parties", telling the story of exemplary young people who were canvassing, calling possible voters, and helping people register to vote. "Janet and Bill support different parties. Yet both learned at an early age how important it is to take an active part in our country's political life" (Hartley 1983, 206-207). Since politics was about winning elections, volunteering for the party that best represented your interests was presented as good for the country as well as yourself. "Joining a political party and working to elect candidates you believe in is an excellent way to participate" (Hartley 1983, 198).

There was an ethical counterpart of this market model democracy. Citizenship also meant:

> *a willingness to give freely to others for the common good […]. Today, more than half of all adult citizens give something back to the community by volunteering for a cause. For many Americans, service to others is the true measure of citizenship (Fraenkel 1990, xii-xx).*

Under the name 'People helping people', pupils read about a man giving up a 500.000-dollar salary a year to work in a hospice "'I've always had a deep desire to serve society' he explains" (Fraenkel 1990, 7). In other books as well, volunteering was presented as a civic responsibility. As a "Civic participation activity" *Civics: responsibilities and citizenship* suggested: "Volunteer for the organization [of your choice] a set number of hours each week. Let your friends, family, and neighbors know about the organization, and encourage them to volunteer as well" (Saffell 2002, 124). *American Civics* even opened with volunteering.

"Young citizens in action. Clothing people living in poverty", presented a story about Japheth Youmans and Heidi Lopez who started collecting cloths for the homeless as a Civics class project and receive a community medal in the end. The books all presented three types of community volunteering: helping the poor, helping the ill or elderly, and supporting a cleaner environment. What was striking was that none of the books asked pupils to consider the causes of poverty, the workings of the health system, or environmental issues beyond cleaning local parks. Where 1970s Civics books stressed the political nature of such issues and the conflicts of values implied, Civics books after 1980 presented these issues in an ethical and social frame, as 'people helping people'.

Publication packages, test taking and critical thinking

Contrasting to the wide variety of 1970s textbooks, books from this period were remarkably uniform. Tables of content and even titles and covers of the books all looked alike. From 1980 onwards, new publication practices became visible in the books. A telling example: William Hartley and William Vincent were featured as authors of the 2003 edition of *American Civics*, while both died in the 1980s. In reality, a team of three editorial reviewers, three content reviewers and thirteen educational reviewers assembled texts and exercises made by a collection of writers, who were not mentioned. The main task of these production teams was to accommodate teachers and pupils in "a systematic course of study", as *Citizens in action* described it (Turner 1986, iii). Much more than earlier books, the books came in what were called 'publication packages', including in-book tests, lesson plans, summaries, and separate study skills sections, focusing mostly on 'gathering and organizing information' and 'test-taking'. The focus on processing information and test taking had consequences for the relation pupils learned to take towards (educational) authority.

The introduction to *Citizens in action* explained how pupils should use the textbook. Each chapter opened with "several preview questions" that would prime the interest of the pupils for the specific topic of the chapter. Furthermore, the book explained that "key terms" were printed in boldface and defined in the margin of the text. This would help pupils distinguish important information and ease their learning. And finally: "These terms, along with the major concepts of the section, are reinforced through section review questions" (Turner 1986, iii). The structure of bold printed definitions, learning goals and chapter assessments was visible in all books, signifying that educational clarity was important. *American Civics* opened with an elaborate 'Skills handbook", containing "Critical thinking, becoming a strategic reader, standardized test-taking strategies" (Hartley 2003, xxii). 'Critical thinking' consisted of 15 different skills, primarily on processing information. The last and overarching skill was 'Decision making', where pupils were to gather and analyze information on a situation in order to arrive at "the best possible action", predicting the consequences of different options (Hartley 2003, s3). Making a decision was a matter of correct processing of the relevant information, it did not primarily involve reflection upon personal commitments, values or moral deliberation. 'Becoming

a strategic reader' had a similar set-up. It asked pupils to answer 'what's your opinion' questions stated at the beginning of each chapter, then read the chapter, and then reconsider their own initial answers (Hartley 2003, s5). The idea was that adding information would automatically lead pupils to the 'correct' opinion, which was checked again in the 'Chapter review' sections. "Standardized test-taking strategies" also focused on teaching pupils to process information correctly. Tests were so central, that test-taking itself was considered one of the three most important civic skills pupils had to master.

Conclusion: traditional education and testing

"What does it mean to be a citizen? In a way, this whole textbook is the answer to that question" (Hartley 1983, 3). This was a typical statement for the educational ideas behind the Civics books since 1980. Pupils should learn what citizenship was, what their role in politics and society was, and which values were central to American citizenship. The answers were present in the textbook, often in bold typed and clearly defined central terms and chapter summaries. Pupils should learn to master this information and be able to reproduce it in standardized tests. Meanwhile, pupils learned that politics was about parties and interests, and that they had a moral obligation to contribute to the common good through volunteering for non-controversial causes. There was room for personal values in choosing which party or cause to volunteer for, but these values were not really up for analysis. Political preferences were treated as given and closely related to personal interests. This period showed a clear revival of 'traditional education', but with another moral and political lesson compared to the first period. There was almost no 'disciplinary education' in this period, and the real-world issues close to the life-world of the pupils of 'progressive education' were limited to investigating how pupils could become active as volunteers.

The last book included in this study was published in 2003. As for American society as a whole, the events of 9/11 challenged education to reconsider the threats to democracy, either in the form of terrorists attacks or the suspension of civil liberties in response to them. As a general rule, textbooks include new events and insights with a lag of about five years. If and how 9/11 and its aftermath influenced the conceptions of citizenship and democracy in Civics textbooks after 2005 remains a question for further research.

VI. CONCLUSION

The textbook market consensus on Civics education in the United States took some remarkable turns over the last seventy years. The presentation of democracy and citizenship changed from a consensus model during the Second World War and the early Cold War, to a conflictual model in the 1970s, and to a party based market model in the last period. In line with changing conceptions of democracy and citizenship, different educational ideas were visible in the textbooks. The consensus model went hand in hand with traditional

moral instruction, the conflictual model arose together with inquiry based disciplinary and progressive education, and the market model coincided with test centered traditional education. In the textbooks, educational content was strongly related to educational methods. Developments in the textbook market consensus broadly overlapped with changing educational discourse described in the historiography.

These findings resonate with recent critiques of Civics education in America. Civics textbooks from the last period could indeed be described as 'procedural', 'politically correct', 'uncritical', 'unengaging', 'avoiding controversy', and 'anti-intellectual' (Evans 2004; Hess 2009; Fordham Institute 2004; Knight Abowitz & Mamlok 2019; Levinson 2012; Magill & Salinas 2019; Ravitch 2003; Sewall 2005). During the last periods, both controversy and scholarly inquiry were relocated to the level of textbook production, where extensive market research, national standards and sensitivity guidelines determined to a large extent what was included in the books and how it was presented. There was concern for the 'wishes' of the pupil at this level, but mainly in terms of reading ability and educational success. Meanwhile, issues of diversity were dealt with in a non-controversial manner, by means of including smiling pictures and success stories of minority members.

Over the whole period, there was one clear overarching development visible in the textbooks: a continuing methodological didactic expansion. Textbooks did not just expand in terms of content over the years, they also became more directive as to how they should be used by teachers and pupils. Where books from the first period hardly included any learning aids, later books included elaborate teaching plans, in-book tests and exercises. This development started with the new Social Studies textbooks, produced around a pedagogical idea. Disciplinary and progressive education left a lot of room for classroom initiative, discussion and open-ended inquiry. When this pedagogy was replaced with test-based traditional education, the didactical expansion became more stringent, changing from suggestions on what to do in Civics class to prescribing what to answer on tests.

This development could be interpreted as an ongoing professionalization of Civics education, introducing clear learning goals and effective teaching methods. The alignment with National Standards and standardized tests could be placed in the same light. However, combined with developments in the textbook publishing industry, it also raises issues of democratic control and classroom autonomy. While textbooks were expanding in size and didactical instruction, the textbook market was continuingly shrinking in number of independent publishers. From 1990 onward, only three major conglomerates were able to produce competitive publication packages (Taylor & MacIntyre 2017). This meant that schools and teachers had less choice, especially since all three conglomerates produced similar books, closely aligned with national standards and tests. The position of textbooks changed from teaching tools to complete curricula, and given the sheer investments needed to produce a complete Civics textbook, three publishing houses now shape the curriculum for democratic citizenship education to a large extent.

Standardization and didactical expansion had consequences at two levels: classroom autonomy and democratic control over education. The extensive publication packages might leave teachers and pupils with the feeling of being passive elements in education, either as serving hatch of a pre-established curriculum or as passive recipient of information. The didactical expansion of the textbooks reduced teacher autonomy, while also leaving very little room for classroom initiative.

Secondly, the focus on educational clarity and efficiency presented in the textbooks from the last period raises questions about the relation between democracy and education in America and the role of publishers in curriculum making. Expressing a long tradition of local control on schooling, American law forbids the establishment of national curricula. The rationale behind this law is that states or ideally even local communities should determine how their children are socialized and educated (Tyack 2003). This idea appears especially important where politically contested concepts are at stake. Developments in textbook production leave little room for effective local control over teaching materials, and the pedagogical nature of textbooks since 1980 also leaves little room for discussion or contextualization of political terms.

CHAPTER 4

Educational therapy. Political and educational discourses in Dutch Maatschappijleer textbooks (1963-2001)

I. INTRODUCTION[6]

The most explicit place for citizenship education in Dutch education is Maatschappijleer (Social Studies), a course that all pupils in high school have to take for at least one year. It was first introduced as part of a broad revision of all secondary education in 1963 known as the *Mammoetwet*. Ever since discussions on the desirability of the course started in the late 1940s, it has been a subject of educational debate in the Netherlands (De Jong 2014; 2021). This is not surprising. For in this course ideas on democracy, citizenship and the relation between education and democracy had to be translated into a clear educational form. The most prominent source for critique lay in a near constant accusation of indoctrination. Especially Christian, liberal and communist parties stated time and again that the attempt to organize citizenship education on a national scale through this mandatory course, was state pedagogy and unwanted centralized control over the political upbringing of children (Amsing & Dekker 2020; De Jong 2014, 271; De Rooy 2018). But also among proponents of the course, the matter of indoctrination was and remains a point of debate. In historical as well as recent handbooks and guidelines for Maatschappijleer teachers, the tension between cultivating certain democratic attitudes and views on the one hand, and the democratic imperative of autonomy receives a lot of attention (Dekker 1984; Gerritsen & Klaassen 1992; Klaassen, Van der Kallen & Dekker 1979; Olgers et al 2014; Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1976; Van der Kallen, Cras & Knoers 1984).

Moreover, the course was a designed as a synthesis of different fields of knowledge (such as sociology, political science, history, economics, international relations and psychology), that had no clear established place in the curriculum, making it a site for turf wars between disciplines. As historian Wim de Jong has documented, especially historians and social scientists engaged in constant battle over the content of the course but also over the official requirements for teachers (De Jong 2014, 276). Further fuel for debate was the close relation between the new course and experimental, progressive or non-traditional teaching methods. When it was introduced, Maatschappijleer replaced the much more traditional Civics course (Staatskunde or Staatswetenschappen in Dutch), which had been in place since 1863 and was limited to technical overviews of the political system. Maatschappijleer on the other hand, was modeled after more comprehensive and experimental courses in other countries, like the Germany and England, but most prominently the United States. Educational minister Jo Cals, who introduced the course in his educational plans as early as 1959, said that the new course had to sketch "the forces that rule modern life" and "the structures of democratic society" by means of analysis of newspaper articles and political speeches, just like the American Civics course (cited in De Jong 2014, 269; Olgers

6 The research presented in this chapter was primarily based on a visiting scholarship at the Leibniz-Institut für Bildungsmedien in Braunschweig, Germany (formerly known as Georg Eckert Institute) in 2017, funded by a Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research Visiting Scholar Fellowship.

et al 2014). This made the course into the focus point of broader debates on educational innovations and the relation between the educational sciences and educational practice. Maatschappijleer could be described as *the* progressive course par excellence in the Dutch educational system: the place were innovations that were developed or advocated by groups of educational scientists were introduced into the schools.

The fact that the course was from its very beginning subject of political, scientific and educational controversies makes it an interesting case to study the historical interaction between educational science, policy and practice regarding citizenship education in the Netherlands. Which educational ideas did make their way into the course, and to what effects? How did the course reflect changing political realities? How was the critique of possible state pedagogy or indoctrination negotiated in the course? How did changes in educational policy and the educational sciences translate into changes in the educational practice? And how was democratic citizenship made into an educational goal in the course Maatschappijleer over the years? This chapter presents a discourse analysis of Dutch Maatschappijleer textbooks from the period 1963-2001 that answers the following research question: *Which political and educational discourses were dominant in Dutch Maatschappijleer textbooks in the period 1963-2001?*

II. CONTEXTS

There are a few structural characteristics of the Dutch educational system that might require some clarification. Most of these characteristics were also discussed in the general introduction, here they will be related to the selection and analysis of textbooks presented in this chapter. First of all, the history of Maatschappijleer was tied up with the changing reality of pillarization in the Netherlands in general, but more specifically with the Freedom of Education that has for a long time been one of its prime manifestations. Pillarization was the organization of Dutch society in distinct and autonomous groups, known as 'pillars'. There were three or four pillars: Protestant, Catholic, Socialist and Liberal (historians disagree on the appropriateness of a 'liberal pillar' since the liberals as a matter of principle did not see groups, but rather individuals as the basis of society). Each group had its own worldview and its own institutes, including newspapers, radio and television stations, and also schools. Part of this system was the constitutional Freedom of Education, which held (and still holds) that people were free to found schools based on their own worldview and receive state funding for these, equal to that for public schools, provided that they met some requirements (in terms of pupil population, professional organization and monitoring by the national Inspectorate of Education). As a consequence, public schools have served a *minority* of Dutch pupils throughout most of the twentieth century. From 1940 onwards, about a third of primary and secondary education pupils attended public schools (Exalto 2017).

For the proponents of a pillarized society and educational system, a mandatory national course that dealt with political and moral socialization was anathema for a long time. Moreover, the liberals were also weary of state pedagogy and possible indoctrination in schools (Amsing & Dekker 2020). Together they were able to block attempts to create similar courses during the Interbellum and the first decades after the war (De Jong 2014). However, as described in chapter two, the reality of pillarized education was challenged throughout the twentieth century by (progressive) educationalists (Van Rees 2021). At the cultural and political level as well, there were recurring attempts to reach what was described as a 'breakthrough', which would result in a social order that was no longer based on distinct communities, but rather on national solidarity and cooperation. For these groups, Maatschappijleer offered a possible instrument to create a more open-minded, cooperative and progressive national citizenry. Historically speaking, pillarization in the Netherlands came under increasing pressure from the end of the Second World War onwards. A process of 'depillarization', related to broader global trends such as 'individualization' and 'secularization', ran through the whole period under study in this chapter, and also had its repercussions on education (Exalto 2017; Mellink 2013; Stolk 2015). As it was directly linked to conceptions of democracy and citizenship, it seems very likely that the process of depillarization was reflected in the Maatschappijleer textbooks.

Regarding these textbooks in particular, it is important to know that part of the constitutional Freedom of Education is a ban on state mandated educational materials, like textbooks. The Dutch textbook market was (and remains) open: there are no state published materials and no state mandated lists of prescribed or approved books (Van der Vlies 2022). This meant that throughout the twentieth century, there were specific Protestant, Catholic and Neutral textbook publishers in the Netherlands, that each catered for their own pillarized schools (with the socialists, liberals and parts of the denominational groups sending their children to public schools, using Neutral books). It is very likely that politically sensitive subjects like citizenship and democracy were presented differently in books for specific pillars.

From the start, Maatschappijleer was meant to introduce pupils not only to democratic principles and structures, but also to modern life, current events and society more broadly conceived. This educational goal implied that the course had to evolve with a changing societal and political context. It seems likely that the content of Maatschappijleer was also in part determined by what happened in the 'society' it was meant to 'study' and by what happened in the political arena to which it was to introduce the pupils. Other textbook research on the Dutch as well as other contexts has shown that societal and political shifts find their expression in textbooks and change both *what* is communicated and *how* it is communicated in the books, albeit with a certain lag (Moreau 2003; Van der Vlies 2022). Again, it seems likely that the Maatschappijleer books changed under the influence and aftermath of global events like the Second World War, the protests in the 1960s and 1970s, the changing course of the Cold War and the apparent 'victory' of capitalist liberalism in the 1980s and 1990s.

But also on a national scale social and political contexts changed, and it seems obvious that this also had its effect on Maatschappijleer. The course was introduced by a Catholic minister (Jo Cals) in a coalition dominated by religious parties, amidst the heated early days of the Cold War, against the still lively background the Second World War. A decade later, it was revised by a social-democratic minister of education (Jos van Kemenade) in a very progressive coalition, amidst cultural and political revolts, where cooperation was replaced by polarization and public protests were an accepted form of democratic engagement. And during the 1980s and 1990s the political landscape of the Netherlands changed once more with the rise of what became known as the 'third way', a centrist form of politics focusing on economic growth through cooperation and negotiation. Meanwhile, processes like depillarization, individualization, changing patterns in migration and developments in (political) communication changed the cultural landscape. The main question here is once again not if, but rather how these changing contexts affected Maatschappijleer.

III. METHODS

The research presented in this chapter is based on discourse analysis of a selection of historical textbooks. The specific form of discourse analysis practiced was explained in the introduction to chapter three. Instead of seeing discourse only in linguistic terms, each book was analyzed in terms of *positionality* (who was encouraged to speak, whose 'truth' was valued), *rules of interaction* (what were teachers and pupils instructed to do) and *forms of knowledge* (what scientific knowledge, educational and social scientific, was guiding). As such, the textbooks were analyzed as sites of interaction between educational policy, science and practice.

The field of historical textbook research in the Netherlands is relatively small and most research that has been published focused on History textbooks and the role of national narratives (Albicher 2012; Amsing 2002; Grever & Van der Vlies 2017; Van der Vlies 2022, 20). There are some studies that include analysis of didactical material for Maatschappijleer, but research that traces changes and continuities in textbooks over longer periods of time is scarce (Amsing & Dekker 2020; De Jong 2014; De Jong 2021). The history of Maatschappijleer has been studied quite extensively by Wim de Jong, who presents a contextual history of the school course, looking at its connection with political and societal debates. His analyses show a development from an 'experimental course' in the early years, to a highly politicized course in the long 1970s, to a 'regular course' in the 1990s (De Jong 2014; 2021; 2022). De Jong shows how the course at every turn reflected broader political developments in the Netherlands, but also how it was a constant object of debate, with the accusation of indoctrination and political bias being a constant refrain. The main parts of his narrative are also reflected in current teachers' manuals, which summarize the history of the course as a story of confusion and contestation towards order, centralized planning and professionalization (Olgers et al 2014).

Selection of textbooks

There are some pertinent difficulties in historical textbook research that also surfaced in this study. First of all, there is the issue of selection: which books to analyze? Most researchers would look for some kind of representative sample, which says something about the totality of books. A well-known problem with this approach is that it is very hard and in most cases impossible to get a reliable overview of which book were sold and used in schools in countries with open textbook markets (Taylor & MacIntyre 2017). Textbook publishers do not share their sale figures for textbooks or textbook series, not even historical data (Van der Vlies 2022). Tracing dominant discourses does require a sample that reflects mainstream, rather than marginal ideas. In line with the selection criteria for the analysis of American Civics textbooks presented in chapter three, historical textbooks by the three publishing houses that make up the majority of the market for secondary education today (around 80% in the last three decades (Nederlandse Mededingingsautoriteit 2006)) were selected: ThiemeMeulenhoff, Malmberg, and Wolters-Noordhoff. This choice turned out to have some significant consequences for the analysis, for it meant that the more scattered field of protestant publishers was excluded.

The textbooks analyzed were selected from two specialized collections: the Leibniz-Institut für Bildungsmedien in Braunschweig, Germany (formerly known as Georg Eckert Institute); and the Historical Didactical Collection of the Erasmus University, Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Both are specialized institutes for historical textbook research with extensive collections and search engines. During and after the selection process, WorldCat was used to check the availability of other editions of textbooks and other publications of the textbook authors, the idea being that textbooks with more editions and authors with more publications represented more dominant views. From these collections, textbooks were selected according to the following criteria: subject (Maatschappijleer); educational level (Lower Secondary Education: the educational level with the largest pupil population in the Netherlands, known as the MAVO throughout the period under study, where nominal pupils took a Maatschappijleer course at the age of 14-15); year of publication (between 1963, when Maatschappijleer was introduced as part of the *Mammoetwet*, and 2006, when citizenship education became an official task of schools in secondary education in the Netherlands); publisher (one of the big three, or their predecessors: ThiemeMeulenhoff, WoltersNoordhoff and Malmberg). This meant that textbooks for Staatsinrichting (Civics) were excluded, as well as textbooks for upper secondary education (HAVO and VWO). There were quite some books in the early years of Maatschappijleer that were intended for all levels of secondary education, these were included. Comparing the samples that resulted from these criteria in both collections, and checking other editions on WorldCat, lead to the following sample of 25 books.

Table 2. *Chronological list of analyzed Maatschappijleer textbooks*

Year	Title	Authors	Publisher
1965	*Mens en Gemeenschap. Maatschappijleer voor onderwijs en opvoeding*	Van der Hoeven, M.B.	Meulenhoff
1965	*Op verkenning naar mens en maatschappij*	Wolthuis, E., & Woudsma, S.H.	Wolters
1966	*Maatschappijleer. De mens in klein en groot verband*	Van Wakeren, B.	Wolters
1968	*Maatschappijleer begrip en vorm*	Bouman, P.J., & Derksen, S.C.	Wolters-Noordhoff
1971	*Wij met elkaar*	Van Wakeren, B.	Wolters-Noordhoff
1972	*Mens en Gemeenschap. Maatschappijleer voor onderwijs en opvoeding*	Van der Hoeven, M.B.	Meulenhoff
1974	*Maatschappijleer een open boek. Sociale vaardigheden*	Athmer-van der Kallen, Mr. Th., & Cras, A.	Wolters-Noordhoff
1976	*Maatschappijleer begrip en vorm*	Bouman, P.J., & Derksen, S.C.	Wolters-Noordhoff
1976	*Mens & Medemens*	Heinstra, R.J.	Wolters-Noordhoff
1978	*Staat en Macht MAVO editie*	Van Dijk, K., Ulrich, H., Verhoog, A.L., & Van der Vegt, A.W.	Malmberg
1978	*Basisboek Maatschappijleer*	Vannisselroy, H.J., Hooymayers, A.H.P.M., & Van de Meulengraaf, P.A.M.	Wolters-Noordhoff
1980	*Materiaal voor maatschappelijke vorming MAVO editie*	Kalkwiek, W.F.	Meulenhoff
1983	*Maatschappijleer. Met het oog op…*	Wolf, H.J., Visser-Danser, A.M.P., & Haak, H.	Wolters-Noordhoff
1984	*Relatief. Materiaal voor lessen Maatschappijleer*	Boivin, L., Visser-Danser, A.M.P., & Wolf, H.J.	Wolters-Noordhoff
1985	*Maatschappijleer een open boek. Nederlanders, Medelanders*	Linden, A.	Wolters-Noordhoff
1987	*Kleine thema's Maatschappijleer*	Hooymayers, A.H.P.M., Haak, H., Van der Meulen, R., Roelants, R., & Van Veen, A.H.	Wolters-Noordhoff
1991	*Clip. Maatschappijleer voor MAVO*	Vannisselroy, H.J.	Wolters-Noordhoff
1992	*Staat en Macht.*	Van Dijk, K., & Van Lingen, S.	Malmberg
1993	*Andere Tijden. Staatsinrichting voor de basisvorming*	Hagers, M., Ulrich, H,. Boersen, T., & Bulthuis, H.	Malmberg
1994	*Nederland in de stijgers. Staatsinrichting voor de basisvorming*	Van der Knaap, A., Van Kesteren, R., & Vaessen, J.	Malmberg
1996	*Kernthema's Maatschappijleer. De politiek de baas. Wat denk jij?*	Van Praag, E.T., Lindijer, W., Veldhuis, R.J., & Hartman, I.B.F.J.	Meulenhoff
1996	*Kernthema's Maatschappijleer. De multiculturele samenleving. Waar sta jij?*	Van Praag, E.T.	Meulenhoff
2000	*Impuls Maatschappijleer. Politiek en beleid*	Sijtsma, J., & Simons, P.	Wolters-Noordhoff
2000	*Impuls Maatschappijleer. De multiculturele samenleving*	Spanjers, E.	Wolters-Noordhoff
2001	*Team Maatschappijleer*	Knoppien, B., & Wouda, S.	ThiemeMeulenhoff

There are some things about this selection that require mentioning. While the spread over the years is quite equal, the spread over the different publishers is not. There are only four books from Malmberg, a Catholic publisher, and three of these were published in 1992-1994. This makes it hard to say much about the views on Maatschappijleer that were dominant in this pillar for the years where pillarization still played an important role. Equally consequential is that the absence of Protestant publishers. Both Wolters-Noordhoff and Meulenhoff were so-called neutral publishers. For the Protestant pillar, there was not one publisher that was clearly the biggest throughout the period, making it difficult to include books for this pillar on the basis of clear criteria. Taken together, the near absence of denominational publishers means that the sample contains primarily the views of the neutral publishers and the textbooks that were meant for use in public rather than denominational schools.

However, in line with the analysis of developments in the scientific journal *Pedagogische Studiën* presented in chapter two as well as the analysis of developments in the textbook consensus in American Civics books presented in chapter three, a focus on textbooks that specifically strive for political neutrality in democratic education does appear worthwhile. Given the fact that the issue of indoctrination was and remains one of the biggest challenges in democratic citizenship education, Civics and Social Studies education, changes and continuities in 'neutral' textbooks (even when they do not cover the majority of historical educational practice) will yield relevant insights.

In the results section below, the educational and political discourses per period are presented and related to broader societal, political and educational developments surrounding the course Maatschappijleer. As explained in the introduction to chapters 3 and 4, the selected books were coded in Atlas.ti and within case analyses were written. Based on the coding and within case analyses, three periods could be distinguished. In each of these periods, a specific political and educational discourse was dominant in the textbooks: 1963-1974, in which democratic citizenship was understood in terms of 'rooted personalities'; 1975-1989, in which 'critical citizenship' was central; and 1990-2001, in which 'civic responsibility' was stressed.

IV. THE ROOTED CITIZEN AND MASS SOCIETY (1963-1974)

On the cover of *Mens en Gemeenschap* [Man and Community], first published in 1963, we see a statue of a man in a long coat, holding his hat behind his back. The statue by Oswald Weckebach, well known in Dutch society at the time, was solid bronze, of one piece, robust. The material and form expressed the character of the topic: the man was to appear dependable, decent, calm, balanced, a symbol of integrity, the cornerstone of society, but also a bit complacent (Boyens 1982). Monsieur Jacques, as the statue was called, represented the 'Nederlandse burgerman', the Dutch citizen (Van der Hoeven 1965).

In quite some ways, this statue formed a fitting starting point for the ideal of citizenship and democracy in the first decade of Maatschappijleer. In the books, citizenship was associated with rooted personalities, democracy with balance, the common good and diversity, and education for citizenship and democracy (while requiring discussion and integration of different subjects) was built around the person of the teacher. Cultivating personal integrity and societal balance, reflected in the image of Monsieur Jacques, were the main aims of the new course. This had a lot to do with the perceived dangers of modern society, which were also explicitly addressed in the books. Modern society was associated with constant change, growing complexity and (political) mass culture. This was in turn perceived as the biggest threat to democracy: the replacement of mutual respect among authentic persons by the emotional rule of anonymous masses, easily manipulated by authoritarian demagogues. As an educational antidote, the new Maatschappijleer course was to employ 'modern' pedagogy and didactics to educate authentic, reflective democratic persons.

A new course

As the course was new in 1963, all of the books opened with a short reflection on what Maatschappijleer was or was supposed to be. The educationally progressive character of Maatschappijleer was very prominent in the introductions of the books. In *Mens en Gemeenschap*, pupils read: "society is constantly changing and we must not make the course into a dead 'learning' course [dood 'leervak']" (Van der Hoeven 1965, v). This qualification, that Maatschappijleer should not be a 'leervak' was mentioned in nearly all introductions. The expression seemed to refer to the other courses Dutch high school pupils had to take (languages, mathematics, science, history, geography) that had a clear and established core of facts and skills to be learned. But it was also a clearly derogative term for the underlying educational idea of established education, an educational model (transmission of a stable body of knowledge from the teacher to the pupils) that was seen as both outdated and unfit for the study of modern society. In *De mens in klein en groot verband*, pupils read: "This book should be seen first and foremost as a *reader* [een *leesboek*: as opposed to a textbook, a 'leerboek']. Obviously, it is not the intention that its content should be 'known' ['gekend']" (Van Wakeren 1966, 5). So what and how should the pupils learn in this new course?

Instead of transmission, the books focused on class "conversations, discussions, presentations, and essays" as didactical form (Van Wakeren 1966, 5). All the books claimed (even though they did not necessarily achieve this) to provide assignments and questions that "cannot be answered by merely reading the chapters", but rather required and invited discussion (Wolthuis & Woudsma 1965,3). This focus on class discussion was explained in terms of the goal of the course, which was to "provide comprehension and insight so that each can choose his or her place in social relations" (Van der Hoeven 1965, 6). Didactical forms like class discussions and active enquiry were seen as both educationally effective

(active engagement with the material would lead to real understanding) and necessary to develop authentic societal and political positions in the pupils (instead of the unreflective 'parroting' the teacher or mindless allegiance to one's own group) (Van Wakeren 1971, 3; Van der Hoeven 1972, i).

The books employed two main ways of reaching this goal: either by teaching the pupils to think scientifically or by teaching them to recognize and engage with current societal issues. The most 'scientific' of the books from this period, written by sociologist P.J. Bouman and peace educator S.C. Derksen, claimed: "Whoever does not want to get lost amidst the endlessly varied social reality needs to work methodically. By means of schematization and abstraction, science aims to provide some order in the multiplicity of phenomena" (Bouman & Derksen 1968, 10). M.B. van der Hoeven, on the other hand claimed: "As a matter of principle, Maatschappijleer is not a normal course of study: it is not of primary importance to acquire new knowledge. The course has to open the eyes to problems and the fact that each has to search his or her own solution to these" (Van der Hoeven 1972, i). Whether problems or structures were placed at the center, factual knowledge was presented as instrumental, to be used critically in forming an own opinion. "Maatschappijleer is not to be memorized. Its value lies in the fact that pupils become aware of the multiplicity and especially the complexity of the problems" of modern society (Van der Hoeven 1972, ii). This required some factual knowledge, but more importantly debating skills and material that invited pupils to engage with it, that provoked reactions: "With that in mind, some of the chapters are structured a bit polemical; pupils require material that agitates them; obviously, a book that does justice to all positions is more scientifically prudent, but an introduction to Maatschappijleer requires something else" (Van der Hoeven 1972, ii). Pupils should be able to understand and evaluate societal structures, events and problems, and this required non-traditional forms of education. All of the books stressed that Maatschappijleer should not just focus on conceptual understanding and application of knowledge, it also had to draw on different traditional subjects. 'Integration' would enable pupils to analyze and evaluate complex structures and problems in real life, making the course lively and relevant.

In contrast to later books (as we will see) the books from the early period of Maatschappijleer stressed that curricula and textbooks were always subjected to the pedagogical wisdom and worldview the teacher. There even was debate about the desirability of a textbook for the new course, as that would require selection and uniform presentation of content: "Some even claim that the teacher should build the educational material himself, based on the situation of his pupils and the local circumstances" (Van der Hoeven 1965, v). Other books as well stressed that the material presented was just a collection of 'suggestions' or an 'inventory' of possible facts, topics and exercises, meant to *aid* the teacher in designing the course. "The teachers should emphasize those passages that they deem most important" (Wolthuis & Woudsma 1965, 3).

This way, the teacher would be able to adapt the course to the reality and level of his own class, and make sure that the course would indeed remain 'lively' and topical: "That is why the book was written to offer no more than the basic material with which the teacher can open a discussion with his pupils" (Van der Hoeven 1965, v). But there was another, more political reason for the educational humility of the textbook writers: the underlying educational reality of pillarization and the corresponding understanding of democracy.

Maatschappijleer dealt with societal problems, political values and worldviews, but the books were written from the perspective that there was not some objective or independent point of view regarding these fundamental issues. "That denomination [levensbeschouwing] takes a central role in these, is obvious. Each societal problem – be it the formation of political parties, social legislation, probation – demands an authentic, denominationally rooted judgement [een eigen, levensbeschouwelijk gefundeerd oordeel]" (Van der Hoeven 1965, v). In *Op verkenning naar mens en maatschappij* too, the introduction stated that there must be room for the "own denominational foundation [eigen geestelijke fundering]", which was never to be overruled by the majority or any one particular worldview. The writers were very explicit in connecting this with their modesty: "We are of the opinion that for a deeper exploration [of the seminal topic of Spiritual Life], which is surely desirable, the particular spiritual foundation must be decisive. The living word of the man in front of the classroom, especially concerning these matters, is presupposed by us. As a matter of principle, we imposed upon ourselves a great limitation in describing these themes" (Wolthuis & Woudsma 1965, 3). B. van Wakeren took another approach by consulting "colleagues from other denominations" about each chapter, "ensuring that this booklet can, without principled reservations, also be used on schools where pupils of all denominations and worldviews are hosted" (Van Wakeren 1966, 6). The result was the same: a respectful treatment of the different pillarized points of view, combined with room for the teacher to interpret the meaning and use of the textbooks in class. The reality of pillarization was surely present in the educational set up and tone of the books. So how were democracy and citizenship defined in this first period of Maatschappijleer?

Rooted democratic personalities

All of the books from this period opened by explaining that people were social by nature, but they presented a very specific idea of what this means. In this period, pupils read that people do not just happen to be members of certain groups, as social structures that they can enter or leave by simple volition. Rather, the explanation was the other way around: who and what people were depended on the groups into which they were born and of which they were members. In the sociological language of Bouman and Derksen: "The group should never be understood as a simple sum of a number of autonomous individuals. In fact, it is a concept that cannot be further dissected, that we can determine as essential, since each human being only becomes truly human as a member of a group (for instance the nuclear

family)" (Bouman 1968, 36). These were not interest groups, or distinct from the people making it up: people only become human, became *who they were* as members of certain groups, the books explained.

Several of these constitutive groups were discussed in the books and nearly all of them started with "the smallest and most intimate group" in which we live: the nuclear family (Van der Hoeven 1965, 1). In a telling illustration, *De mens in klein en groot verband* explained "living-together" in terms of a bundle of concentric circles, such as the neighborhood, the school, the church. Typical of the presentation in this period was that the family as the basic unit of social life was placed at the center of these circles (and not, as we will see in later books, the individual) (Van Wakeren 1971, 11). Even if some of the books discussed the changing nature of family-life, they all agreed that it remained the most important of all social institutions (Bouman 1968, 40-45). "The family is the core of society", as *De mens in klein en groot verband* put it (Van Wakeren 1971, 25; Van Wakeren 1976, 29).

The family was seen as the natural starting point for thinking about social relations: this was where people first became persons. This rootedness also influenced how the books presented other social institutes, such as churches, schools and political parties. Van Wakeren, who published many different books in this period, used the term 'gebondenheid' [being bounded, but also connected and rooted] to explain the logic of living in different types of communities. He wrote that people were both positively (belonging) and negatively (rules) bound to their constitutive communities (Van Wakeren 1971, 12). Others, such as Bouman (1968, 36) and Van der Hoeven (1965, v) stressed the overarching role of 'levensbeschouwing' [denomination]. All of the books expressed the idea that people were rooted in communities before they were anything else, that human beings needed to be at home somewhere before they could act in the world. Physically, socially, politically, and religiously they both required and naturally acquired a frame of reference. There was no "I" before or independent of these communities: "This overview of our natural social tendencies shows very clearly", Bouman and Derksen wrote, "that it is a misconception to see the 'I' as a biologically and psychologically whole, that would be sharply distinguishable from a 'non-I'" (Bouman 1968, 24). 'Individualism' was presented as a dangerous political and cultural idea in the books, but at the core, it was a serious misunderstanding of what it meant to be human.

This also implied that the pupils were taught to have a certain humility regarding their own opinions and a certain tolerance for the worldviews and perspectives of others. The books stated that the judgment of an individual in fact expressed the worldview into which he or she had been socialized: "Our 'own judgment' is for the main part group judgement" (Bouman 1968, 36). The pupils read that this group judgment was valuable, legitimate and necessary, but not some ultimate truth. Rather, because it depended on a certain worldview, it was itself made into an object to be studied in class. The pupils had to study their own social nature in terms of belonging and community in order to truly identify with them.

This was presented to the pupils as a difficult task, but also one that each person had to complete somehow: "we want to *develop* our individuality. Deep in our hearts, we all want that people say about us 'That is a real personality'. We do not want to spend life *colorless*. This self-development is a difficult task" (Van der Hoeven 1972, 12). This was a central tension in the books of this period: they stressed the importance of the authentic person on the one hand, with a "mysterious personal individuality", while at the same time explaining that this authentic person was deeply rooted in a specific worldview and community. Some books stressed the importance of the (denominational) community and the "close and intimate ties of family" and the village (Van Wakeren 1971, 11), while others gave more attention to the importance of authentic individuality (Van der Hoeven 1972, 1). The general message, however, was the same: rather than just passively identifying with a certain group or worldview, the pupils had to discover and develop their own personality, which was critically rooted in their own community.

Balancing diversity and unity

The focus on rooted persons was reflected in the definitions of democracy in the books, which was described in terms of diversity and balance. First of all, the books stressed that a democracy had to guarantee the (cultural) rights of the separate groups that made up society. Not the rights of individuals, but the underlying independence of the groups in which these persons were rooted was of prime importance. While some of the books did pay attention to political principles like the Protestant 'sovereignty in own circle' and the Catholic principle of 'subsidiarity' (Bouman 1968, 58), differences between groups were mainly discussed in terms of cultural autonomy. Van der Hoeven for instance described the danger of assimilation to a dominant culture as an impossible denial of the self, and "being absorbed by the majority" as "the worst possible outcome" of interactions between different groups (Van der Hoeven 1972, 67). In line with the view on personal development in the books, this would mean that people would be unable to form a stable self, rooted in a community and worldview. In the context of European politics, he claimed: "Here lies a task for the minorities themselves: to consciously experience and uphold their own cultural treasures, first and foremost their language, and for the big states: to allow for cultural autonomy of minorities and to help them to develop this autonomy further" (Van der Hoeven, 1972, 69-70).

While it was clear that the sovereignty of groups was of paramount importance for the development of rooted persons, the relation between this cultural diversity and national politics was described as complicated. "Within a national community, how big can the differences in political and religious beliefs be before an explosion occurs? Conservatives, liberals and socialists can live together in a country; but what about communists and non-communists?" (Van der Hoeven 1972, 3-4). The focus on group autonomy was combined with a focus on intergroup relations and on what was needed to function as a society and a country. The task was presented at three levels: on a personal level, the pupils

had to develop a certain humility towards their own views and tolerance for others; on a cultural level, there had to be room for group autonomy, as well as a shared democratic spirit of cooperation; and at the political level, dominance of specific group interests had to be prevented.

"Society can never profit from the dominance of any particular group interest what-so-ever, including the group interest of a political party", the pupils read (Van der Hoeven 1965, 22-23). The public interest should always prevail over private interests, and this was also a task of the leaders of the different parties and pillars (Van Wakeren 1966, 161). The books were clear about the danger of both group egoism as well as mutual hostility and polarization: "Party politics risks to isolate the citizenry too much into separated groups, amongst whom feelings of hostility might even arise. Democracy goes to ruin, or at least loses a lot of its value, if it falls prey to inner bifurcations" (Van der Hoeven 1965,24). Diversity was thus presented as a key element of democratic life, and the pupils were to cultivate respect for different worldviews. This respect should be translated into a willingness to check their own 'interest' and cooperate and engage with others. Pupils should recognize this democratic spirit of mutual respect and public mindedness in their personal lives, in national culture and politics and on the international level.

Op verkenning naar mens en maatschappij expressed much of the same ideas in terms of a *democratic ethos*: "More than the work itself, the *spirit* in which it is performed counts. Together we should make the best of it, and we should learn not to place our own desires at the forefront all the time" (Wolthuis & Woudsma 1965, 212). On the level of national, but also international government, cooperation and the common good should be the main concern: "This work [of international cooperation] must continue, no matter how difficult it might appear to be […]. Not what divides should lead our quest, but that which unites" (Wolthuis & Woudsma 1965, 213).

Without exception, the books were very positive on European integration and international cooperation, which were presented as a form of 'maturity' in international relations (Wolthuis & Woudsma 1965, 213). Just like rooted persons were stable enough to tolerate and cooperate with others, well developed nations should be able to work together in a spirit of mutual respect. Pupils were asked to discuss the following question: "In the course of history, did the people come to this insight rapidly, that one should subordinate one's own interests to the common good? Why did it take so long, do you think? Can you give an example, preferably something from your own experience?" (Wolthuis & Woudsma 1965, 214). Political education was thus closely related to character education.

The dangerous lure of mass society and dictatorship

In the previous sections, some antitheses of democratic citizenship in this period already appeared. Egoism, also at the level of societal groups, was one of them; intolerance or unreflective allegiance to one's own group another. But the most prominent danger to democratic living described in the books was the interconnected lure of mass society and

dictatorship. Here, the experience of the (prelude to the) Second World War echoed in the books. Part of this threat lay in the seductive use of propaganda, which was understood both in a political as well as an educational sense in the books.

Democratic living was difficult, the books claimed, as opposed to living in a dictatorship. Dictatorship was presented as the organized self-interest of leaders, a form of deception of the people. But, the books added, it could only work because living under a dictatorship was also somehow attractive to its subjects. "Freedom is out of the question there! Man reduced to a mere number. He is now longer needs to think, thinking is done for him! Citizens do not have to be involved in government, everything is taken care of! Isn't that convenient?", *Op verkenning naar mens en maatschappij* formulated it in strong rhetorical terms. "The individual is lost in the gray mass and no longer has a will of his own. Might the term 'herd animal' not be most appropriate for such a being?" (Wolthuis & Woudsma 1965, 193). In a dictatorship, subjects were released from the burdens of freedom and personal responsibility, or even more explicit: freed from the burdens of democratic citizenship. In this, living under a dictatorship resembled what the books described as the lure of mass society.

Based on the sociological works of Bouman himself, the final chapter of *Maatschappijleer begrip en vorm* was filled with references to mass psychologists, cultural philosophers and existentialists. The masses, the pupils read, were emotional and destructive, because the socio-psychological mechanism of the crowd canceled key elements of the individual. The crowd caused "a weakening of certain impulses and characteristics (conscience and especially critical awareness) and an empowerment of emotionality and an intensified sensitivity to the suggestions of others. Thus man can perform acts in a crowd that he would not be capable of on his own and that he will most likely lament afterwards. It is clear that this 'spontaneity' of the masses – possibly aroused by a leader – could lead to extremely unpredictable and stormy manifestations" (Bouman 1968, 64). Taking the pupils into Neo-Freudian theory, Bouman connected this process to what Erich Fromm described as 'I-weakness', remarkably caused by the ongoing process of individualization (Bouman 1968, 66).

In other books as well, the connection between massification and individualization was explained as a threat to the cornerstones of a functioning democracy: conscientious persons. When people were no longer rooted in meaningful collectives, the books stated, they became detached individuals, as opposed to authentic persons. The social needs that these individuals still had were likely to steer them towards fulfilment in the crowds and anonymous conformity, which was in turn easily manipulated by demagogues and dictatorial figures. The crowd and the related authoritarianism, was thus not so much a political or personal option that people could choose. Rather they were seen as symptoms of a dysfunctional society consisting of detached individuals. A *societal pathology* that expressed itself in certain individual characteristics: "Mass man is the human being that is unable to cope with the tensions of the time and who tries to escape from his responsibilities

and the authenticity of his own existence" (Bouman 1968, 66). The echoes of Langevelds report "The societal bewildering of the youth" (of which Bouman was a contributor: Langeveld 1952; see chapter two), were very prominent on pages like this, to be found in nearly all the books from this period.

So, how were the pupils to withstand the lures of mass emotionality, conformity and the carefree subjection to a dictatorial leader or party? Van Wakeren emphasized the need to be rooted in close familial, social and denominational ties, and warned against the destabilizing effects of urban life and secularization (Van Wakeren 1971, 92). Other books stressed the importance of learning to think for oneself and the cultivation of authenticity, in the full acceptance of the difficulty of both.

Here, the connection between education for democracy and the didactical innovations that were to form an intricate part of Maatschappijleer was even made explicit in some of the books. The pupils were asked to discuss the difference between education and propaganda with their teachers. "One could say that upbringing and education aim to teach people to think for themselves; propaganda aims to make people believe that they are thinking for themselves" (Van der Hoeven 1972, 18). Maatschappijleer had the task to stimulate 'autonomous thinking' and critical political participation. A lack of participation as a well as a cynical attitude to politics was disapproved in the books. Pupils are warned about people who say: "'I am not into politics; it is an unsavory business'. Without realizing it, people thus play into the hands of 'sinister' types" (Van Wakeren 1966, 198).

Authenticity, thinking for oneself and self-determination were not easy, the books stated, but required profound effort: "Going your own way and not allowing that everything, including thinking, is done for you is an important part of what it means to be a personality" (Van der Hoeven 1972, 18). In order to safeguard democracy, it was necessary that pupils, with the help of teachers and class discussion took up this task of being a 'personality'. To reach this aim, 'listening lessons' [luisterlessen] about democracy were not enough. This way, the concepts of citizenship (critically rooted persons), democracy (diversity and cooperation) and education (applied knowledge, pupil participation and the person of the teacher) were connected in this first period of Maatschappijleer.

V. THE CRITICAL CITIZEN, HUMAN FLOURISHING AND PATHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT (1975-1989)

The connection between the goals of Maatschappijleer and the didactical form visible in the first period became even more pronounced in the second period. Where the first period started with the adoption of the *Mammoetwet* of 1963, the second one started with another attempted big revision of secondary education that ultimately did not succeed. In 1975, minister of Education and educational scientist Jos van Kemenade published the *Contouren van een toekomstig onderwijsbestel* [Contours of a future educational system], which bore

the telling subtitle 'A discussion piece' (Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1975). It did indeed arouse a lot of discussion. Van Kemenade sketched a national, centralized and most importantly substantive educational policy (which Philip Idenburg had called 'constructive educational policy'). In this proposal, new progressive goals were introduced very explicitly, as was even more visible in the public friendly and much read summary that Van Kemenade published as "Meer mensen mondig maken" [Making more people empowered]. The *Contourennota* expressed the central place assigned to education in a comprehensive program for societal emancipation, formulated by the progressive Den Uyl-administration (1973-1977) under the motto "Spreiding van kennis, macht en inkomen" [Spreading of knowledge, power and income]. In this broader educational program, and comparable to its place in the *Mammoetwet*, Maatschappijleer was described by Van Kemenade as the exemplary course for didactical revision of secondary education, now meant to ensure the social, cultural and economic reconstruction of society (also see chapter two paragraph *Democratization of education and the Middle school experiments*).

So how did these new plans play out in the textbooks for Maatschappijleer? The introductions of the books gave clear indications of the changed goals for the course. The 1976 revised edition of *Maatschappijleer, begrip en vorm* for instance opened with a new, telling motto: "In order to change the world, one must first learn to understand it" (Bouman & Derksen 1976, 4). And the experimental text book *Maatschappijleer een open boek* formulated it as follows: "Knowing is no longer enough. You should have experienced it in such a way that you want to take it into your hands, and change something about it" (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras 1974, 7). Understanding social reality with the aid of social sciences was still important, but this knowledge alone was not enough. The crucial task of Maatschappijleer was to help establish social change.

Social melioration was a clear goal in all the books, and the presentation of citizenship, democracy and education in them revolved around a sense of critique. In the books of this period, citizenship was defined in terms of critical participation, democracy was equated with the ongoing process of democratization and political activity, and compared to the first years of Maatschappijleer education for these goals was even more explicitly experimental and distinct from all other courses. In line with the general political and societal mood of the time, democratic citizenship was viewed as something that could be consciously developed. In a similar frame, its counterpart (described as antisocial behavior, authoritarianism and conservatism) was increasingly presented as a developmental problem, the result of socialization gone wrong.

Educational 'events' and experimental teaching

Textbook writers showed themselves quite aware of the heated controversies about progress and education, and the special place of Maatschappijleer in these debates. In the introduction to *Mens & Medemens* [Man and fellow man], the pupils read that the course itself was a mirror and vocal point of these debate: "there are those who prefer to see

Maatschappijleer as a neutral form of civics or social education; on the other side there are advocates of more value-laden political education". There were those who supported "the ideal of encyclopedic knowledge" and those who wanted "to build around human behavior in society", together forming an "accurate reflection of the polemics around a few recent educational innovations" (Heinstra 1976, 3). But while the introductions sometimes mentioned the different perspectives on the course, the educational practice prescribed by the books themselves was quite clearly politically, culturally and educationally progressive. If society had to be changed (which was at the time seen as a democratic imperative, as will become apparent), first the school had change, and Maatschappijleer was *the* course to start this transformation, the books implied.

This was most prominent in a book that was produced by a group of educational scientists, teachers and schools called 'Ons Middelbaar Onderwijs' in 1974: *Maatschappijleer, een open book. Sociale vaardigheden* [Social Studies, an open book. Social skills] (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras 1974). It was the first part of a series that would span almost this entire period, each one addressing a specific theme. From its production process, through its vocabulary and thematic content, to its layout and intended use, this series epitomized experimental education for social change. The book was hardly even presented as a textbook and gave the impression of a collection of stencils. The authors described it as "an intermediate product of the working committee Social Studies", existing of 7 teachers Maatschappijleer, with the aid of the teachers at the 27 schools and some scholars (among whom Van Kemenade and W. Langeveld). The locus of the group was the university of Nijmegen, where both the main author Mr. Th. van der Kallen and Van Kemenade were working at the Instituut voor Toegepaste Sociologie [Institute for Applied Sociology].

This academic background was clearly noticeable in the book with references to educational radicals like Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich and Carl Rogers, known for their emancipatory views and harsh critique of mainstream education. At the same time, the book applied the structured approach of Benjamin Bloom: for each lesson, there were explicit learning goals specified in terms of observable behavior and content (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras 1974, 24). Within this carefully prepared structure, the goal was to bring pupils in an unpredictable 'educational encounter' (for instance in a project or game) that would stimulate authentic development for each individual (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras 1974, 25). Evaluation was "not meant to judge or give a grade", and the book employed "new ways of evaluation that all involved – student, teacher – would welcome because they find it so useful in helping them improve what they wish to do" (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras 1974, 25). The book wanted to introduce a revolutionary form of learning, not focused on a passive reception of information, but rather structured around pupil initiative and authentic experience. "This book is different from most other books you will work with in school", the pupils read. "It is not a continuous story. You will have hardly any comprehension of some of the offered texts when you first encounter them. This is not a learning book [geen leerboek]. It consists of material that you will need during the classes. Afterwards, you will

understand how it all makes sense" (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras 1974, 7). Education was something you had to *experience*, undergo, an event, and for this experience to be truly liberating, the pupils and the teachers had to step into an experimental mindset.

Maatschappijleer een open boek was by far the most experimental, but similar didactical changes were clearly visible in all books from this period in more modest form. *Mens & Medemens* for instance presented education in terms of "personal processing [persoonlijke verwerking]", aided by the teacher, who was described as "a coach" or "tutor" (Heinstra 1976, 4). The teacher and the textbook were both very explicitly not presented as the source of relevant facts, truths or insights, those all lay in pupils themselves. What they needed was not instruction, but guidance, the right material and the right setting.

Educating the critical citizen

The educational form was clearly linked with the educational goal, which was rather comprehensive and ambitious in this period. It was described as 'raising societal awareness' [maatschappelijke bewustzijn], 'political awareness' [politiek bewustzijn] and 'empowerment' [mondigheid] (Vannisselroy et al. 1978, iii). *Mens & Medemens* even described the aim of Maatschappijleer as raising pupils who approached the world "with open eyes and open ears for one's own existence and that of your fellow man and with a sense of co-responsibility for making this earth 'livable'" (Heinstra 1976, 3-4). And in the new edition of *Maatschappijleer Begrip en Vorm*, through "strengthening social and political awareness" and "knowledge and comprehension of social reality", pupils were ultimately expected to increase their "self-knowledge" and develop a drive to "participate critically". All this would lead to "more mutual understanding, tolerance and a stronger global awareness" (Bouman & Derksen 1976, 9-10). In the introductions to the books in this period, Maatschappijleer was presented as an educational panacea, able to solve all kinds of societal ills. It had to be the breeding ground for critical global citizens, both knowledgeable and personally motivated to tackle injustice at every level.

The starting point of nearly all the books was that society was not ideal as it was, and that justice remained to achieved. In the activist language of *Maatschappijleer een open boek*: "If we conclude that our being-together is not organized as we would approve it, we must try to change it" (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras 1974, 6). It was also clear from the start that improving society would require struggle, for there were conservative forces (presented throughout the books in negative terms) that wanted to keep things as they were (unjust, but in their favor): "especially those that have an interest in the status quo [de samenleving-zoals-ie-is] will resist change. Often, they can rely on their power *and* on the rules, laws and structures that work in their favor" (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras 1974, 6). Instead of a neutral explanation of laws and political procedures, this standard elements of Civics class were now immediately placed in a context of a political conflict between justice and power. The pupils were not to be passively indoctrinated into the machinations of the 'powers that be', 'the man', and 'the rule of law'. Rather, they learned to see through

these rationalizations and power moves and become, as the books called it, 'politically and socially aware'.

Raising awareness was not just important where official politics was concerned. In line with one of the protest slogans of the time, 'the personal is political', the pupils had to learn to both recognize and transform the structures of power in their own lives. This should begin in the very setting where they learned about society and politics: the Maatschappijleer classroom. The 1984 textbook *Relatief, materiaal voor Maatschappijleer* for instance, featured a fragment from a famous Dutch novel on power and education, Bordewijk's *Bint* (1934). But instead of asking the pupils to analyze it or compare it to their own situation, the book presented a reaction by a teacher. He explained openly and even vulnerably how he struggled with some classes, and how he learned to differentiate between power and authority. The pupils read: "After five years I realized that there were two parties: the pupils and me. One was distant from them, had little contact with them, really only talked to them instead of with them", the teacher admitted, and this realization made him change his ways. And now "I realized that I no longer needed to rely on any other derived authority, but that they just accepted me as someone they could talk with and learn something from". He called this new friendly, open and equal approach "democratic; which is to say that we do a lot of things together in class" (Boivin et al. 1984, 78). The authoritarian teacher in the novel was not so much an example of educational leadership, but rather an emotionally underdeveloped figure who could not open up to his pupils, who was not able to think about cooperation outside of the frame of straightforward command and obedience. "Moreover", the teacher continued, "pupils should realize that they have the true power! If they as a collective refuse to do anything, you are completely powerless as a teacher, right?" (Boivin et al. 1984, 79). This frank disclosure on the part of a teacher taught the pupils that power was not one-dimensional or abstract, but rather something situated and present in their own everyday lives. They had to recognize that they were not just subjected to certain powers, but also had the power to withhold or bestow authority. Those with mere power could be oppressive and aggressive, but real authority rested with those who were beyond such defense mechanisms.

In this example, a lot of the central elements of Maatschappijleer in the 1970s and 1980s were visible. The difference between power [macht] and authority [gezag] played a big role in the books, as did the idea that democracy was not primarily a set of laws, rights and rules, but rather a certain *communicative and cooperative style*. The books were quite explicit in stating that "working together is something that you do very often or should do very often anyway" (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras 1974, 32). Cooperation was not just described as necessary or a prerequisite for something else: it was inherently valuable. In most situations, cooperation also implied leadership, which was discussed in terms of styles: authoritarian, democratic and laissez-faire. Of these, only the democratic style was presented as good: "Some people are always so sure of their own convictions, that they cannot leave room for the opinion of others. This can be done in a very friendly manner. The authoritarian

leader is convinced that constant control is necessary, instead of relying on the sense of responsibly of others" (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras 1974, 35). Democratic leaders on the other hand aimed for consensus arising from an open conversation, and not obedience to his own will or the power of the majority. "While the [democratic] leader does preside the group, he gives room to ideas and autonomous initiatives within the group" (Boivin et al. 1984, 88). The implication throughout the books was that education for democracy also required the teachers to lead the class democratically.

Politics was not primarily connected to the functioning of the state, but rather treated in sociological terms like authority, power, communication and activism. When official politics was discussed, it often took the form of an almost cynical analysis of the functioning of democracy, stressing the 'hidden' power of bureaucracy, industry and other vested interests over the power of elected representatives (Van Dijk et al. 1978, 12). Pupils read about the discrepancy between political language and political reality: "Nearly all parties think of themselves as progressive. There is no shortage of lofty language and pretty promises. More than words, the actual actions have to be kept in check" (Kalkwiek 1980, 65). In a lot of the books, this political cynicism was underlined in the form of cartoons. Among all the text and exercises, these cartoons stood out and were likely to draw the attention of the pupils. W.F. Kalkwiek and Van Dijk et al. for instance both showed a cartoon of a citizen in a voting booth, looking up to see the candidates of all parties pointing at themselves, with the words 'Prosperity, Peace, Justice' on their shirts. The only difference between the candidates was the order in which these hollow phrases were placed (Kalkwiek 1980, 66; Van Dijk et al. 1978, 20).

There was a crisis in representative government, the books claimed, but the main remedy was not so much to amend the official political process (even though most books did talk favorably about referenda and other innovations), but rather to become politically active in other domains. A lack of political trust, in other words, was not presented as a problem in the books, but rather as a sign of good critical attitude. In some books, this was presented in terms of 'democratization' of society, which was in turn framed as a logical next step the historical development for feudalism to freedom (Vannisselroy et al. 1978, 19, Van Dijk et al. 1978, 13; Kalkwiek 1980, 60; Bouman & Derksen 1976, 18).

"Change the world, start with the structures", the pupils read in different forms throughout the books in this period (Vanisselroy 1978, 19). They had to become critical of society, and this, the books claimed, implied that they had to become critical of the very structures in which they were brought up and lived. Educating critical citizens also implied that pupils had to become critical of things they had learned elsewhere and thus to become critical of their own parents and the community in which they lived. More explicitly than in the earlier books, the school was presented as an institute to *correct* other pedagogical spheres.

The books were clear about the fact that societal melioration required a personal transformation. As education became an instrument of progress, the school also became a

place where 'wrong', 'misguided' or 'conservative' beliefs and attitudes could and should be remedied. In the 1970s books the pupils had to be 'liberated' primarily from conservative ideas, and in the 1980s books fighting racism and sexism became the main focus. The preface for pupils to *Maatschappijleer een open boek. Nederlanders, medelanders* (Linden 1985) was telling in this respect: "The school provides the situation in which knowledge and insight can be expanded and attitudes can be changed or improved based on insights" (Linden 1985, 5). As a logical counterpart, the books stressed that wrong attitudes were also the result of wrong education or socialization: "Oftentimes, we are not even aware of our discriminatory attitudes, because they are the result of upbringing and education", the pupils read in *Materiaal voor maatschappelijke vorming* (Kalkwiek 1980, 9). The pupils had to become aware of their own problematic (conservative, racist, sexist) tendencies, instilled in them through stereotypes and unreflective upbringing.

In *Kleine thema's Maatschappijleer*, pupils learned to see discrimination as engrained into society and to pierce through naturalistic presentations of race and gender: "Think about the inequality between men and women in our society for instance […]. Often the rules of discrimination are passed on at home, at school or by friends" (Hooymayers et al. 1987, 60). Mostly, this was not done by means of explicit education, the books explained, but rather by means of the lived example parents gave, like a stay-at-home mother or a workaholic and emotionally unavailable father. These everyday structures and experiences would instill certain stereotypes and related prejudices in the pupils. Learning to recognize these and uncovering them as both false and damaging was paramount in overcoming them. Thus, pupils received assignments to assess themselves and their environment: "Could you identify where you have learned these rules of discrimination in your own upbringing?" (Hooymayers et al. 1987, 61). And elsewhere: "Collect prejudices that are present in your own class. Of which of these are you yourself guilty as well?" (Kalkwiek 1980, 9-10). The home and the classroom now appeared as spaces to be critically assessed by the pupils themselves as possible breading grounds of undemocratic tendencies.

Social pathologies: disrupted self-realization and its political consequences

The ultimate goal of the democratic and experimental education prescribed by the books was to reach 'personal and societal flourishing' [persoonlijke en maatschappelijke ontplooiing]. And within this frame, present in nearly all the books, the counter frame of democratic citizenship education became 'pathological development', a development that was either hindered or took a wrong turn under damaging influences. The books presented a very strong developmental view regarding social and political realities, at the same time preaching compassion with political adversaries and societal deviates, as well as condemning them as pathological. All outcomes that were deemed (politically) undesirable were framed as socialization gone wrong. Three perceived consequences of disrupted development received a lot of attention: conformism, conservatism and racism/nationalism/sexism. All three were presented as socio-psychological defense mechanisms; explainable but deplorable, and

luckily also preventable by the right kind of educational therapy. Taken together, everything that was part of more a conservative outlook on life and society was described as caused by psychological immaturity and sloppy reasoning, and hardly ever as an ideological option in a democratic society.

In some of the books, a guiding frame of medical and pathological metaphors was introduced right at the start. In *Materiaal voor maatschappelijke vorming* the pupils read on the second page: "Man and society cannot be thought of as distinct. That is why society is sometimes compared to a biological organism: just like the cell is a part of the body, the individual relates to the group. The body can only be healthy if the cells are healthy and the cell is only in good shape if the body is healthy. The same is true of society: ill individuals cause an ill society and an ill society produces ill individuals" (Kalkwiek 1980, 2). In *Basisboek Maatschappijleer*, one of these pathological structures was explained at the level of the pupils themselves: "The child must feel safe and sheltered. If this is not reached, chances are that the child will develop an averse or even hostile attitude towards his fellow men" (Vannisselroy et al. 1978, 2). Being fearful and being 'closed' were presented as the opposites of what good democratic citizens should be: cooperative, open and flourishing ['ontplooid']. Social blossoming was seen as the natural path of development, part of a romantic notion of natural goodness that was expressed throughout the books. Echoing Rousseau's views, this natural goodness could and indeed was constantly threatened by societal structures, the books claimed.

In all phases of youth, mistakes by parents or caretakers might lead to deviations (shyness, fear, guilt, inferiority), while proper support would lead to "initiative, creativity, and urge to act", all of which were described as positive and healthy characteristics of a progressive youth (Vannisselroy et al. 1978, 3). The books described all kinds of natural social tendencies in man: showing mirror behavior, a tendency to help others, an inner urge to communicate. Again, those who were different in this respect (less inclined to socialize, communicate or cooperate) were presented as not so much morally wrong, but victims of bad parenting or pathological problems. They were described as "people who hardly express themselves, who 'bottle up' their emotions and 'keep everything to themselves' [van hun hart een moordkuil maken]. In these people, the tendency to communicate is blocked, which leads to problems with social contacts" (Vannisselroy et al. 1978, 12). This would not just lead to personal problems, the books explained, but also produced the type of social structures that were damaging and undemocratic, like nationalism, discrimination and sexism. And a problematic personal development would lead to citizens unable to deal with challenging social issues.

A book completely devoted to ethnic and cultural diversity, *Nederlanders, Medelanders*, was a very clear example of this frame. The pupils read that problematic attitudes to minorities were "often the result of ignorance, combined with insecurity regarding the future". Especially economic hardship would instigate the search for "scapegoats": "In the thirties the Jews, and currently guest workers [gastarbeiders] and Surinamese are blamed

for all that is wrong" (Linden 1985, 19). Ideologies like fascism, but also nationalism played into natural tendencies that we all share, that was where their dangerous power lay according to the books. Especially in situations of (perceived) crisis, these "could easily take on pathological forms" (Bouman & Derksen 1976, 44; 27). When problematic attitudes towards minorities were discussed in the books, the connection with Nazi Germany was made in nearly all of them. The same reasoning in all books was the same: racism was the outcome of personal insecurity, poor reasoning and political opportunism, that would, if left unchecked, eventually lead to a new Hitler and Holocaust.

Part of this frame lay in the constant reference to the Second World War and especially the ideology and psychology of Nazism. Exemplifying a deeper pacifist message present in all the books, Nazism in particular was associated with all the things that Maatschappijleer was supposed to overcome in the pupils: thinking in terms of essentialist notions like 'natural' races or gender roles, authoritarianism, conformism and an all-powerful warlike state. In *Relatief* the pupils read about the 'authoritarian personality' and Adorno's Fascism-scale: "He named conventionalism and submissiveness as the most important characteristics of what he described as 'the authoritarian personality'. An authoritarian person believes all kinds of common norms that exist in society and thus takes on a submissive role with regard to authority and the authorities" (Boivin et al. 1984, 93). Some of the books even went so far as to make *any* reference to natural determinism (in the sense of the nature/nurture debate) a precursor of Nazi sympathies (Kalkwiek 1980, 8; Vannisselroy et al. 1978, 14).

When it came to these social pathologies, the books were filled with more or less rhetorical questions like the following: "Do people who express themselves negatively about the unemployed, the handicapped, the guest workers or homosexuals really mean to discriminate, or do they rather just feel insecure and threatened and are they afraid of the 'weird' behavior of others, not sure of how to react?" (Linden 1985, 11). Most of the books included an exposure of different 'reasons' for discriminating as simplistic and false, instinctual reactions lacking intellectual development and at any rate: social psychological phenomena, and not really political ones. In a typical paragraph, pupils read: "You discriminate to maximize the distance between yourself and the other [as a defense mechanism]. You try to avoid contact, maybe because you are afraid to discover, once you do meet the other, that discrimination is unnecessary (Hooymayers et al. 1987, 57). In the books, being culturally open-minded was also described as having a scientific outlook of being willing and able to draw on insights from the social sciences to correct oneself. A consequence of this approach was that pupils were often addressed as possible perpetrators of racism, sexism or nationalism. The critique of societal structures and the imperative to improve society by being critical also implied a form of self-critique, that sometimes took the form of group therapy sessions where pupils questioned themselves and each other. The personal was indeed political in this period. And it was clear what kind of persons the critical citizens should be, and what they should avoid. The opposition between progressive

and conservative persons was the main dividing line. "Progressive people will always strive for a change in social structures that they find unjust", pupils read, implying that being progressive expresses a concern for justice. "Conservatives on the other hand desire that everything stays as it is and do not want to hear of change", which in turn implied that conservatism was connected to certain emotions and an unwillingness to think and act (Vannisselroy et al. 1978, 19).

In summary, this second period was one of experimental education, democracy was understood as a communicative style, citizenship associated with being critical, active and progressive, all placed within a larger frame of natural blossoming versus pathological development. The aims of Maatschappijleer in this period were enormous, and included raising critical awareness on all kinds of issues; the will and capacity to improve society on a structural basis; develop critical self-awareness, respect for oneself and others; and even world-peace. And all that in two hours a week. This was of course fuel for critics, who claimed that these goals were not feasible, nor desirable, nor testable (see chapter two; De Jong 2014; 2021; and Van Rees 2021). While the discussion on Maatschappijleer kept on going throughout the 1970s and 1980s, a real break in terms of goals, educational methods and concepts only emerged at the dawn of the 1990s, at the end of the Cold War and as part of a renewed interest in citizenship as a political concept.

VI. THE RESPONSIBLE CITIZEN AND MAATSCHAPPIJLEER AS A REGULAR COURSE (1989-2001)

In the early 1990s, a new tone emerged in the Maatschappijleer textbooks. The 1991 *Clip. Maatschappijleer voor MAVO* opened with a clearly stated new program for the course, based on new political demands: "The secretary of education stated that '...Maatschappijleer should be more than a group discussion with a teacher you can call Joep'". It should not be a 'babbling course' [geen leutervak], the pupils read. Rather, they should "learn things that would benefit them in later life" (Vannisselroy 1991, 8). After 15 years of self-discovery and self-expression in educational group sessions, Maatschappijleer had to become 'a real course', a regular course with clearly defined learning goals and an objective way of testing the learning outcomes. A new educational wind was blowing, that much was clear. Where did this change come from and what did it mean for democratic citizenship education through Maatschappijleer? A first thing to notice was that around 1992 the explicit term 'citizenship' and a certain moralism about the duties of citizenship was no longer a politically impossible. For the first time in the period under study, the educational debate took shape around the explicit term 'citizenship education'. Where previously concepts like the democratic personality, democratization or societal progress were central terms, there was now a broad concern for a perceived crisis and potential improvement in *citizenship*. In 1992, minister of Education Jo Ritzen published an open letter to the educational field

with the title: "The pedagogical assignment of education". In it, he expressed a concern that schools had lost touch with their pedagogical task, either focusing too much on individual cognitive development or by placing 'self-expression' above community sense. At the same time, the end of the Cold War and the perceived victory of liberal capitalism seemed to demand another kind of political socialization, which was less polemical.

This change in educational outline was coupled with a renewed political interest in 'citizenship' in the political arena. There was a sense of crisis during the late 1980s and early 1990s in the Netherlands, which was expressed in terms of problematic individualization, an oversized and overfunded public sector and a corresponding lethargic dependency and passivity of the citizens (De Jong 2014). 'Citizenship' was presented as the overarching term to address these issues: people had to learn to take personal responsibility for their own lives and communities, to participate positively, be less demanding and more contributing, less critical and more productive. Within this renewed interest in citizenship, Maatschappijleer was again identified as a key site to address social problems in the school. So what did Maatschappijleer as 'a regular course' and citizenship education within it look like during this last period?

A regular course

In terms of educational form, the books were really different from the earlier periods and showed three interrelated characteristics. First of all, in line with the changing tone in the policy debate, the books were more explicitly structured as schoolbooks, organized around clearly defined and explicit learning goals. Secondly, the books presented Maatschappijleer as something that was easy, fun and relevant for the pupils themselves. This was related to a perceived educational and political cynicism on the part of the pupils that had to be overcome by convincing the pupils the subject was worth their time and effort. And thirdly, this accommodating education took the form of relatable narratives, connecting the content to the lifeworld of the pupils.

A lot of the books from this period provided summaries, vocabulary lists, practice tests and a set of learning goals at outset of each chapter to accommodate effective learning. It had to be clear for the pupils what they would learn, how they could learn it, and how they could check whether they did in fact learn it. The role of the teacher was redefined to manage the educational process, rather than to select and contextualize or to critically engage with the material in the books. The series *Impuls* provided a good example of this new educational clarity. The opening page for the pupils bore the title "How to work with Impuls?" and explained the didactical logic of the book (Sijtsma & Simons 2000, 4). The pupils were introduced to the learning goals opening each chapter, the place and function of summaries and the concluding tests. Each chapter ended with a list of "What you should know", "What you should be able to do" and list of central concepts. Even before the topic was introduced, this educational overview was presented, giving a clear message to the pupils: Maatschappijleer was now an aligned course in which everything was clear.

Other books had similar layouts, with central terms printed in bold, chapter summaries, and questions to check pupil comprehension (Hagers et al. 1993, 12-13; Van der Knaap et al. 1994). The lessons plan sometimes even went so far as to include instructions for the teachers, making sure that the pupils knew what to expect from their teacher, as in *De politiek de baas* [In charge of politics], where they read: "The teacher summarizes the theoretical part" (Van Praag et al. 1996, 9).

The didactical tone used throughout the books was remarkably different from that in earlier books. As in earlier periods, most introductions still started with short reflections on what Maatschappijleer was and how it related to other courses. In these books, however, the earlier focus on the extraordinary (integrated, applied, activating) form of Maatschappijleer was remarkably absent now. Also, the earlier stress on the effort required from pupils (dealing with *challenging* material and concepts, *complex* societal problems, *experimental* educational forms) totally disappeared. Instead, the introductions stressed that the course was useful and fun, as if the pupils had to be convinced or even seduced to actually engage with the material.

The reflection on the educational situation (part of the critical approach in the 1970s and 80s; as well as the pillarized 1960s) was now completely absent. These books were 'teacher proof' and contained complete lesson plans and aligned programs only to be *implemented* at the separate classrooms. Rather than an open enquiry into the question 'what is the difference between education and indoctrination?', as the pupils and teachers were invited to have in a 1972 book (Van der Hoeven 1972, 18), or a shared reflection on the relative power of teachers and pupils in the classroom, as was to be found in a 1984 book (Boivin et al 1984, 89), the relation between textbook, teacher and pupils appeared to be much more straightforward now. The books provided fixed definitions of central terms, clear and explicit learning goals, the procedures to reach them and the test to see if the goals were achieved. Teachers were there to execute the lesson plans, and the pupils had to master the material and show this mastery in tests. This was what 'geen leutervak' or 'nomal education' meant in practice: less critical reflection on democracy and education, and more aligned and effective political education. The pupils were no longer expected to radically change society, instead they were now expected first and foremost to pass the exam.

In several of the books, the pupils were directly addressed as being either cynical about or generally uninterested in politics, which was at same time one of the main problems the books were meant to solve. *De politiek de baas* for instance opened with a cartoon showing a man who helps an older woman crossing the street. He said: "Do you realize that you are being helped by the prime minister himself?", "Why", she responded, "are there elections coming?" (Van Praag et al. 1996, 4). Regarding their own relation to politics, the pupils read: "This booklet concerns politics. Some young people find this interesting, but many think it boring. Something for gray men and petty ladies. It does not really interest them. Maybe, you feel the same way. That is not so strange" (Van Praag et al. 1996, 4). With this tone in the background, introduced by the writers themselves, the books set themselves the

task of convincing the pupils that they were mistaken and that politics was not boring, but interesting, useful and most of all, fun.

The clearest example of the new educational tone, and the rather hard break with the 1980s was visible in *Clip*. Its introduction contained a new view on the function and form of education, which immediately also exemplified a new conception of citizenship. The pupil and the citizen were addressed as *consumers* that had legitimate personal *preferences* and *interests*, which had to be accommodated by politicians and teachers. *Clip* stresses that pupils would learn things that would benefit them. Understanding politics was important, because the pupils would learn how to advocate their own interests and be influential (Vannisselroy 1991, 9). A new political vocabulary was thus introduced into education: that of legitimate self-interest. The pupil was seen more as a *consumer* of education, who needed to be convinced of the 'product' and whose convenience was of paramount value: "For your convenience, the topics have been divided into 'bite-sized chunks' [hapklare brokken], which is to say separate lessons" (Vannisselroy 1991, 9). From a difficult and exceptional course, that required reflection and personal processing, Maatschappijleer now took the form of educational fast food. "The lessons are fun and printed with photos, drawings, and in color and each one forms a short, rounded topic. Just like a video clip!", as the book explained its title to the pupils (Vannisselroy 1991, 9).

Pupils were motivated by the message that the material was *useful for themselves* and that the lessons will be *fun*. This particular book did not mention any societal aim whatsoever. Rather, the underlying logic appeared to be that pupils would learn that taking care of and feeling responsible for the common good would in the end also *benefit themselves*. Part of the seduction of the pupil was the use of relatable narratives, present in nearly all the textbooks from this period. In *Team* for instance, the guiding threat between all the chapters was a school class just like the classes where the book was to be used. The pupils followed class 3C who "experience all kinds of things with societal topics" (Knoppien & Wouda 2001, back cover). Maatschappijleer in the 1990s apparently had to be relatable, relevant and fun. And especially the aspects of being relatable and being relevant took a specific form in which the content of the books intertwined with this narrative form.

Democracy achieved and political empathy

On the opening pages of *Andere tijden* the pupils read the story of Guermame (16 years old) and Semere (15 years old), who fled the dictatorship of Ethiopia. They told their own story with a very clear moral: these boys deserved to be here and the pupils should sympathize with them. The story further highlighted the differences between a dictatorship (citizens have no rights, government controls the media, militarization and razzia's) and a democracy (Hagers et al. 1993, 5). At the end of the narrative, the book presented the moral of the story: "It is said that only when you lack something, you realize how valuable it is to you. That is certainly true for elusive things like freedom and democracy" (Hagers et al. 1993, 6). The same structure appeared over and over again in the books from this period: showing

how valuable democracy was by telling the stories of children who lived in non-democratic countries. In *Nederland in de stijgers* the first chapter also opened with a story of a boy of their own age, Davud, who told in class about his flight from Iraq because he refused to join the military and his fear for the lives of his relatives. Another story centered on an Iranian family, who fled the rule of Khomeiny, the religious dictator. "One does not lightly flee one's own country, you must be really without other options", the pupils read (Van der Knaap et al. 1994, 7). This story was followed by another, about a boy named Kwezie Kadelie, who protested against the harsh regime in his secondary school in South Africa and demanded more student rights. He was arrested by the military police, together with many others, and tortured. A last narrative told about children living in an Indonesian ghetto, and asked the pupils to reflect on what they themselves wanted and what these children would want, if they were given the opportunity to ask for certain structural changes in their lives (Van der Knaap et al. 1994, 8-12). In *Impuls* pupils read about Juanita who lived in a dictatorship and stated "I don't have many rights, but do have a lot of duties". Linking political complacency with the perceived reluctant educational attitude of the pupils, the book continued with a page wide Amnesty International poster stating "If you are a bit critical, you never have to go to school in some countries" (Sijtsema 2000, 5). All the characters in these stories had names, faces, desires and wishes that the pupils could recognize as similar to their own. All this was to teach the pupils to empathize with refugees and at the same time to teach them gratefulness for their own luck of being born in a well-organized, rich and democratic country. "Nederland belongs to the lucky exceptions in the world", the pupils read in different forms in all the books (Hagers et al. 1994, 8).

So what was this precious thing that they had (or rather: that they were lucky to have handed down to them) and others lacked (to no fault of their own)? What was this gift that the pupils had to cherish and protect: democracy? The rather univocal answer in this period was 'the rule of law' that guaranteed equal individual 'human rights' for all citizens. Freedom appeared as a central democratic value, and it was defined as 'thinking and saying what you want', 'doing and not doing what you want'. Not being forced to do certain things, to believe certain things or to say certain things: democracy was defined primarily in terms of classical negative individual rights, which were also introduced by means of negation. The books showed a clear image of what life in non-democratic countries was like: the state could terrorize the population and arrest people without just cause; it could prescribe a specific religion and persecute all who refused to bow for a specific god; and it could silence and even torture those that resisted the controls of state rule. The overarching frame was that in non-democratic regimes, there was no 'freedom', no 'rule of law' and that 'human rights' were not respected (Knoppien & Wouda 2001, 99-102).

Remarkably, all of the books from this period presented democracy as something that was clearly *achieved* in the Netherlands, or rather in developed Western countries in general. We had 'free and honest elections', 'independent judges', and everyone's fundamental rights were guaranteed (Sijtsma & Simons 2000, 70). There were some problems, but these

concerned the *preservation* of democracy in the Netherlands and *spread* of democracy in the world. In the books, the narratives on non-democratic rule were connected to this concern for the preservation of democracy achieved in the Netherlands: if only the pupils would realize how lucky they were, they would feel responsible for the maintenance of democracy and welcoming to refugees. For what the pupils had to recognize was that their individual freedoms also implied civic duties.

The duties of the grateful citizen

Among the problems for democracy discussed in the books a perceived rise in intolerance and right wing extremism (on which more below) was very prominent, but others were also mentioned. These all had to do with a certain lack of public responsibility on the part of the citizens. The 1992 edition of *Staat en Macht* opened with three interrelated problems: egoism and the "me-era" [ik-tijdperk]; passivity and dependency of the "deplorables" [zieligen] and the related 'big government'; and lawlessness. "This is not good", the pupils read. "The 'me-culture' might have advantages, in the end every citizen is best served by peace, law and order. Over and against the rights of citizens stands the duty to participate in society. In short, civic rights imply civic duties" (Van Dijk & Van Lingen 1992, 5).

The presented crisis in society and politics was partly the result of a new definition of democracy. For next to a focus on individual human rights, democracy was presented in the books as a system for negotiating conflicting (private) interests, in which (a willingness to) compromise was essential. Quite often, things that were presented in earlier books as matters of principle, conviction, ideology, worldview or denomination, were now redefined in terms of personal preference. And personal preferences were then again understood in terms of private interests. A good example of this new political vocabulary was to be found in *Nederland in de stijgers*, where the discussion on a new law for closing times of shops was used to explain how politics work. One of the biggest sources of conflict regarding this new law was the relation between economy and religion (for it included the question of shopping on Sundays), but as the book explained, also more cultural ideas played a role (should we stimulate 'consumer society', or wall of certain parts of our lives from capitalist logic?). So far, the book presented a complicated societal issue as could also be found in earlier books, but the frame within which the pupils were asked to analyze the problem was new. "Making decisions is a complicated task", they read, "because so many different people have so many different interests", and the primary function of politics was to weigh these different interests in order to reach a *compromise* (Van der Knaap et al. 1994, 49). The analysis of this specific case was to teach the pupils to first of all recognize the different interests involved as legitimate. These 'interests' could be economic, but also religious, and also a personal preference for a certain way of living together. The second step was for the pupils to formulate their 'own informed opinion' on the case, which was then again reformulated not so much as an ideological or principled position, but as a personal preference of their own. And the last step was to identify not so much with either of the 'interests' in the conflict,

but with the judge of the case: government. The pupils had to explain how government could weigh the different interests in a fair manner, thus learning how government worked and at the same time learning that this process was rational, fair and worth their allegiance.

In *Team* a similar frame was used, this time by means of another relatable narrative. In the introduction the pupils read that Maatschappijleer dealt with 'societal issues', but also: "People are often quick to have an opinion on societal questions". Maatschappijleer had to teach pupils to avoid such easy, quick, and often biased populist opinions. They could do this by analyzing the issue from different perspectives: "To investigate a societal question, you need tools. Not a hammer or a pair of tongs, but a set of concepts that you ask questions about in studying this specific issue" (Knoppien & Wouda 2001, 19). Two of these concepts became clear in the chapter 'Action!' in which the pupils read about class 3C organizing a protest against the broadening of a road, which would require the demolition of a playground. "We have to protest, we will not just let them take 'our' piece of land", one of the pupils says. "There is almost nothing to do for us… We have to make our interest clear to the city council!" (Knoppien & Wouda 2001, 68). Interestingly, the children in the story did not formulate their demands in terms of justice or a protest against structural power imbalances, but rather in terms of the protection of their 'interests'. This was also visible in the rest of the narrative: the pupils organized a protest, went to the city council, talked with the members of the committee on traffic and in the end won their battle: "there was a compromise meeting their demands". The chapter ended with a general lesson for the pupils, stating that the road of class 3C had been "educative, time-consuming and tiring, but also successful and rewarding", "in this chapter, you have learned how you as a citizen can stand up for your own interests" (Knoppien & Wouda 2000, 78).

This was part of being a responsible citizen: making it clear what your interest was, so that the politicians received the necessary information to reach a fair compromise. The message to the pupils was that if you do not vote and speak out, you were not just frustrating your own interests, you were actually also frustrating the democratic system. Expressing yourself, understood in earlier books in terms of personal flourishing, was now redefined as *a civic duty*.

Here, we see how this frame overlaps with the bigger frame of the responsible and trusting citizen. By analyzing societal problems in terms of interests, the pupils were led to eventually view the case from the perspective of the government. This way, an exercise like this would promote the trust of pupils in government and curtail their potential egoistic or populist tendencies. The problem many of the books started with (a perceived cynical and distrustful attitude in the pupils) was solved by letting them empathize with the very institutes they were to trust and support. Governing, the pupils learned, was a difficult task, but the people performing it were doing the best they could and deserved all the help and support they could get.

As to these 'egoistic' tendencies: these now remarkably included strong political ideals or principled convictions that were non-negotiable. A too strong identification with certain

values or ideas was now seen as an undemocratic attitude, a reluctance to cooperate, an unwillingness to meet the others halfway. And not just the positions of 'radicals' or 'extremists' were treated as undemocratic, their tactics were also ridiculed in the books. Where in the previous period, pupils were asked to discuss the admissibility, effectiveness and democratic character of strikes, protests, and even the terroristic tactics of the Baander-Meinhoff group (Boivin 1984, 96), they now read: "In general, one could say: the more influential a pressure group, the less harsh their actions have to be and the less the public hears from them. Demonstrations, blockades and sit-ins are often signs of weakness". People with real influence had close connections with high officials and members of parliament, were able to just telephone the Prime Minister, and functioned as members of boards of advice and consultation committees. "In short: they lobby" (Van Praag et al. 1996, 48). Again, something that had been described as a threat to democracy in the previous period (close connections between government and industry behind the scenes) was now presented as an intricate part of a well-functioning democracy, and an example for the pupils.

Political education was about learning 'the rules of the game' (and not about questioning them) and the game was one of negotiating conflicting interests. Pupils learned that they could and should be politically active to promote their own interests. The books explained that there were multiple ways to do this, the most important ones being: voting, joining a political party and volunteering. Regarding political parties, the books presented a new way to orientate oneself. As a part of the personalization of ideology, the books presented the political landscape as a 'menu': different political parties represented different 'tastes'. And as the saying goes: one cannot argue taste. Indeed, the books (attempting to stay 'neutral' and respect the individual freedoms of the pupils) presented several 'quizzes' or 'tests' for the pupils, that would tell them "which political current corresponds best with your ideas" (Van Praag et al. 1996, 50). On their own, without any dialogue, interaction or class discussion, the pupils were to respond to a list of 30 statements, and could then calculate which political party to support. This model of political orientation, an educational precursor of the later developed 'kieskompas', was present in many of the books.

Somehow, a main difficulty addressed in these books lay in the starting point: if democracy was a system that fundamentally revolved around individual rights, how could it be avoided that society would fall apart by individualism and a disregard for public goods, like the environment and a common civic culture? The answer in the books was univocally: by teaching the pupils that private freedom was only possible by ensuring public responsibility. The other common idea was that pupils would develop this civic responsibility more or less automatically if they would just understand how democratic politics works. Trusting the political process (defined in the previous period as an uncritical and rather naïve attitude) was now seen as a civic duty as well as a sign of a correct understanding of political processes. If pupils would just understand that democracy dealt with different interests and sought reasonable compromise; if they would understand that they had to inform politics about their own interests and preferences by voting; if they

would understand that their personal freedoms had to imply the same freedoms for others, then they would trust public institutions and overcome the personal treats of cynicism and egoism as well as the public treats of populism and extremism. These later threats were also treading quite extensively in the books in terms of (once again) pathological personal development, which was now much more explicitly treated in terms of a lack of understanding and scientific reasoning. The root was no longer identified as socialization gone wrong, but education gone wrong.

Multiculturalism and the boundaries of political taste

While the books stressed the centrality of individual freedoms and treated the right to your own opinion and political orientation as almost sacrosanct principles of the democratic rule of law, there were clear boundaries that citizens and pupils were not supposed to cross. The democratic 'menu' was limited to parties that were themselves considered to be democratic, which was in turn defined as underwriting universal human rights (Van Praag et al. 1996, 55). But the treatment of political currents that opposed the mainstream liberal democracy did pose a challenge. Three topics in particular received explicit attention in all the books from this period: the presence of the nationalistic party *Centrumdemocraten* in parliament; a connected rise in rightwing extremism in society more broadly conceived; and the debate on immigration, integration and the multicultural society. All three topics dealt with a more fundamental issue in liberal democracy: the limits of tolerance.

While there had been small populist parties in Dutch parliament before (most prominently the *Boerenpartij* [Farmers party] between 1963-1981), attention for populism had been relatively small in the textbooks in the previous periods. These parties were described as marginal 'one-issue' parties, that lacked a proper political ideology (Van Wakeren 1966, 161). This changed with the entrance of the extreme right-wing parties in parliament, most prominently *Centrumdemocraten* (*CD*) which held seats between 1982-1998. This party did have a clear ideology that was focused on restoration of traditional roles (in marriage, sexuality, as well as public authority) and fiercely agitated against immigration. The presence of such a party presented a challenge that was solved differently in the textbooks. Since the party was not illegal, it had to be discussed somehow as a legitimate political option for the pupils, but at the same time, the views of the *CD* clearly contradicted the very definition of democracy that the books propagated (allegiance to universal human rights, including equality before the law). How to negotiate the demand of political neutrality in this context?

Remarkably, all the books presented *CD* as a fascist party, and in general tended to equate nationalistic and xenophobic orientations with fascism. The pupils read: "At the moment, there are few people who openly identify as fascist. But racist ideas that turn against ethnic minorities are widespread. We see a clear rise in racism and xenophobia in the early 90s" (Van Praag et al. 1996, 55). One way of dealing with illiberal parties was found in *Clip*, which presented 'fascism' in quite neutral terms as one of five political

orientations in the Netherlands (Vannisselroy 1991, 47). The book did state that this ideology was dictatorial, discriminatory and violent, but refrained from further moral qualification. Another approach was used in *Andere Tijden* and *Impuls*, which both stated that discussions on the legality of parties like *CD* was "one of the problems of democracy" (Hagers et al. 1993, 20; Sijtsma & Simons 2000, 36). Most of the books however started with the observation that nationalism and fascism were electoral options, but went on very quickly to stress that these ideologies were not democratic and that support for them was problematic and unwanted. In *De politiek de baas*, pupils had to respond to 30 theses to find out which political ideology they had: liberalist, socialist, confessional or fascist. This presentation seemed pretty neutral at first glance, but after this initial test the pupils read that fascism was in fact nothing but a populist scam that cultivated fear and dissatisfaction and directed it towards everything 'other': immigrants, people of color, homosexuals and emancipated women (Van Praag et al. 1996, 55).

This frame was visible in multiple books: support for parties like *CD* was presented as a symptom of underlying emotional immaturity and inability to deal with cultural complexity. The rise of nationalistic politics was presented as a response to immigration and the multicultural society, but it was made abundantly clear to the pupils that it was the *wrong* response. Pupils read that discrimination originated in a weak self-image, fear and the desire to "take out your own problems on others" (Spanjers 2000, 20). "Someone who thinks and acts racist always feels superior to his victim," the pupils read, "but he also needs the other to feel superior. The racist sows fear, but secretly he fears his victim" (Van Praag 1996, 23). The fundamental idea that people were not equal and that some types of people were worth more than others, could only attract voters "that lack a firm outlook on life" (Van Dijk & Van Lingen 1992, 23). While none of the books claimed that nationalist or fascist parties should be banned, they did explain extensively what was wrong with their ideas. They did so by presenting scientific theories on the main topics that seemed to draw voters towards nationalistic parties: migration, race and culture.

In various books the pupils read that migration was a normal and constant phenomenon in human history in general, and even more so in Dutch history and that intercultural contact was enriching if both the majority and the minorities took the right approach. They explained how Dutch society had been enriched by historical migration flows and how this had led to a culture of diversity and tolerance (Knoppien & Wouda 2001, 100). "The Netherlands are and always has been an immigration country", as one book summarized it (Van Praag 1996, 7). However, the new reality of multiculturalism did reveal some quite disturbing facts about Dutch society, as it challenged the idea of an enlightened tolerant country: "The presence of so many foreigners slowly causes more and more cracks in the perfect picture that the Netherlands likes to have of itself" (Hagers et al. 1993, 11). And a book entirely devoted to the multicultural society was even more critical by revising the optimistic history itself. "During World War II, the 'tolerant' Netherlands let the biggest percentage of its Jewish fellow citizens be deported, compared to all other

occupied countries", and it had the "biggest quota of traitors in the form of volunteers for the Waffen-SS" (Van Praag 1996, 9).

False interpretations of migration, the books explained, where coupled with false ideas about race. Whereas in earlier books, the pupils were asked to assign nationalities to the 'correct' race (White, Black, or Yellow) (Van Wakeren 1971, 185), the very idea of distinct races was now totally ridiculed in the books as unscientific myth. Some of the books talked about 'new racism', in which the explicit reference to race was replaced by essentialist talk of culture, and the supposed inferiority of especially the Arabic culture. Here, one of the books even ridiculed a speech that was delivered in parliament by the leader of the liberal party, who had claimed that "Muslims had to wait another 600 years before they would reach 'our level of civilization'". Quite cynical, the book added: "Whether he meant with 'our level of civilization' the Second World War which made millions of victims only fifty years ago, or more recently the acts of war in former Yugoslavia, or the criminality in big cities in Europe and America, he did not mention" (Van Praag 1996, 13). Critique on the Islam or failed integration, so prominent after 2001 in Dutch politics, was described in these books as a personal pathology, similar in psychological structure to racism: Islamophobia.

Whenever the topic of the multicultural society was discussed in the books, it was done in terms of the sociology of intercultural contact. Just like scientific insights could counter extreme right rhetoric on race and immigration, intercultural sociology could teach us how integration could succeed and what made it fail. In this frame, the problem was not immigration or cultural diversity itself, but rather the respective attitudes of the different groups in society. Especially the behavior of the White majority was presented as the main obstacle to realizing true multiculturalism. "The Dutch talk a lot about integration," one books read, "but do they actually want to integrate?" (Spanjers 2000, 11).

There was a constant comparison in the books between the rational democratic adherence to universal human rights and the related cultural tolerance on the one hand and the irrational, short-sighted and populist rhetoric of a pure national identity on the other. In one book, pupils read about "the sin against democracy, the flight from responsibility, the triumph of laziness" and the dire consequences of citizens falling for populist temptations (Van Dijk & Van Lingen 1992, 91). In the books, populism formed the exact counterpart of the grateful and responsible citizen that the books aimed to educate. Instead of making an effort to understand how government worked, populists presented easy, but unrealistic and undemocratic solutions.

In this period, the books were educationally more traditional when compared to the earlier periods. In line with new educational policy in the 1990s, the books were organized around clearly formulated learning goals and effective teaching methods. This educational form corresponded to the content of the books, with a clear definition of democracy and the duties and rights of individual citizens. When more controversial topics were being discussed, the books relied heavily on selected insights for various social sciences. Overall, Maatschappijleer in this period strove to cultivate what was seen as an objective set of

democratic attitudes (including primarily 'trust' and 'tolerance'), which were at the same time seen as the direct result of the right understanding. The educational logic in this last period seemed to be the conviction that *the truth will make you a democratic liberal*, and that all illiberal tendencies were basically the result of ignorance or emotional immaturity. Luckily, once again, the right kind of education could guide pupils towards democratic citizenship.

VII. CONCLUSION

Which political and educational discourses were dominant in Dutch Maatschappijleer textbooks in the period 1963-2001? The analysis presented in this chapter provides a clear answer in terms of dominant views in three successive periods. In the early years of Maatschappijleer, the course was somewhat experimental in form but quite conservative in content. Democracy was described in terms of balance between different groups in society and democratic citizenship was understood as being rooted in a comprehensive worldview and community. Still the books also propagated an individualism in this approach, by stressing that true personality also implied authenticity that would be annulled by passive allegiance to one's own community or pillar. The opposite of democratic citizenship was found in mass society and problematic individualism, which was connected to the horrors of Nazism and other dictatorial regimes, but also to empty consumerism and improper personal development.

In the 1970s, other discourses emerged, both educational and political. The experimental character of the course came to full bloom in the second period, with books prescribing class discussion, projects and 'educational experiences' that undermined traditional pedagogical authority. The course was to be a guiding light in the reform of the school and also in terms of content, progressivism was found all throughout the books. Democracy was not so much defined in terms of government but rather understood as an activity and as communicative style, aimed at realizing justice even if this required social conflict. Democratic citizenship was equated with being cooperative, active and progressive. Citizens were no longer expected to be stable and rooted, but rather to flourish and be active agents of social betterment. Its opposite was found in the 'authoritarian personality', but also in anti-social or conservative character traits, which were understood as the result of socialization gone wrong.

In the early 1990s, the content and educational form of the textbooks yet again underwent considerable change. Educationally speaking, Maatschappijleer became a regular course, with clearly defined learning goals and more traditional teaching methods. After the politicized 1970s and 1980s, democracy was now defined in terms of universal human rights and a politics of negotiation and cooperation. Citizenship was defined in terms of civic duties and individual rights, but also more emotional terms like trust and

gratitude. Citizens were no longer expected to be progressive, but rather to be reasonable and supportive of the political system. Racism, nationalism and populism were now presented as the opposite of democratic citizenship. They were once more explained in terms of problematic socialization, but also in terms of opportunistic politicians who willfully lured citizens with unscientific simplifications about migration and race.

In the results, the dominant discourses per period were presented, and in this presentation the differences between the periods were stressed. Given these results per period, it is also possible to draw some conclusions about overarching historical developments as well as structural characteristics that were present in all three periods.

One bigger historical development concerns the changing position of the teacher. Books in the first period stressed that the teacher was the most important factor in the educational process, both as a matter of principle and practice. The teacher was the one who should select and interpret the material handed down in the textbook, and connect this content to the specific worldview of the school (be it denominational or neutral). The textbooks were explicitly written with a certain didactical and ideological humility: the teacher was to be the main actor in designing what happened in class. In the second period, the relationship between teacher and textbook changed. Part of the innovative set up of Maatschappijleer was that the teacher would no longer be the master of the educational process, but rather himself or herself part of the educational experiments prescribed. Teachers were now expected to enter into critical conversations with the pupils in class, and also to acknowledge their own ignorance and insecurity. In some cases, teachers were also part of groups that designed teaching methods, as was the case with *Maatschappijleer een open boek* (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras, 1974). In the third period, the relation between teacher and textbook changed considerably. As a part of the efficient alignment of education was that teachers were now primarily seen as executors of educational design made at another level. Teachers were consulted by textbook writers, but once the books were finished, they prescribed what should happen in class and what teachers and pupils should do. The changing position of the teacher (from the center to executor of educational design) found in the books points at a movement towards centralization of curriculum. This change in the organization of education furthermore reflects changing ideas on democracy itself as it was defined in the books: the earlier pillarized plurality implied differentiation and personal presence of the teacher, just like liberal individualism implied uniform explanation of the rules of democracy and teacher neutrality.

This points at one of the structural conclusions to be drawn: the correspondence between educational and political discourses in the textbooks. In every period, the dominant view on the form and function of education formed a close unity with the dominant view on democracy and citizenship. When democracy was understood in terms of diversity and balance, education for democratic citizenship also left room for different educational practices within distinct worldviews; when democracy was defined in terms of progress and personal flourishing, the educational form was one of anti-authoritarian

conversations; when democracy was equated with universal human rights and trust in political institutions, education took the form of transmission of established facts and values. When it came to education for democracy through Maatschappijleer, educational form and content turned out to be intertwined each time.

A similar thing could be said about the presence of bigger cultural, social and political themes in the books. In each period, at the basis of the presentation of democratic citizenship in the Maatschappijleer books lay a social analysis of the country at that specific time. Big political themes in each period also figure prominently in the books: (de-)pillarization and the rise of mass society in the first period; political polarization and democratic movements in the second; and individualism, immigration and integration in the last period. Structurally speaking, the course changed with its topic: society. More specifically, it changed with the dominant scientific views of society as formulated in the social sciences and humanities. For the dominant political discourses in the books were strongly colored by specific temporally dominant scientific views on man and society in each period. It appears that none of these was independent or simply dominant over one of the others: educational and political discourses in the books corresponded to historical changes in culture, society and politics as well as in the sciences.

Another structural conclusion relates directly to one of the main difficulties of political education in democracies: the issue of neutrality and indoctrination. A constant idea in all the books, independent from specific educational, political or scientific orientation, was that each and every one of them stressed that the ultimate goal of Maatschappijleer was to support the pupils in finding their own voice, their own view and even their own identity. From the start, Maatschappijleer embodied an emancipatory ideology. Even in the first period, when being rooted was elemental, this rooted identity had to be *authentic*; even when the political direction was clear in the second period, the pupils had to *be* progressive; and the ultimate hallmark of democratic freedom in the last period was to be yourself and express yourself. *Democratic* education, the books imply, differs from authoritarian *indoctrination* in this respect: the pupils have to be convinced of the values at stake and recognize them as their own.

But the opposition between democratic education and authoritarian indoctrination went deeper in the books. In terms of content, the books throughout the three period did two things. They demarcated democracy from its other (non-democratic regimes or political systems), but they also made it clear for the pupils which political currents were undemocratic *within the democratic system*. In the first period, the main undemocratic tendencies in the Netherlands themselves lay in mass culture, demagogy, and individualism. In the second, everything conservative was presented as essentially anti-democratic, both on a political as well as a personal level. And in the third, extremism, xenophobia and populism were described as the wrong responses to social changes.

This in turn presented an educational problem, for how could the cultivation of the right democratic values and attitudes be ensured, while at the same time ensuring the autonomy of the pupils? If the autonomy of the pupils is so important, how could a choice for extremist parties, revolutionary methods, intolerant attitudes or authoritarian allegiances be avoided or even condemned? In the books, a rather remarkable solution for this dilemma was visible in all periods. In the different periods, we saw different counterparts of democracy: against the rooted person, anonymous mass society in the first period; against the open and critical citizen, conformism and intolerance in the second; against the responsible citizen, populism and right-wing extremism in the last one. Even though these characteristics changed, the structure in the books remained the same. Undemocratic behavior, convictions and attitudes were presented each time not so much as deviant political orientations, but rather as symptoms of underlying ignorance, problematic socialization or developmental issues (an 'I-weakness'; a disturbed attachment; an insecure personality). The issue, in other words, was not so much *political* as it was *developmental, educational and pedagogical*. The books presented democratic citizenship (even though what this meant changed considerably over time) as an educational goal, and in doing so, they also defined its opposite in terms of faulty moral, political and social education.

The undemocratic tendencies were further explained to the pupils in terms of *temptations* that they had to learn to resist. According to the books in the successive periods, living anonymously as a part of the masses or under the rule of a dictator was an easy option; accepting all the injustices of the status quo without questioning was the route that required no effort; and blaming everything on foreigners or on an unresponsive government far away was simple and convenient. Part of developing democratic citizenship at each turn also implied a willingness to make an effort and cultivate self-control. In each period, pupils learned that democratic living was not the easiest option, but rather a difficult and luckily also rewarding task. Whether the task was formulated as developing an authentic personality, or a self-questioning process of self-realization, or of learning how to live and find compromises with (culturally) others, democracy was presented in all periods as a demanding ideal.

Related to this, the other of democracy was defined in every period not just in political, but also in scientific terms. In the first period, the threat of mass society was formulated in terms of mass psychology and phenomenology; conservatism in the second period was understood in terms of critical theory and developmental psychology; and xenophobia and extremism in the third period was explained with reference to intercultural sociology. Interestingly enough, the limits of democracy in each period were described in terms of a dominant *scientific* as well as *political* discourses. In fact, these two overlapped. Even though the content of both political and scientific models was different in each period, the strong connection between both was constant. Political neutrality was achieved in the books, not

by refraining from presenting substantive moral or political views, but by doing so in terms of scientific objectivity. But as it turns out, 'scientific objectivity' regarding democracy was as shifting as political ideals and educational models between the different periods.

To take the conclusion one step further: anti-democratic ideologies, tendencies and attitudes were all described at the most fundamental level as forms of *misunderstanding*. Misunderstanding of what it means to be human, what it is to be a person in the first place; how socialization works and what personal development means; how politics works, how migration works and how intercultural contact works. Not only could democratic citizenship be taught, the main point was each and every time that *education* and *democratic development* go hand in hand, while the opposite of democracy always relied on ignorance. If pupils would understand the insights provided by (the dominant) social sciences, this understanding would shield them against the lure of anti-democratic forces and secure in them the correct democratic attitudes. In all three periods, Maatschappijleer was an *educational therapy* for the betterment of individual pupils, and through them, for society as a whole.

In conclusion, democratic citizenship appeared in the books as an educational task for the pupils that was demanding but also necessary to secure democracy against undemocratic tendencies within Dutch society. What it meant to be democratic however, and how pupils were to be educated for democratic citizenship differed considerably over time. Throughout the three periods distinguished, the books presented specific scientific theories and insight as authoritative and politically neutral points of reference for the moral, social and political education of the pupils. A correct understanding of these theories was seen as an intricate part of the autonomous development of democratic attitudes. Citizenship was not just treated in the books as something that *could be taught*, it was something that *had to be based on educated insight* in order to be truly democratic.

CONCLUSION

The science of citizenship education in democratic societies

I. INTRODUCTION

"Pupils are not born as democrats", Dutch minister of Education Arie Slob stated when introducing stricter juridical demands for citizenship education in schools (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2020). As the research presented in the previous four chapters shows, this belief has been a driving force in education in the United States and the Netherlands throughout the twentieth century. At the level of academic research, educational policy and practice, the continuous desire and felt need to educate for democracy materialized in different forms in different periods. Throughout the twentieth century, debates on education for democracy were informed by different strands of educational science.

This dissertation set out to investigate historical antecedents and alternatives for the currently world-wide dominant view on democratic citizenship education. This dominant view regards democratic citizenship education in terms of a clearly defined, measurable set of 'knowledge, skills and attitudes' that would be equal for all democratic societies. It finds its most prominent and influential formulation in the ICCS, the International Civics and Citizenship Education Study, conducted in 2009, 2016 and 2022. The results of this study receive a lot of policy attention throughout the world and they are used to advocate policy change regarding citizenship education in several national contexts (Malak-Minkiewitcz & Torney-Purta 2021).

The seemingly unquestioned dominance of this specific view on democratic citizenship education and especially the central role of educational science within this view formed the starting point of this research project. For why would democratic citizenship education be understood as uniform throughout the world, and why would there only be one 'objective' way to understand democracy and education? Where does the urge to define democracy in terms of consensus come from and what is the root of the apparent wish to measure a politically contested term like 'democratic citizenship'? There appeared to be a link with broader developments in the educational sciences, which are sometimes described as an ever increasing dominance of empirical-analytical forms of research, over and against more situational, critical or philosophical avenues for enquiry (Bakker, Noordman & Rietveld-Van Wingerden 2010; De Rooy 2018; Lagemann 2000; Meijer 2000), sometimes as an 'age of measurement' (Biesta 2010), and sometimes as the victory of the 'standardization and testing-movement' (Ravitch 2010). Especially concerning democratic citizenship, a concept that can have so many different and competing meanings, a univocal definition that is bound up with specific instruments of measurement and achievement tests calls for critical scrutiny.

In recent literature and policy debates, the recourse to scientific objectivity (understood in a rather positivistic manner as 'standardized international measurements') appeared to be *the* way to formulate politically acceptable policy on such a delicate matter as mandatory political education in democratic countries. But what does that imply in terms of the relation

between educational politics, science and practice? How politically neutral can and should the educational sciences be, especially when dealing with a value laden topic like democratic citizenship education? Does 'evidence-based' policy and education automatically imply centralized control and standardization? How desirable are these, in the case of contested concepts like democratic citizenship? It seemed necessary to investigate the current situation with some critical distance, which was found in a historical approach.

Two national contexts provided the material to investigate the historical role of scientific knowledge in educational debates on democracy and education. The United States and the Netherlands were chosen because both countries have an educational system built upon a pluralistic view on democracy and education: as a matter of democratic principle the national state cannot prescribe what should happen in schools, particularly where values education is concerned. Especially in such contexts, where national educational policy on political education is supposed to be limited and neutral, the role of scientific objectivity is particularly interesting. This lead to the overarching research question of this dissertation: *How has democratic citizenship education been studied scientifically, in interaction with educational policy and practice, in the United States of America and the Netherlands over the last hundred years?*

Based on a 'political' understanding of the educational sciences (as consisting of different groups working with different traditions, paradigms and discourses, struggling for scientific prominence and influence on educational policy and practice), four research projects were carried out: two on the United States and two on the Netherlands. Each chapter focused on specific sites of interaction between educational science, policy and practice: the experimental schools of Teachers College, New York during the Interbellum; the journal *Pedagogische Studiën* from its founding in 1920 up till now; American Civics textbooks produced for the national market between the Second World War and the early 2000s; and Dutch Maatschappijleer textbooks since 1963 till the beginning of the twenty-first century. What do these studies tell us about the relation between educational science, policy and practice around citizenship education in democratic states? This conclusion will describe the main findings of this dissertation at three levels. First, the main conclusions of the separate chapters will be presented. Secondly, these will be compared to formulate overarching historical developments and patterns. And thirdly, these results will be interpreted in relation to the current debate on democratic citizenship education, with a specific focus on recent developments in the Netherlands.

II. SUMMARY AND KEY FINDINGS PER CHAPTER

The Progressive Era in America formed a natural starting point for a study on the interactions between educational science, policy and practice regarding democracy and education. It was a time of rapid scientific developments and heated societal debate, in which modernization

of education in particular was seen as the way forward. The study presented in chapter one focused on developments at one of the hotspots of Progressive Education in all its forms: Teachers College, New York. Inspired by the historiographic tradition that presents developments in terms of competing educational 'camps', chapter one investigated the three experimental schools of Teachers College as places where educational ideas from different educational camps were implemented and tested in practice, but also where scientific ideas were challenged, developed, combined and revised. The schools thus functioned as sites of interaction (in all directions) between the educational sciences and educational practice. The function of the schools, in line with the function of Teachers College more broadly speaking, was furthermore to develop insights that could be applied throughout the country. The link with educational policy was continuously present, and especially the subsequent principals of the three schools were constantly engaged in dissemination activities.

Regarding the overarching question of this dissertation, the study brought several relevant things to light. First of all, that education for democracy was an integrated practice at all three schools. Regardless of the specific orientation on education and democracy, citizenship education was not an isolated learning goal located in specific subjects or limited to extra-curricular activities. Rather, it formed the core of the distinct educational philosophies of the three schools. All three schools formed (each in their own way) an exemplary democratic community, of which the pupils were to be contributing members, who internalized the core values of this specific community. At all three schools, education for democracy consisted of the total experience of pupils at the school. The curriculum at all levels, the way of testing, the rules of conduct, the form and content of school assemblies, relations with teachers, interactions between pupils in and outside of class, the school government: all these elements were aligned with a specific fundamental view on education and democracy. At all three schools, the *form* and the *content* of democratic education reinforced each other and could not be separated.

Secondly, education for democracy at the schools took a wide variety of forms that were all completely reasonable, practicable, and informed by scientific insights. Each school actively related to its own scientific tradition or combination of traditions: Lincoln had ties with both child-centered and social meliorist camps; Horace Mann drew on insights from different child-development scholars; and Horace Mann for Boys was closely affiliated with the traditions of humanistic education and the social efficiency movement. However, this relation between the educational sciences and practice was not one of 'development and design' on the one hand, and 'implementation' on the other. Teachers, staff and researchers working at the three schools were actively engaged in shaping both the practice and the science of democratic education.

Furthermore, both educational science and practice responded to changing societal and political circumstances. Education for democracy was profoundly different at each of the three schools, but it was also different at each school in different periods. For example, all three schools responded in their own way to the Depression, in line with their dominant

educational philosophy. Structural social critique appeared in the curriculum at Lincoln, more attention for social charity was organized in the extra-curricular program at Horace Mann, while Horace Mann for Boys invested in more personal guidance of the future leaders who had to operate in such volatile times.

A last relevant conclusion from this chapter was that the underlying multiplicity of science itself was not perceived as a weak point, but rather celebrated as a fruitful, enriching and institutionally promoted *democratic* ideal, as it was by Dean Russell of Teachers College throughout the Interbellum. Just like education at each of the three schools was considered excellent in its own way, different forms of educational research could be valued as reasonable contributions to a democratic and scientific debate. As such, the schools of Teachers College exemplified a scientific, educational and democratic pluralism.

The second chapter turned to the Netherlands, where the discussion on democracy and education among Dutch educational scientists in *Pedagogische Studiën* was traced throughout the twentieth century. From its founding in 1920, the journal maintained a specific progressive outlook, in the sense of wanting to promote educational innovation based on insights from the developing educational sciences. Many prominent Dutch pedagogues and educational scientists edited and published in *Pedagogische Studiën* over the years, but the journal was limited to those who had a non-denominational perspective on education and the educational sciences. Based on coding and analysis of articles dealing with education and democracy, the chapter presented an overview of the discussion in the journal in terms of distinct periods, each showing specific dominant views on education, educational science and democracy.

The analysis presented in this chapter showed a great diversity of views on (the relation between) democratic citizenship, education and the educational sciences. Within this historical diversity, periods could be distinguished in which distinct political, scientific and educational views dominated the discussion in the journal. During the Interbellum, a personalistic view on democracy and education was dominant, with Kohnstamm and Gunning as its main representatives in *Pedagogische Studiën*. After the Second World War this perspective remained prominent, but it was challenged by a new meritocratic ideal formulated by social scientists like Idenburg and De Groot. From 1970 onwards, different perspectives found expression on the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën*, from education that would challenge class structures (Matthijsen and Van Gelder) and the political status quo (W. Langeveld), to views that focused on individual moral and emotional development (Steutel and Spiecker). Entering the new millennium, the relation between education and democracy was for the first time explicitly presented in terms of citizenship education. The discussion now focused on how to measure the effectiveness of citizenship education as a national educational goal.

The analysis showed that even though perspectives on democratic education in the journal were diverse, the concept of citizenship education remained rather stable over time. Whenever it was discussed, either by personalistic pedagogues like Kohnstamm

or Langeveld, educational psychologists like De Groot, or educational scientists like Ten Dam, it was understood as the transmission of a common set of civic knowledge, skills and attitudes for the betterment of the social unity of the country, prescribed and monitored by the national state. What differed was how the scientific community of *Pedagogische Studiën* evaluated such an educational goal: from dismissive at all levels during the Interbellum; to divided in the second half of the twentieth century; to very supportive in the last period. This chapter showed that citizenship education in the Dutch context was one specific way of designing, implementing and monitoring education for democracy in schools, that only recently became dominant over other conceptions of education for democracy.

This changing evaluation was closely tied up with changing dominant views on education, democracy and the educational sciences. On a more structural level, the analysis suggests that specific views on objectivity and knowledge in the educational sciences were closely intertwined with specific views on democracy, education and citizenship education. The scientific *form* in which democratic education was studied overlapped with the *content* of this education, with specific definitions of democratic citizenship. The distinct research traditions turned out to imply their own forms of education, as well as their own forms of democratic citizenship. The form of science, the form of education, the form of policy making, and even the form of writing overlapped for each research tradition. This was most explicitly the case for two main perspectives in *Pedagogische Studiën*: personalism on the one hand, and the empirical-analytic approach on the other. How education and democracy were studied scientifically could not be separated from more comprehensive understandings of the political concepts implied. This in turn also meant that when dominance shifted in the journal, it did so for all different aspects of the science of citizenship education at once: as long as personalism was the dominant research tradition, philosophical essays on the development of democratic personalities were abundant and empirical studies scarce; when the empirical tradition took over, another kind of research, another kind of writing, and another kind of education filled the pages of the journal.

Furthermore, it became clear that specific forms of educational science were compatible with specific political and societal circumstances. The personalism of Kohnstamm and others implied a suspicion of educational measurement in general, as well as a distrust in educational monitoring by the state. The centrality of personal conscience in the personalistic philosophy of education, the link between pedagogy and worldviews, the importance of the personality and convictions of the teacher: all these elements made personalism a perfect fit for the structure of decentralized education guided by the freedom of education. The empirical tradition, on the other hand, only became widely accepted once it became compatible with broader societal and political concerns. When the themes of educational equality and achievement became important in society and politics, the study of educational statistics and individual measurement rose to prominence. Scientific dominance, in other words, was also a matter of compatibility with broader educational and governmental structures.

After these two chapters focusing on developments in the educational sciences, the next two chapters presented research on textbooks: American Civics and Dutch Maatschappijleer textbooks in the second half of the twentieth century. In both chapters, changes and continuities in political and educational discourses in the books were analyzed. For both countries, the books were selected based on their publishers: for the United States the analysis focused on the national 'textbook consensus' among major publishers; for the Netherlands, books produced by the major neutral publishers were analyzed. This meant that the books selected all strove to present a version of democratic citizenship education that was supposed to be non-partisan and acceptable for a large group in the respective countries.

The results for the American Civics textbooks showed three successive periods, in which distinct views on democratic citizenship and on education were dominant. Furthermore, in all three periods, the textbooks showed an intertwinement between the educational and the political discourses, between educational form and educational content. The period spanning the outbreak of the Second World War to the end of the 1960s presented democracy and citizenship in terms of consensus and the common good. Education for democracy took the form of traditional moral education, where pupils learned about proper civic behavior by means of moralizing examples and improved their civic knowledge by supportive explanations of the workings of government. In the 1970s, inspired by developments in the educational sciences and federally funded curriculum development projects, the so called 'New Social Studies' emerged. These focused on intellectual and, later on, also applied forms of education. At the same time, the presentation of democracy and citizenship changed drastically. The consensus based ideal of the first period was replaced by a conflictual model, stressing the centrality and desirability of political strife and civic protest in a functioning democracy. This more experimental and activist education was replaced at the outset of the 1980s, when Civics education turned traditional again. Part of the 'Conservative restoration' was an understanding of democracy built around civic responsibilities, voting and volunteering. At the same time, the didactical model of the textbooks became focused on the efficient transmission of clearly defined concepts and facts, stressing the centrality of standardized tests.

The chapter on the Dutch Maatschappijleer textbook also showed three successive periods in which specific educational and political discourses were dominant. Also similar to the American textbooks, the Dutch textbooks showed an intertwinement between the educational and the political discourses, between educational form and educational content in each period. Between 1963 and 1974 the textbooks presented democratic citizenship in terms of democratic persons who were well rooted in a comprehensive worldview and community. These democratic persons were to be tolerant of other comprehensive worldviews and the personal convictions of others. Education for this type of citizenship required freedom for teachers to introduce pupils into such a worldview, as well as more 'progressive' didactics which would secure personal authenticity. In line with new educational plans and

broader societal developments, Maatschappijleer in the period 1975-1989 became much more experimental and politically progressive. Democratic citizenship was now understood in terms of the critical citizen, who was politically active in the pursuit of social justice. Anti-authoritarianism was prominent in both content and didactical form, with textbooks suggesting 'educational events', stimulating 'personal processing' and describing teachers as 'tutors' who should show their own insecurities. The third period distinguished in the research began in the early 1990s. The textbooks now focused on the responsibilities of citizens and presented democracy in terms of individual human rights and free elections. Political clarity was mirrored by educational clarity in the books, which focused on the effective transmission of an established set of civic knowledge and values. Pupils were no longer expected to change the world, but rather to pass their exams and maintain democracy.

III. HISTORICAL PATTERNS

Comparing the periods that could be distinguished in the different studies, it becomes clear that the developments in both countries, while showing differences in the details, where overall remarkably similar. The science and practice of democratic education during the Interbellum focused on didactical innovation in both countries. Both at the experimental schools of Teachers College (most explicitly at Lincoln and Horace Mann), and in *Pedagogische Studiën*, educationalists were formulating ideas for the 'Modern School', that would provide 'realistic' education for modern citizenship, as Flexner described it (Flexner 1916). The period around the Second World War was one of seeking balance and consensus through cooperation, where democratic citizenship was understood as being a rooted democratic person. This was visible in American textbooks such as *When men are free*, which showed how the shared allegiance to the "premises of American liberty" shaped placid communal life (Vincent 1955). In the Dutch textbooks as well as on the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën*, the rooted democratic personality was central in this period, presented in contrast to the dangers of mass society. The developments in the 1970s were again very similar in the two countries: experimental education for societal change was clearly visible in the Civics textbooks that made up the New Social Studies and the second wave of Maatschappijleer textbooks. Similar phrasings could be found in the introductions to the 1970s textbooks from both countries. *The people make a nation* (Sandler 1971) and *Maatschappijleer een open boek* (Athmer-Van der Kallen & Cras 1974) for instance both opened with the statement that they were nothing like the other textbooks pupils had to use. At the same time, the revolutionary Dutch Middle School experiments were discussed on the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën*. The last period, starting around 1980 in America and around 1990 in the Netherlands was characterized by a focus on civic duties and normalizing citizenship education. Educational alignment and clarity, leading to successful test taking and social functioning were prominent in the textbooks, as well as in educational policy and science.

Next to the overlap between periods identified in the two countries, the chapters on the Dutch educational sciences and Maatschappijleer textbooks also show overlapping periods. The 'democratic personality' identified in *Pedagogische Studiën* was the same as the 'rooted citizen' described in the textbooks; the 'politically active group member' closely resembled the 'critical citizen'; and the 'competent individual' overlapped with the 'responsible citizen'. The same shifts were thus visible at the level of educational science, policy and practice in the Netherlands.

That these periods were so similar suggests that the developments in both countries were specific expressions of bigger (maybe Western or even global) developments in education, politics and science. It suggests that the science and practice of citizenship education was each time historically situated in national, but also international contexts. However, the results also show that developments in the United States at every turn preceded and influenced developments in the Netherlands. In all periods, Dutch educationalists and textbook writers referred to practices and theories from the United States, among other international sources of inspiration. The authors and editors of *Pedagogische Studiën* regularly discussed what happened in the United States and especially at Teachers College during the Interbellum; an influential figure like De Groot wrote his *Methodologie* during a research stay at Stanford; the course Maatschappijleer was explicitly modeled after the American Social Studies; and where national standardization of civics and citizenship education occurred in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s, similar developments took place in the Netherlands a decade later. American education and educational science thus functioned as a constant point of reference for discussion and practice of citizenship education in the Netherlands.

Secondly, all studies showed that when dominant views on democratic education shifted, they tended to do so in an encompassing manner. Rather than replacing one type of citizenship by another within a stable educational or scientific framework, the breaks between the different periods were much more substantial. When, for instance, the concept of democracy shifted in the American Civics books from a consensus model in the postwar period, to a conflictual model in the 1970s, the educational models and prescribed pupils activities also shifted. Educational and moral clarity was replaced by open-ended enquiry into different perspectives and political realities. Likewise, when the dominant view on democratic citizenship in *Pedagogische Studiën* shifted, for instance from personalistic to meritocratic, this implied at the same time a shift in the dominant research orientation (from philosophical to sociological), as well as another relation towards educational policy (from distributive to constructive) and educational practice (from a focus on the pedagogical situation to a focus on effective qualification and socialization). The results showed a certain compatibility between types of education, types of educational science, types of democratic citizenship and types of educational governance. Different perspectives on citizenship education, whether they appeared in the educational sciences, policy or practice, were not isolated ideas, but rather every time embedded in broader integrated

views on education and democracy. Historical shifts in the educational science, policy and practice of citizenship education were encompassing.

This relates to another historical pattern that reemerged in all four studies. As was noted in each of the key findings per chapter, the *form* and *content* of (the science of) citizenship education overlapped in all the historical variants encountered. Education at each of the schools of Teachers College was thoroughly infused with a guiding educational philosophy for modern democratic life. This philosophy determined *what* was taught, but also *how* it was taught. Learning about the Classics at Horace Mann for Boys by means of lectures and recitations was different in almost every conceivable way from investigating current affairs in a Problems of Democracy course at Lincoln. Similar conclusions were draws regarding the Civics and Maatschappijleer textbooks, where each period showed how a dominant political discourse intertwined with a compatible educational discourse. A case in point was the combined focus on civic and educational duties of the pupils in the American and Dutch 1990s textbooks. In 'democracy achieved', where ideological debate was no longer deemed necessary or desirable, it was also clear what pupils should learn, implying uniform teaching methods that were *effective* in terms of transmission of preset content. The dominant political discourse in this period was not compatible with inquisitive didactics, but implied traditional education. In another way, as explained above, the dominant views in *Pedagogische Studiën* were also at every turn encompassing: each view implied its own overlapping educational, scientific, and governmental *form* and *content*. All four chapter suggest that irrespective of particular variants, the form and content of citizenship education structurally imply one another.

Furthermore, the studies showed in a wide variety of cases that particular variants of scientifically informed citizenship education became dominant because they were *in tune* with specific historical circumstances. In fact, both in the scientific publications on citizenship education and in the textbooks, the historical circumstances were constantly explicitly mentioned. From the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* in 1918 to *A Nation at Risk* in 1983, from Gunning's lectures on "The task of our schools in our days" in the 1930s to Langeveld's *Report on the societal bewilderment of the youth* in the 1950s and the recent introduction of a stricter Dutch law on citizenship education: the structure was the same. Citizenship education in schools was presented as necessitated by a specific problematic social, cultural or political situation. Whenever political and cultural socialization became the object of education, this was always done from the assessment that other educational institutes could not or at least did not provide it (anymore), often explicitly in relation to rapid or fundamental changes in society. Likewise, the Civics and Maatschappijleer books framed education for democratic citizenship in terms of specific threats. The American textbooks of the age of consensus were to combat the threat of

selfishness, just like the Dutch books from the 1960s had to defer pupils from mass society and political demagogues. Conservatism and authoritarianism were to be overcome by means of the New Social Studies and the 1970s Maatschappijleer alike. And in the 1990s, the treats of political apathy, populism and extreme right sympathies were to be averted by means of civic education. Education for democracy thus always mirrored the society in which it was formulated in a specific way: as a democratic society at risk.

At every turn, the science, policy and practice of citizenship education developed in interaction with a broader cultural and political situation, relying on specific diagnoses and proposing an educational remedy for whatever was perceived at the time as the most pressing issues of democratic society. The science of citizenship education that became dominant at different moments did so because it corresponded with a more broadly accepted problem definition and provided a solution that was compatible with broader governance and conceptions of the place and function of the school. The compatibility between personalism and a decentralized educational system was mentioned earlier. Similarly, an educational system focused on standardized achievement calls for a definition of democratic citizenship education that makes it scientifically measurable. Just like the calls for citizenship education acquired a specific form in distinct historical contexts, so did the scientific articulation and the educational response to this call.

The science of citizenship education in both counties over the last hundred years was thus situated in a double sense. Each form of science was *conceptually situated* and implied a broader understanding of the relation between democracy and education. Each form of science on citizenship education was also *historically situated* in specific political, cultural, social and governmental contexts. Although different forms of science of citizenship education were each 'objective' in their own way, they were neither 'neutral' nor independent from their conceptual and historical contexts. The science of citizenship education has never been 'neutral', for every form of science of citizenship education required a comprehensive context that included value laden concepts and problem definitions. Furthermore, the science of citizenship education at every turn was intended to intervene in the politics and practice of education, further complicating the idea of scientific independence. The situated science of citizenship education, constantly 'progressive' in its wish to transform education based on its insights, formed an arena of struggle between encompassing views. Rather than merely informing political debates on citizenship education, the sciences were part of these debates. The science of citizenship education over the last hundred years in the United States and the Netherlands was political, but not in a straightforward way. Rather than simply being spokesperson for political ideas or ideals, the main object of contestation between different scientific groups was the very definition of scientific objectivity concerning the value laden goal of educating for democracy.

IV. THE NORMALIZATION OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Next to these structural patterns, one overarching development in both countries is visible in the different chapters. In scientific publications, educational policy and textbooks alike citizenship education has increasingly been defined as an educational goal that is *structurally similar to other educational goals*. This in turn implied that it should also be studied, organized and governed in the same way: by means of standardized achievement tests. This meant that citizenship education increasingly became *normalized*, that is: understood, practiced and governed in relation to a scientifically established norm of good democratic citizenship.

In the United States and the Netherlands, distinct views on democracy, education and educational science were dominant in different periods. Until the 1980s and 1990s, however, there was an overarching idea that education for democratic citizenship required another form of education and educational governance than other educational goals. In the schools of Teachers College, democratic education took place everywhere at all times, because it formed the core of the distinct educational philosophies of these schools. It was not a separate subject, nor something that was tested, but rather formed the framework from which the whole school was built up. In *Pedagogische Studiën* the dominant perspective on democratic education for a long time presented education for democracy not so much in terms of educational transmission, but rather in the terms of a pedagogical relation and a (pluralistic or meritocratic) educational system. Again, citizenship education was not defined as a specific educational goal amongst others, but rather concerned something more fundamental. In the textbooks as well, the exceptional nature of education for democracy was often explicitly addressed in the introductions of the books. Nearly all the textbooks up till 1990 opened with a reflection on the exceptional form and function of Maatschappijleer when compared to regular courses.

Quite often, propagators of educational innovation saw the Social Studies or Maatschappijleer courses as vanguards that would serve to eventually revolutionize the whole school or educational system. Integration of the curriculum, project education or anti-authoritarian education could be introduced into the schools via these courses, and would then show the feasibility and desirability of educational innovation in general. This was true for two of the schools of Teachers College, as well as the Social Studies and Maatschappijleer in their early phases. Historically, the development went into the opposite direction: instead of a guide towards a broader educational revolution, citizenship education was increasingly encapsulated in a framework of normalized education in both countries towards the end of the twentieth century. In the American Civics books, the Dutch Maatschappijleer books and on the pages of *Pedagogische Studiën* it became clear that the science as well as the practice of citizenship education became centered around clear and measurable learning outcomes. In policy, this took the form of national standards and testing regimes; in science the empirical-analytic method became dominant; and in

textbooks, the didactics changed towards ensuring effective transmission of knowledge, skills and attitudes that were not up for discussion. The same development thus took place in both countries around the same time at all three levels. In the educational sciences, educational policy, and educational practice, education for democracy became increasingly understood, governed and practiced in relation to a scientifically established norm of good democratic citizenship.

This process of normalization could be related to broader developments in public governance and education in general. The 1990s in the United States and the Netherlands saw the rise of public accountability and standards-based outcome driven education on all levels. Perhaps this meant that education for democracy, in order to retain any significant place in education, also had to be formulated in terms of standards and measurable learning output. When standardized achievement became the yardstick for educational governance, democratic education also had to take the form of normalized citizenship education. And with the aid of national and international groups of educational scientists, in cooperation with policy makers in both countries, it did. But given the structural entanglement between the form and the content of democratic education that we saw throughout the different chapters, this was not just a technical matter. Normalizing citizenship education also implied normalized democratic citizenship, that is: citizenship defined in terms of a universal set of individual competences that are equal for all.

Recent national standards, guidelines, curriculum proposals and even legislation in the case of the Netherlands do indeed focus on centralized control of education based on 'rational consensus' and aim to cultivate trust in public institutes and cooperative attitudes. The univocal and allegedly 'objective' and 'neutral' learning goals for citizenship education developed by educational scientists, exemplified by the ICCS assessment frameworks, forms the norm to which the democratic quality of individual pupils and the educational quality of schools are measured. For some, the development towards normalization might appear as the transition from chaos to clarity, from inefficiency to control. But from a more political point of view, it can also be seen as a transition from educational, scientific, and democratic pluralism to a situation of dominance.

V. HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS FOR THE CURRENT SITUATION

The findings of this dissertation have implications for current developments in the science and politics of democratic citizenship education. As one of the main findings was that the science of citizenship education is always situated, the implications for specifically the current situation in the Netherlands will be discussed. As explained in the introduction, the 2021 law on citizenship education and the development of national curriculum guidelines for citizenship education (part of a national project called curriculum.nu) shows how the

scientific framework of the ICCS is particularly influential in research, policy and practice in the Netherlands. As such, the findings add a historical dimension to existing literature that is critical of the new Dutch law on citizenship education and the supposed neutrality of the science on which it is based (Guérin 2017; Merry 2018; Merry 2020; Van der Ploeg 2015; Van der Ploeg 2020; Van der Ploeg & Guérin 2016; Zuurmond & Van der Ploeg 2022).

First of all, we should recognize that, like its predecessors, the current science of citizenship education is historically and conceptually situated. This is not to say that the facts of for instance the ICCS studies are flawed or should be tossed aside. Rather, it means that these facts presuppose a certain understanding of democratic citizenship, education and educational science and should be interpreted as such. There were and still are other frameworks, that are not less 'objective' or 'democratic' than the currently dominant view. Whenever scientific facts do enter policy discussions, we should recognize them as valuable and clarifying insights, but not as ultimate indicators of educational quality or democratic citizenship, as they are interpreted in Dutch education currently. As this history of the science of citizenship education shows: a specific scientific understanding of democratic citizenship education might be dominant and resonate with broader conceptions of education and democracy prevalent in specific circumstances, but that does not mean that it constitutes the final truth about democratic citizenship education. For the current Dutch situation, in which one specific scientific frame is dominant and fits perfectly into broader frameworks of educational governance and assessment, this means that we should at least strive for some distance between the science, policy and practice of citizenship education (Van der Ploeg 2020). This could be done by being more critical of the political power of dominant groups of educational scientists; contextualizing their findings in thus making them less directive; and recognizing the legitimacy and reasonableness of alternative scientific, political and practical views on citizenship education in research, policy and practice.

In the Dutch situation, the dominant framework defines education for democracy as citizenship education, which is in turn understood as the development of individual competences of pupils. In this sense, democratic citizenship education has become an educational goal that is structurally similar to others. This already narrows down the discussion on education for democracy to a matter of either efficiency (which education is most effective in transmitting knowledge, skills and attitudes) or the precise definition of the knowledge, skills and attitudes that should be instilled in pupils. This dissertation showed numerous other perspectives on democratic education that placed more emphasis of communal grounding and autonomy, on voice and democratization of education, or on equal access and meritocratic justice. Furthermore, the currently dominant approach understands citizenship education in terms of *scientifically defined* individual learning outcomes, leaving little room for competing views on democracy and education. As such, this dissertation provides historical backing for fundamental critiques of the currently dominant framework on citizenship education, as voiced by other scholars (Guérin 2017; Merry 2018; Merry 2020; Zuurmond & Van der Ploeg 2022).

In the case of the Netherlands, we can see how the educational and scientific debate on education for democracy has been narrowed down to discussions on the relative importance of certain aspects of democratic citizenship education, and the effectiveness of particular educational practices in improving achievement preset standards of democratic knowledge, skills and attitudes. In preparation of the new law and national curriculum guidelines, several consultation rounds were organized where experts, school boards and teachers were invited to discuss the plans. While there was discussion on the specific content of citizenship education (for instance on the relative importance of environmental, global or political citizenship within the plans), there was no room to discuss the *structure* of citizenship education as a measurable and scientifically supervised educational goal at the national level (Van Rees 2021). Many of the historical variants of democratic education discussed in this dissertation were simply not compatible with such a pre-established framework of citizenship education. This makes it difficult for these alternative educational and scientific views to be included in the democratic debate.

Furthermore, the historical development towards centralized and standardized citizenship education places key pedagogical figures, especially the family and teachers, in a remarkable position. In the ICCS studies and in the explanation of the law on citizenship education in the Netherlands, parents are treated as contextual factors that either have a positive or a negative influence on the citizenship competences of pupils. Hence, their status as autonomous pedagogical actors is replaced by a position relative to that of the school and the state. But the school itself, as well as the individual teachers are likewise framed as either successful or unsuccessful implementers of scientifically defined and state mandated educational policy. This might be logical within the frame of citizenship education as objective competence for the common good. However, if we see that frame as one possibility amongst others, elimination of the pedagogical autonomy of parents, pupils and teachers would become problematic. In the Dutch context specifically, the current distrust in families and communities when it comes to democratic education goes against the principles behind the constitutional Freedom of Education (Van Rees 2021).

The historical variants of the science of citizenship education provide vocabularies to criticize the currently dominant approach. In order to formulate these critiques, it is necessary to realize that citizenship education is only one form that education for democracy can take, and that standardized measurement of achievement is only one way to scientifically understand education for democracy. Backed by a particular strand of educational science, the current approach to citizenship education does risk turning schools into institutes of the state, over and against the pedagogical role of parents and communities. Likewise, teachers could become representatives of the state in the classroom, responsible for cultivating the right attitudes and successful transmission of official knowledge on democracy. From a more personalistic point of view, as formulated by Kohnstamm, Langeveld and Imelman, that constitutes a major threat to the pedagogical relation between teacher and pupil. From a more critical perspective, it means the political pacification of teachers and education

in general. Compared with other historical forms of democratic education, the currently dominant form of citizenship education appears particularly built around centralized control of education at the expense of other pedagogical institutes. It places a lot of power in the hands of 'experts', and relatively little in the hands of pupils, parents, communities and teachers.

Instead of an integration of the pedagogical or socializing task of education into the framework of output-driven education and evaluation research, citizenship education could also be seen as a critical test case for this very educational model, as it indeed was by many historical actors. It shows how problematic the model is when it comes to contested educational goals and pedagogical tasks that go beyond the effective transmission of content. Instead of forcing education for democratic citizenship within the tight model of standardization, it could also function as providing another lens on education, schooling and pedagogy (Biesta 2018). For the attention for citizenship education that has been growing over the last thirty years does indicate that there is a broad dissatisfaction with the pedagogical and democratic functioning of schools. Maybe, the normalizing citizenship education that is currently being developed and implemented in policy and practice is not so much the solution, but rather a symptom of a problematic educational situation. Hopefully, the conversation on democracy and education can be broadened and enriched by the historical variants of education for democracy described in this dissertation.

VI. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Even though the research presented in this dissertation spans a full century and two countries, there are some obvious limitations, which in turn suggest avenues for further research on the history of democratic citizenship education. While the selected case studies did provide insights into educational and political discourses in specific scientific communities and textbooks, it is clear that these cannot simply be equated with developments in the two countries in general. Teachers College was one of the most important sites of educational research during the Interbellum, but was not the only place where progressive educators theorized and researched education for democracy (others leading academic institutes might include the University of Chicago, Harvard and the State University of Ohio). Similarly, *Pedagogische Studiën* was the most important Dutch educational journal for most of the twentieth century, but there were others in which the discussion on progressive education and citizenship education was taking place (for example *Vernieuwing van opvoeding en onderwijs*; *Comenius*; and *Pedagogiek*). Within the limited focus of this dissertation (the science of democratically neutral citizenship education in two countries), the study of other cases would lead to more representative and possibly different historical conclusions.

Secondly, the results suggest that similar studies on developments in other democratic countries would be worthwhile. Especially where the developments were similar in

the United States and the Netherlands, as in the case of the overlapping periods and the shifting position of teachers in relation to textbooks and educational policy described in chapters three and four, the question arises if these developments were specific for these two countries or rather part of more global changes (Fuchs & Roldán Vera 2019). The specific necessity of the recourse to the educational sciences and 'objectivity' as a means to formulate democratically acceptable forms of democratic education in these two countries also suggest comparable research on other democratic countries, with other educational systems. Especially democratic countries with more centralized educational systems (such as France) would present good comparisons to check the relative importance of the politics and science of education.

Next to other national contexts, further research within the context of the United States and the Netherlands would add to the insights formulated in this dissertation. The current research focused on the science of officially neutral democratic education, but that excludes large parts of schooling and scholarship in both countries. How did non-neutral education and educational science deal with the demands of democratic education? What kind of citizenship education took place in denominational schools, and how was it studied in denominational or explicitly ideological pedagogy? Studies into these questions would perhaps reveal even more strongly contrasting points of view compared to the currently dominant perspective on democratic citizenship education.

Furthermore, the research presented in this dissertation was limited to shifts in *dominant* discourses and perspectives on democratic citizenship education in sources that were quite selective to begin with. While the scientific communities of Teachers College and *Pedagogische Studiën* might have attempted to be inclusive at some level, it is obvious that the 'scientific' character of these communities also required gate-keeping (Van Hilvoorde 2002). Such processes have led to the inclusion of a rather homogeneous group of primarily white, upper and middle class men, and the exclusion of for instance voices of people of color, women and people with a working class background. Because of the setup of the research, the class, gender and ethnic dimensions of the science of democratic citizenship education has remained unexplored. A similar point should be noted about the textbook research presented in chapters three and four. The focus on books that were produced for the national market, while legitimate given the main research question, reiterates the views of historically dominant groups and places them at the center of historical narratives. Furthermore, by only looking at the *outcome* of struggles for dominance, competing scientific and educational ideas might be overlooked and silenced.

Relatedly, citizenship education was understood in this dissertation as part of formal education in schools. This is connected to the previous point, as the school was often the domain of 'official' knowledge and pedagogics, the place where political and cultural dominance was exerted. Challenging dominant ideas on democratic citizenship, perhaps in the form of more transformative education, might have taken place in other educational spaces. For the United States, the tradition of transformative out-of-school

political education has recently received growing scholarly attention, also historically (Gillespie 2021; Thornton 2017; Woysner 2006; Woysner, Watras & Smith Crocco 2010). For the Netherlands, this terrain remains as of jet relatively unexplored. As research in the American context has shown, a limited focus on official schooling and the curriculum risks the perpetuation of blind spots in educational history. In the case of democratic citizenship education, history from the margins might be even more important and revealing given the political nature of (the science of) citizenship education. While this aspect of citizenship education has been hinted at in the chapters, it remains a subject for further research in its own right.

Nederlandstalige samenvatting

POLITIEK ONDERWIJS. DE WETENSCHAP VAN DEMOCRATISCHE BURGERSCHAPSVORMING IN NEDERLAND EN DE VERENIGDE STATEN (1920-2020)

Burgerschapsvorming op school heeft de afgelopen decennia wereldwijd steeds meer aandacht gekregen in de onderwijswetenschapen, onderwijsbeleid en onderwijspraktijk. Onderzoekers en beleidsmakers stellen dat de democratische samenleving onder druk staat en dat daarom gericht burgerschapsonderwijs nodig is. Om tot effectief burgerschapsonderwijs te komen is het in hun ogen noodzakelijk om democratisch burgerschap in termen van eenduidige en meetbare onderwijsdoelen te formuleren. In vele nationale contexten wordt daarvoor gebruik gemaakt van de definities en operationalisaties van de International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). De verwevenheid van onderwijsbeleid, -wetenschap, en –praktijk aangaande een betwist onderwijsdoel als democratisch burgerschap roept vragen op. Er bestaan immers verschillende visies op democratisch burgerschap zelf, op hoe democratisch burgerschap via school kan worden bijgebracht en op wie daar op welk niveau en op welke gronden over mag beslissen. Met name de rol van een dominante wetenschappelijke benadering van burgerschapsvorming als eenduidig en meetbaar onderwijsdoel vraagt om kritische reflectie.

Dit proefschrift biedt die reflectie door middel van vergelijkend historisch onderzoek naar de ontwikkeling van onderwijswetenschappelijke kennis over burgerschapsvorming in twee landen. Het onderzoek richt zich op de Verenigde Staten van Amerika en Nederland, twee landen met een gedecentraliseerd onderwijsstelsel en een democratische afkeer voor 'staatspedagogiek'. Voor beide landen vormt de periode rond de Eerste Wereldoorlog, met de invoering van algemeen kiesrecht en de opkomst van de onderwijswetenschappen, een goed startpunt voor dit onderzoek. De centrale onderzoeksvraag van het proefschrift is: *Hoe is democratische burgerschapsvorming wetenschappelijk bestudeerd in interactie met onderwijsbeleid en onderwijspraktijk in de Verenigde Staten van Amerika en Nederland gedurende de afgelopen honderd jaar?* Het proefschrift bestaat uit vier hoofdstukken, waarvan de eerste twee zich richten op ontwikkelingen in de onderwijswetenschappen en de laatste twee op schoolboeken in de twee landen.

In **hoofdstuk 1** wordt een analyse van varianten van democratisch onderwijs op drie experimentele scholen van *Teachers College, Columbia University New York* gedurende het Interbellum gepresenteerd. Op basis van archiefmateriaal is nagegaan hoe verschillende vormen van wetenschappelijke kennis op deze scholen werd ingezet in de ontwikkeling van curricula voor modern democratisch burgerschap. Teachers College was gedurende de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw een van de belangrijkste instituten van *Progressive Education*, een verzamelnaam voor verschillende groepen die het onderwijs op wetenschappelijke basis wilden hervormen. Onderwijshistoricus Herbert Kliebard onderscheidde voor deze periode vier 'kampen', die elk op basis van hun eigen afzonderlijke wetenschappelijke inzichten voorstellen deden voor hervorming van het Amerikaanse curriculum: de humanisten, de

'child-development' beweging, de 'social efficiency' beweging, en de sociaal melioristen. Op Teachers College werkten prominente onderwijswetenschappers en filosofen van elk van deze kampen. De analyse in hoofdstuk 1 biedt een aanvulling op de bestaande literatuur over deze verschillende kampen en hun onderlinge strijd door te kijken naar de vertaling van hun ideeën naar de onderwijspraktijk op de drie scholen van Teachers College: Lincoln School, Horace Mann Elementary and High School for Girls, en Horace Mann High School for Boys. *Welke curricula voor democratisch burgerschap werden er op de experimentele scholen van Teachers College ontwikkeld, in interactie met wetenschappelijke inzichten, gedurende het Interbellum?*

De analyse toont een grote diversiteit van ontwikkelde curricula op de scholen gedurende deze periode, die elk op gestructureerde wijze uitdrukking gaven aan verschillende omvattende opvattingen over onderwijs, democratie en onderwijswetenschap. Zowel de praktijk als de wetenschap van democratisch burgerschapsonderwijs was met andere woorden pluriform op Teachers College gedurende het Interbellum. Op Lincoln School werd experimenteel, geïntegreerd onderwijs ontwikkeld, waarbij inzichten van de sociaal melioristen en child-development beweging werden gecombineerd. De theorieën van Abraham Flexner, John Dewey, en Harold Rugg waren hier invloedrijk. Daarnaast was de school georganiseerd als een model democratische samenleving, waarin de leerlingen inspraak en verantwoordelijkheden hadden. Op Horace Mann for Boys werd traditioneel humanistisch onderwijs verzorgd, gericht op het opvoeden van een democratische elite. Er werd daarbij gebruik gemaakt van inzichten van zowel humanisten als social efficiency denkers, zoals Edward Thorndike, William Bagley en Michael Demiashkevich. Discipline, vakkennis en karakterontwikkeling stonden centraal. Op Horace Mann Elementary and High School for Girls werden de inzichten van de child development beweging in praktijk gebracht, met veel geïntegreerd project onderwijs en zelfbestuur door leerlingen. Daarnaast was er veel aandacht voor liefdadigheid en vrijwilligerswerk. Met name de inzichten van William Kilpatrick, gedeeltelijk ontwikkeld terwijl hij op deze school werkte, waren invloedrijk.

De praktijk op de drie scholen lieten ieder zien dat democratisch burgerschapsonderwijs een bijzonder onderwijsdoel was. Het werd niet zozeer bij een specifiek vak onderwezen, maar vormde de kern van de specifieke onderwijsfilosofie van de scholen, die in de gehele school tot uitdrukking kwam. Iedere school vormde op zijn eigen manier een model samenleving, met een eigen cultuur, waarden en instituten, waarvan de leerlingen actieve leden waren. Daarnaast toont de analyse dat bij ieder van de varianten van democratische burgerschapsvorming op de scholen de vorm en inhoud van het onderwijs sterk verweven waren. Ook werd duidelijk dat democratische vorming zich iedere keer moest verhouden tot veranderingen in de samenleving, maar dat hier opnieuw de drie scholen hun eigen keuzes maakten. Als laatste werd duidelijk dat ieder van de scholen gebruik maakten van wetenschappelijke inzichten, maar dat altijd op een actieve manier deden: ze interpreteerden de kennis in het licht van hun eigen onderwijsfilosofie en –situatie, selecteerden en

combineerden inzichten, en ze ontwikkelden zelf ook weer wetenschappelijke inzichten op basis van hun onderwijspraktijk.

In **hoofdstuk 2** volgt een analyse van de wetenschappelijke discussie over democratie, onderwijs en burgerschapsvorming in het tijdschrift *Pedagogische Studiën* sinds de oprichting in 1920 tot 2020. Op basis van analyse van relevante artikelen en publicaties van vooraanstaande auteurs wordt nagegaan hoe democratische burgerschapsvorming in verschillende periodes werd gedefinieerd en bestudeerd in het tijdschrift. *Pedagogische Studiën* werd in 1920 opgericht als 'gemeenschappelijk studeerkamer' voor de recent opgekomen pedagogische- en onderwijswetenschappen in Nederland. Het tijdschrift had een progressieve doelstelling: tot onderwijsvernieuwing op basis van onderwijswetenschappelijke inzichten komen. Gedurende de twintigste eeuw werd het tijdschrift geleid door vooraanstaande Nederlandse pedagogen en onderwijswetenschappers uit verschillende tradities. *Hoe werd democratische burgerschapsvorming in Pedagogische Studiën wetenschappelijk bestudeerd, in interactie met onderwijsbeleid en –praktijk, sinds de oprichting in 1920 tot 2020?*

De analyse toont een grote verscheidenheid van visies op onderwijs, democratie en onderwijswetenschap in Pedagogische Studiën gedurende de afgelopen honderd jaar. Een daarvan, die pas relatief laat dominant werd, richt zich specifiek op burgerschapsvorming. Ook wordt duidelijk dat verschillende groepen pedagogen en onderwijswetenschappers het debat over democratische vorming in Pedagogische Studiën domineerden in verschillende perioden. Deze groepen hadden onderscheiden opvattingen over de rol van de school in een democratische samenleving, waarbij specifieke politieke, wetenschappelijke en pedagogische ideeën geïntegreerd waren. In alle perioden was een sterke tussen de *vorm* en *inhoud* van wetenschappelijke visies op democratie, onderwijs en burgerschapsvorming zichtbaar. Over de gehele periode was er sprake van een ontwikkeling richting een positivistische onderwijswetenschap, waarin burgerschapsvorming werd opgevat in termen van eenduidige, meetbare en individuele competenties.

In de periode tussen 1920 en de Tweede Wereldoorlog was het personalisme, in *Pedagogische Studiën* verwoord door met name J.H. Gunning en Ph.A. Kohnstamm, dominant. Binnen het personalisme werd pedagogiek opgevat als onderdeel van de filosofie, geïnformeerd door de sociale wetenschappen. Democratie werd opgevat als een politiek systeem en een politieke cultuur die de vrijheid en ontplooiing van het persoonlijk geweten garandeerde en stimuleerde en werd gekenmerkt door maatschappelijke pluraliteit. De personalisten steunden de vrijheid van onderwijs, maar pleitten ook voor democratische vorming door middel van didactische vernieuwingen. Burgerschapsvorming werd door de personalisten afgewezen als een vorm ondemocratische staatspedagogiek.

In de tweede periode, tussen 1945 en 1969, kwamen nieuwe perspectieven op onderwijs en democratie naar voren in *Pedagogische Studiën*. Het personalistische perspectief werd verwoord door M.J. Langeveld en anderen, met name in relatie tot een groot onderzoek naar de massajeugd. Maar daarnaast verschenen er nu geregeld bijdragen waarin democratie werd

opgevat als meritocratie, bijvoorbeeld door Ph. Idenburg. Onderwijsgelijkheid was voor deze auteurs van groot belang. Psycholoog A.D. de Groot, die de onderwijswetenschappen expliciet als onderdeel van sociale wetenschappen zag, formuleerde onderwijs voor democratie in termen van democratische basisvaardigheden die doelbewust ontwikkeld konden worden.

Tussen 1970 en 2000 waren er veel verschillende perspectieven zichtbaar in *Pedagogische Studiën*. Aan de ene kant waren er radicale voorstellen van verschillende onderwijssociologen, zoals L. Van Gelder en M. Matthijssen. Voor deze groep zou het onderwijs een nieuwe en waarlijk democratische sociale orde kunnen vormgeven. Daarnaast kwam er een groep op die onderwijs wilde vormgeven aan de hand van rigoureuze wetenschap en meetbare onderwijsdoelen. Zij formuleerden democratische vorming in termen van individuele sociale en emotionele ontwikkeling.

In de laatste periode, vanaf 2000, kwam de discussie in *Pedagogische Studiën* voor het eerst expliciet in het teken van 'burgerschapsvorming' te staan. In verschillende bijdragen stond het ontwikkelen van meetinstrumenten en nationaal beleid voor burgerschapsvorming centraal. Democratie werd steeds meer opgevat als nationale eenheid en gedeelde loyaliteit aan een aantal centrale democratische waarden. Dit leidde uiteindelijk tot de invoering van dwingend onderwijsbeleid rondom burgerschapsvorming.

Hoofdstuk 3 en 4 richten zich op (de interactie tussen) politieke en educatieve discoursen in schoolboeken voor de lagere middelbare school in de twee landen in de tweede helft van de twintigste eeuw. In hoofdstuk 3 wordt een kwalitatieve analyse van *American Civics* schoolboeken van grote Amerikaanse uitgevers tussen 1940 en 2005 gepresenteerd. En in hoofdstuk 4 volgt een vergelijkbare kwalitatieve analyse van *Maatschappijleer* boeken van grote Nederlandse uitgevers tussen 1963 en 2001. In beide gevallen zijn schoolboeken van grote nationale uitgevers, die politiek en religieus neutraal pretendeerden te zijn, geanalyseerd.

De resultaten voor de American Civics schoolboeken in **hoofdstuk 3** lieten drie opeenvolgde perioden zien, waarin specifieke visies op democratisch burgerschap en onderwijs dominant waren in de schoolboeken. Daarnaast werd duidelijk dat in iedere periode de politieke en educatieve discoursen sterk met elkaar samenhingen: ieder opvatting over democratie impliceerde een overeenkomstige didactische vorm.

De eerste periode, van 1940 tot 1969 werd gekenmerkt door een nadruk op consensus, het algemeen belang en morele vorming. Leerlingen leerden over het belang van samenwerking en het gevaar van egoïsme op persoonlijk, sociaal en politiek vlak. Het functioneren van de overheid werd in de schoolboeken op een positieve manier uitgelegd, met een nadruk op de verantwoordelijkheden van de burgers en het gevaar van partijpolitiek. In de tweede periode, van 1970 tot 1980, werden zowel democratie als onderwijs totaal anders gedefinieerd in de schoolboeken. Consensus maakte plaats voor conflict, en traditioneel onderwijs werd vervangen door experimenteel onderwijs. De 'New Social Studies', zoals ze werden genoemd, waren gericht op het ontwikkelen van de analytische en kritische vermogens

van de leerlingen, die daartoe wetenschappelijk moesten leren denken. In plaats van het aanleren van een constructieve en coöperatieve houding ten aanzien van de politiek, was er nu veel meer aandacht voor activisme en politieke strijd. In de laatste periode, van 1981 tot 2005, werd er weer afscheid genomen van politiek activisme en experimenteel onderwijs. Civics onderwijs werd weer traditioneler, met nu een sterke nadruk op kennisoverdracht en toetsing. Inhoudelijk werd democratie in deze periode steeds meer beperkt tot verkiezingen en bestuur. Er lag een grote nadruk op burgerlijke verantwoordelijkheden en het doen van vrijwilligerswerk.

In **hoofdstuk 4** over de Nederlandse Maatschappijleerboeken tussen 1963 en 2001, werden eveneens drie perioden onderscheiden. En ook hier was duidelijk sprake van een samenhang tussen politieke en educatieve discoursen in de schoolboeken. In de eerste periode, van 1963 tot 1974, werd democratisch burgerschap opgevat in termen van de 'gewortelde persoonlijkheid' en democratie in termen van maatschappelijke pluraliteit. Leerlingen moesten door middel van progressieve didactiek en persoonlijke begeleiding van de leraar hun eigen persoonlijkheid ontdekken en ontwikkelen. Daarbij was het van belang dat ze zich verbonden voelden met een gemeenschap en waardensysteem. Ook moesten ze tolerantie voor andere gemeenschappen en levensbeschouwingen en het vermogen tot samenwerken ontwikkelen. Het tegendeel van de democratische burger was in deze periode de massamens, die leidde aan 'ik-zwakte' en vatbaar was voor antidemocratische demagogie. In de tweede periode, van 1975 tot 1989, stond de ontwikkeling van kritisch burgerschap centraal in de schoolboeken. De didactiek werd expliciet experimenteel, met 'onderwijs-events', groepsgesprekken en projectonderwijs. Het idee was dat de noodzakelijk geachte omwenteling van de samenleving ook vroeg om een omwenteling van de verhoudingen in de klas. De boeken waren in deze periode 'antiautoritair' in vorm en inhoud. Zelfontplooiing, maatschappelijke bewustwording en emancipatie waren veelgenoemde doelstellingen. Democratie werd nu gelijkgesteld aan strijd voor rechtvaardigheid en een open, onderzoekende progressieve houding. Conservatisme en emotionele geslotenheid werden in deze periode gezien als het resultaat van gebrekkige (emotionele) ontwikkeling en het tegendeel van democratisch burgerschap. In de derde periode, van 1990 tot 2001, lag de nadruk bij Maatschappijleeronderwijs op succesvolle overdracht van eenduidige kennis en definities. Democratie werd gepresenteerd als gerealiseerd ideaal in Nederland en gedefinieerd in termen van individuele rechten, verkiezingen, belangenbehartiging en compromissen. De nadruk lag op de rechten en vooral plichten van de burgers. De leerlingen kregen op verschillende manieren te horen dat ze geluk hadden om in een land als Nederland te wonen, en dat ze hun dankbaar moesten tonen door aan hun burgerplicht te voldoen. Populisme en vreemdelinghaat werden gezien als het tegendeel van democratie.

In de afsluitende **Conclusie** worden op basis van de inzichten uit de verschillende hoofdstukken een aantal terugkerende historische patronen en ontwikkelingen benoemd. Ten eerste valt op dat de onderscheidde periodes en ontwikkelingen in Nederland en de Verenigde Staten veel gelijkenissen vertonen. In de periode voor de Tweede Wereld Oorlog

was er in beide landen sprake van didactische vernieuwing. Democratische vorming, zo was de gedachte, vroeg om progressieve onderwijsvormen waarin de persoonlijkheid van de leerlingen tot ontwikkeling kon komen. De nadruk op persoonlijke vorming bleef aanwezig na de Tweede Wereldoorlog, maar nu in combinatie met een nadruk op samenwerking en consensus. In de jaren '70 veranderde de opvattingen over onderwijs en democratie radicaal in beide landen, met experimentele vormen en een nadruk op kritisch burgerschap. Deze periode werd in beide landen gevolgd door standaardisering van het onderwijs gericht op het voldoen aan een wetenschappelijke norm voor democratisch burgerschap in de jaren '80 en '90. Aan de ene kant is een invloed vanuit de Verenigde Staten op de ontwikkelingen in Nederland in alle perioden zichtbaar, maar het lijkt ook aannemelijk dat de overlappende ontwikkelingen in beide landen uitdrukkingen zijn van bredere (Westerse of wereldwijde) ontwikkelingen in politiek, onderwijs en wetenschap.

Daarnaast wordt duidelijk dat de beschreven veranderingen in perspectieven op democratie en onderwijs in de twee landen iedere keer omvattend waren: een veranderende opvatting over burgerschapsonderwijs ging iedere keer gepaard met een veranderende opvatting over democratie, onderwijs, en onderwijswetenschap. Deze verschillende domeinen bleken historisch niet los van elkaar te zien. Daaraan gerelateerd liet ieder hoofdstuk zien dat de vorm en inhoud van democratische vorming in iedere variant sterk aan elkaar verbonden waren. Op de scholen van Teachers College, in de visies beschreven in *Pedagogische Studiën* en in de Amerikaanse en Nederlandse schoolboeken bleek keer op keer dat bepaalde politieke definities van democratisch burgerschap correspondeerden met specifieke pedagogische en didactische vormen. Voor democratische burgerschapsvorming bleek *wat* leerlingen leerden niet los te staan van *hoe* ze dat leerden. Dit bleek bovendien ook te gelden voor de wetenschappelijke bestudering van burgerschapsvorming. Ook hier bleken specifieke *vormen* van wetenschappelijk onderzoek nauw gerelateerd aan bepaalde *inhoudelijke* opvattingen over democratie, onderwijs en burgerschap. Daarnaast bleek dat wetenschappelijke theorievorming over en de praktijk van burgerschapsonderwijs steeds sterk was bepaald door (een vaak alarmistische analyse van) de maatschappelijke en politieke realiteit van het moment. In de conclusie worden deze laatste patronen omschreven als de *conceptuele* en *historische gesitueerdheid* van de wetenschap van democratische burgerschapsvorming.

Naast deze historische patronen laten de hoofdstukken samen een duidelijke overkoepelende ontwikkeling zien: democratische burgerschapsvorming in Nederland en de Verenigde Staten is over de laatste honderd jaar steeds verder gestandaardiseerd en genormaliseerd. Dat betekent dat het onderwijsbeleid, de onderwijswetenschap en de onderwijspraktijk rondom democratische vorming steeds meer georganiseerd zijn rondom een eenduidige en meetbare wetenschappelijke norm voor democratisch burgerschap. In de analyse van de discussie in *Pedagogische Studiën* en in de Amerikaanse en Nederlandse schoolboeken werd de laatste periode gekenmerkt door het formuleren van landelijke onderwijsdoelen voor burgerschap en een nadruk op het meten van onderwijsopbrengsten.

Het proefschrift sluit af met een kritische interpretatie van het huidige beleid over burgerschapsvorming in Nederland vanuit historisch perspectief. Daarbij wordt de huidige nadruk op eenduidigheid, consensus en meetbaarheid bekritiseerd vanuit de meerduidigheid en gesitueerdheid van de begrippen onderwijs, democratisch burgerschap en onderwijswetenschap, zoals die in het proefschrift naar voren komt. Burgerschapsvorming blijkt in de Nederlandse context een vrij specifieke variant van democratische vorming, die relatief recent dominant is geworden. Bovendien wordt er in de huidige aanpak weinig rekenschap gegeven van de *conceptuele* en *historische gestiueerdheid* van de gebruikte onderwijswetenschappelijke inzichten.

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APPENDIX

Appendix: Coding scheme and selected articles from *Pedagogische Studiën*

Categories	Codes	Key terms
Type of citizenship	Democratic personality	The whole child; development of conscience; non-standardized personal growth; tolerant and open-minded
	Socio-economic member of society	Economically self-sustaining; social mobility; socio-economic equality; meritocracy
	Politically active group member	Participation in decision making; classroom democracy; critical of societal structures
	Competent individual	Standardized moral, social and emotional development; interpersonal competences; pro-social attitudes; knowledge of social and political world
Research tradition	Geisteswissenschaftlich	Hermeneutics; Phenomenology; personal relation educator-child; development of conscience, normative science
	Empirical-analytic	Measurement; value-free ideal of science; experimental; 'onderwijskunde'; didactical analysis
	Critical pedagogy	Education in society; emancipation; relations of power; (counter-)socialization
Auxiliary science	Philosophy	Conceptual analysis, cultural-historical analysis
	Psychology	Measurement of individual achievement; developmental psychology; moral psychology; social psychology
	Sociology	Groups, socio-economic/ethnic background; relation between education/society
Relation to policy	Reflective	Science as independent from policy; the results of different forms of educational science are related to educational practice and policy, science does not provide clear-cut answers to policy questions
	Evaluative	Scientific study checks to what extent educational goals set by policymakers are reached; science does not reflect on or determine these goals; science only gives technical judgements, not normative ones
	Directive	Educational policy should be guided by the results of scientific study
Form	Essay	Argumentative text (includes texts arguing for more empirical studies)
	Empirical study	Reporting actual empirical study
	Case study	Reporting a case study

Year	Article number	Title	Authors
1924	1	*Het verband tusschen levensopvatting en paedagogiek*	Gunning, J.H.
	2	*Iets over het begrip "Vrijheid" paedagogisch beschouwd*	Gunning, J.H.
	3	*Paedagogische perspectieven*	Van Veen, G.
	4	*School en maatschappij*	Van Veen, G.
	5	*School en groote stad*	Van Veen, G.
	6	*Socialistische jeugdopvoeding*	Van Veen, G.
	7	*Tucht en vrijheid*	Drewes, A.J.
	8	*Zedelijke opvoeding. Algemene probleemstelling*	Gunning, J.H.
1925	9	*Zelf-bestuur*	Gunning, J.H.
	10	*Self-government*	Diels, P.A.
1926	11	*Gemeenschap en individu in de paedagogiek van Foerster*	Kohnstamm, Ph.
	12	*Over het aankweken van moed in de opvoeding*	Perdeck, A.
1927	13	*Democraten en Aristocraten*	Diels, P.A.
	14	*De roeping van onze school in onze dagen I*	Gunning, J.H.
	15	*De roeping van onze school in onze dagen II*	Gunning, J.H.
	16	*De roeping van onze school in onze dagen III*	Gunning, J.H.
1931	17	*De paedagogische eisch van den tijd*	Gunning, J.H.
1933	18	*Iets over de paedagogische betekenis van nationale herdenkingsdagen*	Gunning, J.H.
	19	*Gelijkgeschakelde Paedagogiek*	Gunning, J.H.
	20	*De school als selectief orgaan*	Luning Prak, J.
1934	21	*Levensbeschouwing en opvoedingsvragen*	Brugmans, H.J.F.W.
	22	*Democratie, dictatuur en opvoeding I*	Kohnstamm, Ph.
	23	*Democratie, dictatuur en opvoeding II*	Kohnstamm, Ph.
1935	24	*Paedagogische spanningen in dezen tijd*	Gunning, J.H.
1937	25	*De courant in het staatsinrichtingonderwijs*	Duyverman, J.P.
	26	*Humanistische opvoeding*	Gunning, J.H.
1938	27	*Jeugdorganisatie*	Van Veen, G.
1939	28	*De statistische methode in dienst van wetenschappelijke onderwijsleiding*	Idenburg, Ph.J.
	29	*Nieuwere stromingen in het staatsinrichting-onderwijs*	Duyverman, J.P.
1940	30	*Het zevende leerjaar. Sociale, politieke en culturele aspecten*	Brugmans, H.J.F.W.
	31	*Strijdvragen en vraagpunten in het staatswetenschappelijk onderwijs*	Duyverman, J.P.
	32	*Herbart's leertrappen in het staatswetenschappelijk onderwijs*	Duyverman, J.P.
	33	*Piaget's conceptie van het kinderspel en spelregels in zijn voorbereidende analyse van de kinderlijke moraliteit*	Langeveld, M.J.
1946	34	*Taak en positie der paedagogogiek in de opbouw ener nieuwe gemeenschap*	Kohnstamm, Ph.
	35	*Existentialisme, personalisme en paedagogiek*	Kohnstamm, Ph.

Year	Article number	Title	Authors
	36	*Onderwijsvernieuwing en democratie*	Nieuwenhuis, H.
	37	*Over de infantiliserende invloed van de moderne maatschappij op de jeugd*	Plessner, H.
	38	*Onderwijshervorming I*	Prins, D.H.
1948	39	*Sociale misstanden en de school*	Boswinkel, W.
	40	*De toekomst van ons volksonderwijs*	Van Houte, I.C.
	41	*Over menswaardigheid, de kinderen en de opvoedkunde*	Langeveld, M.J.
	42	*Schoolopvoeding*	Nieuwenhuis, H.
	43	*Sociologische aspecten van 'vernieuwing'*	Scheffer, M.C.J.
	44	*Planning, een zaak van reële onderwijspolitiek*	De Vries, J.
1949	45	*Enkele sociaal-pedagogische beschouwingen*	Nieuwenhuis, H.
	46	*Practische democratie op school*	Ringrose, J.H.
	47	*Interculturele paedagogiek*	Stellwag, H.W.F
1950	48	*Is de Deense school niet democratisch?*	Hedegaard Jensen, E.
	49	*Persoonlijkheid en opvoeding*	Kohnstamm, Ph.
1951	50	*Enkele praktische vragen bij de organisatie van centra voor de opvoeding tot internationaal begrip*	Langeveld, M.J.
	51	*De geestelijke grondslag van de openbare school*	Nieuwenhuis, H.
	52	*Persoon en gemeenschap in de Nederlandse onderwijsvernieuwing*	Van der Velde, I.
1953	53	*Opvoeding tot democratie*	De Boer, D.
	54	*Opvoeding en vrijheid van de mens*	Langeveld, M.J.
	55	*Het probleem van de 'halve vrijheid'*	Ringrose, J.H.
	56	*Vrijheid en zelfstandigheid als schoolse wensobjecten*	Van der Velde, I.
	57	*Aangemeten vrijheid*	Van Willigen, D.M.
1955	58	*De eigen aard van het Nederlandse onderwijsstelsel*	Kohnstamm, Ph.
	59	*Het vak kennis van het culturele en maatschappelijke leven*	Noordam, N.F.
1956	60	*Sociometrische verkenning in jeugdgroepen I*	Govers, A.J.
	61	*Sociometrische verkenning in jeugdgroepen II*	Govers, A.J.
	62	*Sociometrische verkenning in jeugdgroepen III*	Govers, A.J.
	63	*Opvoeding en onderwijs in deze tijd*	Idenburg, Ph.J.
	64	*Gezag en vrijheid*	Stellwag, H.W.F
1957	65	*De Britse comrehensive school*	Brouwer, W.H.
	66	*Wenselijkheden en moeilijkheden rondom de 'comprehensive-school'-gedachte*	Nieuwenhuis, H.
	67	*Welke kansen heeft de comprehensive school in Nederland?*	Stellwag, H.W.F
1958	68	*Onderwijs in menselijke verhoudingen I*	Van de Griend, P.C.
	69	*Onderwijs in menselijke verhoudingen II*	Van de Griend, P.C.

Year	Article number	Title	Authors
	70	*Toekomstbeeld van het onderwijs*	Idenburg, Ph.J.
1959	71	*Het maatschappelijk aspect met name van de schoolopvoeding*	Gielen, J.J.
	72	*Jeugd en generatie in sociologisch perspectief*	Van Hessen, J.
	73	*"Gelijkheid van kansen"*	Idenburg, Ph.J.
	74	*Karakteropvoeding en pedagogische ontmoeting I*	De Miranda, F
	75	*Karakteropvoeding en pedagogische ontmoeting II*	De Miranda, F
	76	*Existentialisme en onderwijsvernieuwing*	Prins, F.W.
1960	77	*Overdenkingen over het mensbeeld*	Bouwman, Th. L.M.
	78	*Opvoeding en onderwijs in een maatschappelijk krachtenveld*	Van der Lely, E.H.F.
	79	*Doel en taak der openbare school in verband met het godsdienstonderwijs*	Palland, B.G.
	80	*Jeugd in de wereld van heden*	Perquin, N.C.A.S.J.
1961	81	*Grotere vrijheid van inrichting van het onderwijs gewenst*	Diepenhorst, F.A.
	82	*De brugschool van Langeveld*	Post, P.
1962	83	*Het ideaal van de optimale ontwikkeling der talenten en de pedagogische structuur van het schoolwezen*	Idenburg, Ph.J.
	84	*De organisatie van de onderwijsvernieuwing*	Nieuwenhuis, H.
	85	*Sociaal-pedagogische aspecten van de kleuterpedagogiek*	Wilmink, A.J.
1963	86	*De invloed van groepswerk op de sociale aanpassing en de individuele leerprestaties van leerlingen uit de zesde klas van de lagere school*	Van Duinen, G.
	87	*Welverdeeld naar de openbare school*	Den Toom, G.F.
1964	88	*Maastchappijleer bij het voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs*	Perquin, N.C.A.S.J.
	89	*De gezagscrisis in de opvoeding*	Stellwag, H.W.F
1965	90	*Enkele opmerkingen over programmering en methodiek van het vak maatschappijleer bij het v.h.m.o.*	W. Langeveld
	91	*Kunnen bepaalde kraktertekorten bij kleuters, samenhangend met problemen van sociologische aards, opgeheven worden?*	Nijkamp, W.M.
	92	*Inhoudelijke en terminologische kwesties rond het 'vak' maatschappijleer*	Perquin, N.C.A.S.J.
1966	93	*Opvoeding, vorming en onderwijs*	De Block, A.
	94	*De ontmoeting van kind en wereld in het basisonderwijs*	Deen, N.
	95	*Leraarsopleiding, groepsprocessen en democratische gezindheid. Een vergelijkende beschouwing*	Van de Griend, P.C.
	96	*Sociaal functioneren*	Van der Meer, Q.L.Th.
	97	*Opvoedkundige en maatschappij*	Vliegenthart, W.E.
1967	98	*Bubers rede 'Uber Charaktererziehung' tegen de achtergrond van zijn leven en leer*	Turksma, R.

Year	Article number	Title	Authors
	99	*De sociale betekenis van de wet op het voortgezet onderwijs*	Van de Griend, P.C.
	100	*De problematiek van de scholengemeenschappen binnen het kader van de mammoetwet*	Pelosi, E.
1969	101	*Vermaatschappelijking van het onderwijs I*	Grandia, J.H.N.
	102	*Vermaatschappelijking van het onderwijs II*	Grandia, J.H.N.
1970	103	*Vermaatschappelijking van het onderwijs III*	Grandia, J.H.N.
	104	*Naar een constructieve onderwijspolitiek*	Idenburg, Ph.J.
	105	*Ijking van de AVL, de Nederlandse bewerking van de Study of Values van Allport, Vernon en Lindzey*	Mellenbergh, G.J., & Wolff-Alberts, A.D.
	106	*Study of Values*	Simmer, M.J.
	107	*Mensen maken voor morgen*	Van Weelden, J.
1971	108	*Onderwijs in groepsverband*	Van den Bosch, L.J.
	109	*Misverstanden rondom de middenschool*	Van Gelder, L., & Vos, J.
	110	*De Struktuur der Onderwijsvernieuwing*	Idenburg, Ph.J.
1972	111	*Misverstanden rondom de middenschool*	Dodde, N.L.
	112	*De Utopie in het Onderwijsbeleid*	Idenburg, Ph.J.
	113	*De problematiek van de middenschool*	Jansz, D.
	114	*Autoritaire/anti-authoritaire opvoeding, dubieze polariteit*	Wilmink, A.J.
1973	115	*Het stimuleren van het vermogen tot 'critisch denken' als doelstelling van onderwijs*	Christiaans, C., & Van Hoogstraten, J.
	116	*Beïnvloeding van sociaal gedrag in de school*	Van Lieshout, C.F.M., Leckie, G., & Smits-van Sonsbeek, B.
	117	*Effect van sociale reïnforcement op spelgedrag van een peuter*	Van Lieshout, C.F.M., Wentink, E., Yap Sioe Lan, & Smits-van Sonsbeek, B.
	118	*Gedrag, handeling en betekenis I*	Spiecker, B.
	119	*Gedrag, handeling en betekenis II*	Spiecker, B.
	120	*Gedrag, handeling en betekenis III*	Spiecker, B.
1975	121	*Pedagogiek en socialisatie-onderzoek. Een analyse van de vooronderstellingen aangaande de begrippen 'opvoeding' en 'socialisatie'*	Groenendijk, L.F., & Spiecker, B.
	122	*Gedragsbeoordeling door onderwijzers I*	Meijer, R.W.J.
	123	*Gedragsbeoordeling door onderwijzers II*	Meijer, R.W.J.
1976	124	*De ideologie der zelfontplooiing*	Duijker, H.C.J.
	125	*Opvoedkunde en opvoedkundig onderzoek*	Fokkema, S.D.

Year	Article number	Title	Authors
1977	126	*De verliezer wint. Zelfontplooiing en het onderwijs*	Duijker, H.C.J.
	127	*Zelfontplooiing. Ideologie of realiteit?*	Huizinga, G.
	128	*Maaschappijleer op orde? Opmerkingen bij een nota*	W. Langeveld
1978	129	*Kohlbergs theorie van de morele opvoeding. Analyse en kritiek*	Hintjes, J.J., & Spiecker, B.
	130	*Gelijke kansen in het onderwijs*	Klauer, K.J.
1979	131	*Deontische competenties. Vaardigheden in het omgaan met normen en verplichtingen*	Heymans, P.G.
	132	*Kohlberg en onderwijs*	Simons, P.R.J.
	133	*Van Spoetnik tot Watergate. Repliek bij de commentaren*	Hintjes, J.J., & Spiecker, B.
1980	134	*Onderwijsprogramma's gericht op de sociale ontwikkeling. Een overzicht en een uitzicht*	Gerris, J.R.M.
	135	*Affectieve doelstellingen in het onderwijs. Exploratie van een probleemgebied*	Kremers, E.J.J.
1981	136	*Vrijheid als grondbegrip van de pedagogiek I*	Steutel, J.W.
	137	*Vrijheid als grondbegrip van de pedagogiek II*	Steutel, J.W.
1983	138	*Naar een verbreding van onderwijsaanbod?*	Leune, J.M.G.
	139	*Sociale competentie. Een perspectief voor de middenschool*	Matthijssen, M.A.J.M.
1984	140	*Curriculumverandering en intercultureel onderwijs*	Alkan, M., & Baud, E.
	141	*Beleid ten aanzien van culturele minderheden. Een kritische beschouwing*	Dekker, J.A., Ten Doesschatte, J.J., & Schuurman, W.H.
	142	*De 'is-ought question'*	Van Haaften, A.W.
	143	*Een ontwikkelingstheoretische benadering van de 'is-ought question'*	Van Haaften, A.W.
	144	*De multi-etnische en multi-culturele samenleving van straks. Integratie nader beschouwd*	Stietetam, K.
	145	*Opvoeding van (morele) emoties. Een theoretisch-pedagogische verkenning*	Spiecker, B.
	146	*Opvoeding, deugden en motieven*	Steutel, J.W.
	147	*Een beeld van maatschappijleer*	Vis, J.C.P.M.
1986	148	*Indoctrinatie in opvoeding en onderwijs*	Spiecker, B.
	149	*Morele argumentatie en bezorgdheid over kernbewapening. Enkele empirische studies onder jongeren*	Van Ijzendoorn, M.H.
1987	150	*Enkele controversiële onderwijsdoelstellingen in de context van evaluatie*	Doddema-Winsemius, H., & Hofstee, W.K.B.
	151	*Sociaal-emotionele ontwikkeling van leerlingen van een MLK-school en LOM-school*	Geurts, C.M.A.G., Linsen, C.M.H.H., Ten Brink, P.W.M., & van Lieshout, C.F.M.

Year	Article number	Title	Authors
	152	*De verwevenheid van feiten en normen en de rechtvaardiging van pedagogische uitspraken*	Van Haaften, A.W.
	153	*De verwevenheid van feit en norm als praktisch probleem*	Imelman, J.D., & Meijer, W.A.J.
	154	*De identiteit van het (bijzonder) onderwijs als modern normatief pedagogisch probleem*	Imelman, J.D., & Tolsma, R.
	155	*Controversiële onderwijsdoelstellingen?*	Labordus, I., & Van Bruggen, J.C.
1988	156	*Het onbewuste sociale leren. Het verborgen curriculum in theorie en onderzoek*	Klaassen, C.A.C.
1989	157	*Over morele en intellectuele deugden*	Steutel, J.W.
1990	158	*Ouderlijke opvoedingsgedragingen, empathie en prosociale ontwikkeling van het kind*	Janssen, J.M.A.M., Gerris, J.R.M., & Janssen, A.W.H.
1991	159	*Diversiteit in de morele oordelen van scholieren. Een onderzoek naar Kohlbergs structurele-eenheidspostulaat*	De Mey, L.
1992	160	*Waardeoriëntaties in de Nederlandse onderwijspolitiek. Een vergelijkende studie*	Karstens, S., Groot, C.A.M, & Ruiz, M.A.
1993	161	*Morele oordeelsvorming bij 'antisociale' jongeren en scholieren*	De Mey, L.
1995	162	*Cognitieve en sociaal-emotionele vaardigheden van kleuters in relatie to hun etnische afkomst*	De Jong, P.F., Klapwijk, M.J.G., & Van der Leij, A.
1996	163	*De deugdenbenadering van de morele opvoeding. Een poging tot conceptuele verheldering*	Steutel, J.W.
	164	*Oudere kinderen en hun begrip van discriminatie*	Verkuyten, M., Kinket, B., & Van der Wielen, Ch.
	165	*Autoritarisme en etnocentrisme bij leerlingen uit lagere opleidingsniveaus*	Vollebergh, W.A.M.
1997	166	*De normatieve taak van de school en culturele verscheidenheid*	Leune, J.M.G.
	167	*Gehechtheid, onluikende moraliteit en agressie. Naar een sociaal-emotioneel model van antisociaal gedrag*	Van Ijzendoorn, M.H.
	168	*Intercultureel onderwijs in het licht van sociale integratie*	Fase, W.
	169	*Sociale integratie. Omstreden in theorie en praktijks*	Heyting, G.F., & Meijen, G.W.
2002	170	*Het sociale karakter van kritisch denken. Didactische richtlijnen*	Ten Dam, G., & Volman, M.
2003	171	*Samenwerking in de multiculturele klas. Culturele normen en samenwerkingspatronen*	Elbers, E., & De Haan, M.
	172	*De pedagogische opdracht in een multi-ethnische context. Decentendilemma's*	Leeman, Y.A.M.
2005	173	*Effecten van programma's ter bevordering van de sociale competenties in het Nederlandse primair onderwijs*	Van Overveld, C.W., & Louwe, J.J.

Year	Article number	Title	Authors
	174	*Sociale competentie als onderwijsdoel. De rol van etnische schoolcompositie en stedelijke omgeving van de school*	Ten Dam, G., Volman, M., Van der Veen, I., & Zwaans, A.
2006	175	*Discussie democratie leren. Van der Hoeven en De Winter over onderwijs en burgerschapsvorming*	Veugelers, W.
2007	176	*Contrasten en praktijken. Waardevormend onderwijs en burgerschapsvorming op drie vwo-scholen*	Leenders, H., Veugelers, W., & De Kat, E.
	177	*Op zoek naar de pedagogische betekenis van onderwijs. Voorbij functionalisme en paradigmadruk*	Kelchtermans, G., & Simons, M.
	178	*Twee ontwerpen voor waardevormend geschiedenisonderwijs. Een effectstudie*	Schuitema, J.A., Veugelers,W., Rijlaarsdam, G., & Ten Dam, G.
	179	*Spanningsvolle situaties in etnisch-heterogene klassen. Ervaringen van leerlingnen*	Radstake, H., Leeman, Y., & Meijnen, W.
	180	*De verschillende gezichten van moreel-kritische situaties. Emoties, overwegignen en handelingnen van docenten*	Maas, S., Klaassen, C., & Denessen, E.
	181	*Determinanten van burgerschapsvorming bij jongeren. Een internationaal vergelijkend onderzoek naar kiesintenties bij 14-jarigen*	Hooghe, M., Reeskens, T., Kavadias, D., & Claes, E.
2008	182	*Discussie Maatschappijleer als burgerschapsvorming. Het accent van de wetgever op kennis van rechtsstaat en parlementaire democratie*	Vis, J., & Veldhuis, R.
2010	183	*Bugerschapscompetenties. De ontwikkeling van een meetinstrument*	Ten Dam, G., Geijsel, F., Reumerman, R., & Ledoux, G.
	184	*Socio-emotionele geïntegreerde leerlingbegeleiding op school. De constructvaliditeit en betrouwbaarheid van de SEG-vragenlijst*	Jacobs, K., & Struyf, E.
2011	185	*Bugerschapscompetenties van jongeren in Nederland*	Ledoux, G., Geijsel, F., Reumerman, R., & Ten Dam, G.
	186	*Selectie en differentiatie in het Nederlandse onderwijsbestel. Gelijkheid, burgerschap en onderwijsexpansie in vergelijkend perspectief*	Van de Werfhorst, H.G.
2014	187	*Comprehensief onderwijs een bedrijging voor kwaliteit? Een heranalyse van Rinderman en cici (2009)*	Lavrijsen, J., & Nicaise, I.
	188	*Sociaal emotioneel klimaat in de klas*	Brekelmans, M., Van Tartwijk, J., & Severiens, S.
	189	*De docent en het sociale klimaat in de klas. Een exploratieve studie naar verschillende aspecten van docent-leerling relaties*	Claessens, L.C.A., Pennings, H.J.M., Van der Want, A.C., Brekelmans, M., Den Brok, P., & Van Tartwijk, J.

Year	Article number	Title	Authors
2015	190	*Gender en etnische diversiteit op school. Een kwantitatief onderzoek naar genderverschillen in de relatie tussen etnische diversiteit en interetnische vriendschap*	Thys, S.
	191	*De toegevoegde waarde van traditioneel vernieuwingsonderwijs: een studie naar de verschillen in cognitieve en niet-cognitieve opbrengsten tussen daltonscholen en traditionele scholen voor primair onderwijs 2*	Sins, P.H.M., & Van der Zee, S.
	192	*De invloed van het verkorten van de heterogene brugperiode op leerprestaties, burgerschap, en motivatie: een quasi-experimentele case study*	Elffers, L., Van de Werfhorst, H.G., & Fischer, M.M.
2019	193	*Sturing van burgerschapsvorming door de overheid? Tussen staatspedagogiek en persoonlijkheidspedagogiek*	Dijkstra, A.B., Ten Dam, G., & Waslander, S.
	194	*Kritisch denken als een 21ste-eeuwse vaardigheid: veelbelovende aanpakken voor de onderwijspraktijk*	Voogt, J.M., Veltman, M.E., & Van Keulen, J.