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SUMMARY

Education and politics in deliberative democracy: Democratic arrangement of educational authority

The relation between education, politics and law is a knotty problem of all time. It is an inexhaustable source of tension and issues because of the often contradictory needs, interests, claims and aspirations at stake. These days this finds expression in several *practical* controversies and conflicts and in a broad *theoretical* interest.

On the practical level one can think of debates and disputes on

minority rights, parental choice and the right to educate, for example, on the freedom of religious and ethnic minorities to establish their own educational institutions, on the freedom of parents to ensure their children's education according to their own beliefs and practices, and on the clash between such rights to educate and the children's right to an adequate education;

parental rights and parental duties, for example, on questions of state interference in family life, on the tension between *public* responsibility for children's welfare and *parental* autonomy and privacy, and on the moral and legal meaning and relevance of consanguinity, procreation and childbearing (natural or genetic parenthood);

children's rights, for example, on the justification of inequalities between children and adults regarding legal and moral rights and duties, on the say children (are to) have in educational issues, and on the obligation of the state to protect children's welfare rights and rights of freedom.

The interest on the theoretical level is strikingly broad. Numerous clarifications, criticisms, contemplations, analyses, et cetera are recently (since the beginning of the eighties) devoted to issues connected with the relation between education, politics and law —published in books, articles and special issues of journals.

This study aims at being a contribution to this discussion. Foremost (but not exclusively) I am interested in the complicated relation between the right to education, the freedom to educate and parental choice —complicated because of the tension between state responsibility and the rights of parents and minorities, especially in a multicultural and multiethnic society. This is not an empirical study, but a normative philosophical study. Besides educational theory and the philosophy of education the focus is primarily on political philosophy. Notwithstanding all the philosophizing the interest is from first to last more pragmatcal and practical than analytical and theoretical. My main and ultimate aim is not to take part in the scientific debate and the philosophical controversy, but to help to clarify and answer burning issues and topical questions.

The study consists of three parts: (1) Democratic arrangement of educational authority, (2) reflexivity, education and democracy and (3) education, politics and law.

The first part starts with the presentation and explanation of a proposal for arranging educational authority. It tries to delineate the most reasonable and just way to arrange educational authority under the circumstances, that is: in our cultural and societal context. I call it '*the democratic arrangement of educational authority*'. It can be summarized as follows:

In a democracy children's learning is a public matter: a matter of public interest and public

responsibility. Therefore, education figures on the agenda comprising of matters which are to be democratically (collectively and rationally) discussed and decided upon. The state has to see to it that all children get the opportunity to learn adequately and sufficiently. State interference in and control of educational practices is necessary, but in a democracy it has to remain modest, because democracy takes pluriformity seriously.

The democratic state restricts its interference and control to learning at school. Compulsory education guarantees all children education in qualified schools. A school is authorized if (1) its curriculum satisfies the 'public curriculum requirements' and (2) its education is 'pedagogically adequate' —at least where the governmentally required parts are concerned.

(ad 1): the public curriculum requirements = outcome of collective and rational deliberation and decision-making regarding learning and education and curricular questions; expressed in government regulation.

(ad 2): pedagogically adequate = broadening and improving knowledge and understanding, increasing capacities and practising reflexivity.

The ideal of modest state control and interference implies the pursuit of minimizing the concentration of educational authority. Because of this, democracy attaches great value to the right to educate (the freedom to educate). A private school can get authorized as a qualified school if it meets the public standards. Besides and surrounding compulsory parts of the curriculum there is opportunity for extra 'private' educational activities. The private addition is allowed in so far as it doesn't jeopardize the quality of the education in the compulsory parts.

State interference in and control over education ought to entail more than determining public curriculum requirements and supervising or inspecting private schools. The state also has the duty to guarantee that adequate education is supplied sufficiently everywhere. Where and when there is demand for more education or different education than supplied by private schools, the state has to provide public education.

Complementary to the right to educate (the freedom to supply private education) is the freedom to choose a school. Parents are the bearers of this freedom; hence it can be called 'parental choice'. Why the parents? They have the daily care of and responsibility for the child and are therefore under the obligation to choose good education. The parental freedom poses no threat to the right, the freedom or the interests of the child, because the freedom of choice is limited. Parents can only choose among qualified schools.

Democratic arrangement of educational authority requires a lively public discussion on educational issues on different levels and places within society. Without widespread and permanent deliberation about education both the participants in the political debates and the relevant governmental institutions would lack the necessary information and orientation.

After the presentation and preliminary justification in chapter 1, in chapter 2 the proposal is compared to three partly corresponding proposals (by Gutmann, Crittenden and Imelman).

Democratic arrangement of educational authority implies public interference with the education of all children. The proposal has to reckon with opposition and distrust: people are afraid of state control and protective of civil rights and freedoms (privacy, freedom of religion, etc). Historically, however, resistance against public interference with education is not so much a liberal stance, as characteristic of minorities and other subcommunities, in particular of (religious) denominations —certainly in the Netherlands— and ethnic groups. Such subcommunities are mostly not concerned for individual rights and freedoms, but for the conservation of tradition,

preservation of cultural identity, relative independence, et cetera. Representatives and advocates of such subcommunities are the most difficult of opponents—at least from a theoretical perspective. Chapter 3 tries to find out how and to what extent even *they* can be persuaded to acknowledge the reasonableness and fairness of the democratic arrangement of educational authority.

The proposal that has been presented, compared with three corresponding proposals and superficially accounted for in Part 1, is justified in more detail in Part 2. The foundation is constituted of some anthropological and epistemological assumptions and the resulting educational and political principles. The basic anthropological and epistemological assumptions concern reflexivity and human knowledge. They are elaborately defined and discussed in subchapters 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3. In subchapter 4.4 the educational principles are derived from this. Chapter 5 exposes and explains the political principles: the principles of deliberative democracy. The democratic principles can be derived from the basic anthropological and epistemological assumptions, independently from the educational principles. The final chapter of Part 2 indicates how the educational and political principles leave no other choice than democratic arrangement of educational authority, as proposed in Part 1 (Chapter 6).

In Part 3 some of the matters and issues discussed in Part 1 and 2 are reflected upon once again, now being considered in terms of *rights*. Chapter 7 questions the idea that children have a right to education. In the foregoing this notion is more or less taken for granted: in deliberative democracy children have such a right and adults collectively bear the corresponding duties and responsibilities. However, whether children can be bearers of rights is a moot point and the suggestion of regarding education as something to which one can have a right is controversial too. Here it is explained why it is indeed appropriate to speak of a children's right to education. Next the connection between this right of children and parental rights is scrutinized. First it is examined to whom parental rights belong. The supposition that parental rights over children stem from parental obligations towards these children, seems plausible, but the equally accepted view that not only *normally*, but also *ideally* the *natural* parents bear the obligations and along with this the rights, seems less justifiable. Secondly some attention is given to parental rights that are not immediately concerned with education, but with procreation, childbearing, care of children and dealing with children. Finally the chapter discusses parental say in education at school. Is parental choice in combination with freedom to educate sufficient when we take rights of parents just as seriously as children's right to an adequate education?

Chapter 8 challenges the idea and custom that children do not have rights of participation. Even in the deliberative democracy children are not allowed to participate in political deliberation and decision-making. What justifies this inequality? Where lies the dividing line between political immaturity and political maturity? And why there? The usual *age* threshold for political competence seems to be unfair. At least the common justification is unreasonable. An alternative is suggested for both the determination of a dividing line as well as the justification of an age threshold. In passing the age discrimination in private and criminal law is criticized.

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