Research on the Christian Philosophy of Education in the Netherlands: a historical approach[*]

Yong Joon (John) Choi[**]

ABSTRACT

This article deals with the Christian philosophy of education in the Netherlands from a historical perspective. First, the purpose of Christian philosophy of education is briefly discussed. After that, the history of Dutch education is briefly surveyed and is categorized into four different types and stages. The first stage is in the 16-17th centuries where Calvinism was dominant in education after achieving independence from Spanish rule. Reformed church leaders played a crucial role in this period. The second part is the 18th century when France ruled the Netherlands with ideas of the Enlightenment which introduced public school system by the state. However, this philosophy actually promoted humanism in the public sphere. Thirdly, the so called 'school struggle' initiated by the neo-Calvinists such as G. Groen van Prinsterer and A. Kuyper is dealt with. They have tried to restore Christian education through private schools and to receive the financial support from the government. Fourthly, pluralism since the second part of the 20th century is explained due to the influence of post-modernism. After that, one case study of the 'vrijgemaakte reformed school' which tries to preserve the Christian identity ends the main body. Finally, a conclusion is drawn by suggesting the lessons and implications of this research for Christian education in Korea.

Key Words : Dutch Christian Education, Calvinism, Enlightenment, Neo-Calvinism, Pluralism

I. Introduction

Christian philosophy of education is a science reflecting on the sphere of education from the Christian perspective (Knight, 2006; Anthony & Benson, 2003: 381-409). As the foundation of Christian education, therefore, it directs the principle of education based on the Christian worldview and philosophy. One country where this Christian worldview and philosophy have been well developed is the Netherlands since it has produced various scholars and has many old Christian schools. Korea has also its own history and tradition of Christian education but many Christian schools have been secularized due to various reasons. Consequently, it is necessary for us to research the Dutch Christian philosophy of education in order to learn from it and to establish the right identity and Christian philosophy of education in Korea.

Many Korean scholars have already done quite a lot of research on this subject. To mention just a few, first of all, S.G. Cho has published many articles such as the history of the Christian school movement in the Netherlands (2009: 21-52) and on the idea of Christian education of Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (2009: 9-31), on the philosophy of education of Herman Bavinck who, following Abraham Kuyper, taught systematic theology and Christian pedagogy at the Free University in Amsterdam (2015: 101-131), on the philosophy of education of Jan Waterink who taught Christian education for the first time as the professor at the same university (2013: 55-82) and furthermore on the thought of Cornelius Jaarsma who taught Christian education at Calvin College in Michigan, U.S.A from the Dutch reformed tradition (1993: 18-35) and on the method of research on general education theory in Dutch Christian philosophy of education (2008: 220-255). Secondly, G.C. Ryu has done research on the foundation of Kuyper's thought on Christian education (2009: 32-54). Lastly S.J. Han did his study on the human education philosophy of Herman Dooyeweerd who had followed Kuyper to develop Christian philosophy (2009: 55-76).

But in this article, I present research on the stream of the Christian philosophy of education not by focusing on thinkers but by looking at it from the historical perspective, dividing it into four different stages. The reason why I think this approach is necessary is because I believe that by looking at how the Dutch Christians have responded to the stream of *Zeitgeist*, Korean Christian educators might have some insights. Therefore, the first stage of this article deals with the Calvinistic philosophy of education in the 16-17th centuries when the Netherlands

became independent from Spain and established some Christian private schools. Secondly, I discuss the modern Enlightenment ideal especially when France ruled the Netherlands in the beginning of the 18th century by initiating the public school system through the government. This philosophy actually promoted humanism in the public sphere. Thirdly, I deal with neo-Calvinism which was developed by Kuyper and his followers from the 19th century over against the modern Enlightenment ideal. They made the so-called 'school struggle' and started the movement of Christian private education. This part is the most central one of this article. After that, I talk about pluralism which has been so popular in Holland since the second half of the 20th century. Then, the Christian philosophy of 'vrijgemaakte (liberated)' church of the Netherlands is mentioned additionally because it has tried to preserve the Christian identity in spite of this pluralistic trend. A conclusion is drawn by pointing out what kind of implications might this history have to Korean Christian education.

II. The Christian Philosophy of Education in the Netherlands

1. The 16−17th Centuries: Calvinism

Christian education in the Netherlands can be traced back to the 16th century when the Dutch tried to achieve independence from the rule of Spain. Starting from 1568, the Netherlands opposed Spain and fought 80 years until they formed the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands (*Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden*). The Dutch Protestants, following the teachings of John Calvin, were the leaders of this war of independence against the tyranny of Philip II who represented the Catholic power in Europe at that time. They had also a deep interest in education and so established Leiden University under the leadership of William of Orange (*Willem van Oranje*) in 1575 as the first institution of higher education. The purpose of founding this university was to train future leaders, both spiritual and political, as well as to commemorate the victory over against the Spanish army in Leiden. Kuyper, mentioning this historical fact in his Stone Lectures on Calvinism at Princeton University in 1898, argued that it is the clear evidence that Calvinism had fostered a love and passion for science and education (Kuyper, 1983: 110-112).

At that time, Calvinism was reflected in the whole education system in the Netherlands. For instance, the supervision and teaching activity in school and any discussion on education were done by the protestant church and pastors (Röling, 1994: 67) and the foundation of education was mentioned at the synod of Dordrecht, which became the foundation of the Dutch education for almost two centuries (Coetzee, 1958: 298). The synod emphasized that the believers had the task of bringing their inner beliefs consistently to the practical outworking of sanctification of life in the world (Kruithof, 1990: 34). In school, therefore, the Lord's Prayer and other materials containing many Bible verses were used for reading and Catechism education was given as well (Cho, 2009a: 26-27).

It is remarkable to see that the Dutch Calvinistic education put more emphasis on family education rather than school education (Kruithof, 1990: 19-51). The concept of covenant in Calvinism stresses the importance of family as the first institution where a child can meet, worship and pray to God. The relationship between God and believers is compared to that of parents and children in order to emphasize the God-given responsibility of parents to educate their children. Later, godly Calvinists led the movement of the so called '*Nadere reformatie* (Further reformation)' and stressed that the education for inner piety and holy lives should be practiced daily in the family as a small church (Cho, 2009a: 27). For instance Bernard Kruithof pointed out that at that time Joannes de Swaef regarded piety as obeying the commandments of God and argued that parents should teach, rebuke, correct, train and if necessary, discipline their children so that they might avoid sins (Kruithof, 1990: 42). Furthermore, according to Kruithof, Jacob Koelman also emphasized that we have to give godly education to our children so that they might have religious experience, self-denial, obedience, self-control and discern good and evil from childhood because, as they are sinners, they need salvation as well (Kruithof, 1990: 44-46).

2. The 18th Century: The Enlightenment

In the 16th century, there were some progressive Christians in the Netherlands who opposed strict Calvinism. As some examples, Kruithof mentions that D. V. Coornhert was called the father of the Renaissance in the Netherlands at that time because he, like D. Erasmus, took quite an optimistic attitude toward human maturity and that J. Cats, who was a poet, lawyer and politician at the same time in the 17th century, argued for the innate curiosity of children according to

the humanistic ideal (Kruithof, 1990: 38).

These ideas became stronger in the 18th century, propagated by thinkers influenced by the Enlightenment, as the life of faith and piety became limited to the private sphere, in part due to a weakened Netherlands as a result of its defeat by England and France and by the civil war. Kruithof mentions that J. F. Martinet who was a natural scientist, historian, educator and theologian at the same time, argued his naturalistic, teleological and humanistic ideal in his book, *Katechismus der Natuur* by saying that natural education is as important as religious education and that since the nature of pupils are almost like lovely angels, the true method of education should be natural, rational and moral (Kruithof, 1990: 49-50). In addition, both B. Wolff and A. Deken also maintained that children's bad behavior should not be understood as evil but rather as the result an innate impulse for freedom (Kruithof, 1990: 52-55).

These people were convinced that education was the key for the salvation of the Dutch society and so argued that promoting public education was the responsibility of pastors, teachers, writers and other intellectual leaders. They regarded the restoration of people's morality as the reason for religion and thought that human happiness could be achieved by developing human spiritual and rational ability and the most important instrument for that was knowledge and culture (Cho, 2009a: 29). Therefore, for example, in 1784, J. Niewenhuyzen, a pastor of Anabaptist church, established "Society for Public Welfare (*Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*)" in order to develop individuals and society through education. He made a great contribution to improve public education until the middle of the 19th century through better textbooks, model school and teacher education. But most schools he had founded became public schools after the end of the 19th century. This society was neither against church nor dogmatic in their doctrines but had the goal to provide an education which is faithful to general Christian ethics (Wolthuis, 1999: 52). With the slogan, 'Knowledge is the way to personal and social development (*Kennis is de weg naar persoonlijke en maatschappelijke ontwickling*)', this society is still very active (www.nutalgemeen.nl).

The idea of the Enlightenment increased in the Netherlands as it was occupied by Napoleon in 1795 and ruled by France until 1813. The separation between the state and the church was legalized so the influence of the church to the state was considerably decreased. The school law (*schoolwet*) enacted in 1806 required that public school should teach all kinds of Christian and civil virtues

and it did not allow the church to found any Christian private school (nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schoolstrijd_(Nederland)). Those who were actively involved in this legalization process were progressive Christian leaders working at the Society for Public Welfare. This law divided the elementary school between public school (*openbaar school*) and private school (*bijzonder school*). Public schools controlled by the state could receive financial support from the government but private schools were divided into two groups: one was supported by a certain organization and the other by parents without having any financial support from the state. Furthermore, this school law relegated the policy, contents and supervision of education to the government so the number of public schools increased continuously whereas the chance for the pastors to be involved in education radically decreased and the supervisory function of the church was lost, too. Instead, teachers became independent legally so they formed an association in 1842 and the number of teachers rapidly increased as well (Knippenberg, 1986: 57, 68, 245-248). At that time, state education was the instrument to form a unified nationalism and the religious education was excluded in fear of causing any kind of denominational conflicts due to doctrinal disputes. So it was replaced by patriotism and the spirit of tolerance, which, in fact, promoted humanism in public square and ultimately resulted in the secularization of school education (Cho, 2009a: 32).

3. The 19—20th Centuries: Neo—Calvinism

Calvinistic Christians at that time felt a deep sense of crisis and tried to restore Christian private education. First of all, I. da Costa, a poet and historian in Amsterdam, published a small booklet called "Critique against the spirit of the century (*Bezwaren tegen den Geest der eeuw*)" in 1823 to criticize this school law from the religious point of view (nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schoolstrijd_ (Nederland)). Furthermore in 1834, a movement called "the Secession (*De Afscheiding*)" took place critical of the Dutch Reformed Church (*Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk*) for having lost orthodox Calvinism. Pastor H. de Cock and H. P. Scholte led this movement and created the Christian Reformed Church (*Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk*). On the one hand, this denomination opposed the spirit of the Enlightenment and tried to restore Calvinism and the decision of the synod of Dort but on the other hand, its tendencies included escapism and experiential pietism as well. Its members were not so many but this church emphasized strict family education again and began a Christian school at the

elementary level. For instance, this church believed that the teaching of public schools was against the Word of God and so advised its members not to send their children to public schools (Cho, 2009a: 33). As the so called "school struggle (*schoolstrijd*)" began to establish Christian private schools, Johan R. Thorbecke, a liberal politician, took the initiative to enact the constitution in 1848 which guaranteed the freedom of education. He preferred public schools but at the same time opened the possibility to found private schools, too (nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schoolstrijd_ (Nederland)).

But still private schools could not receive financial support from the government so the second phase of school struggle began from the second half of the 19th century. For example, the law of education enacted in 1857 by A. G. A. Van Rappard made it clear that public schools alone can receive financial support from the government and the education should be kept neutral in terms of religion (nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Onderwijswet_van_1857). After that, in 1878, K. van de Coppello suggested a new law that private schools should provide the financial needs by themselves. In order to send their children to the schools they wanted, Protestant and Catholic Christians submitted a petition to the king Willem III with the signature of 300,000 protestant Christians and 100,000 Catholic Christians but he refused it (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/School_struggle_(Netherlands)).

In the meantime, a great revival (*Réveil*) took place during 1826-1854 in the Netherlands. It made such a big impact on the Dutch society, rejecting the spirit of the Enlightenment and progressive theology based on it and emphasized the sin of man and the grace of God according to the traditional doctrine of Calvinism. The leaders of the revival movement put stress on the restoration of worship, reformation of the family, pious life and religious education to the children. They stressed repentance instead of moral improvement. Cho rightly points out that the Secession produced a radical tension with the society whereas this revival movement had the character of re-evangelization and social reform movement (Cho, 2009a: 33).

For instance, O. G. Heldring, one of the leaders of the revival movement founded "Christian Friends (*Christelijke Vrienden*)" and preached liberation of slaves, care for the poor and the importance of education. Kruithof points out that he, Heldring, established schools based on orthodox Calvinism and stressed the sinful nature of man and the possibility of new life through repentance and regeneration (Kruithof, 1990: 143-146). Furthermore, the Anabaptist pastor J. de Liefde also promoted Christian schools by arguing that the religious neutrality of

school education was not desirable at all and even dangerous for the mind of children. By publishing a magazine called "Timothy (*Timotheus*)", he stressed that parents should recognize education as the most important assignment (Kruithof, 1990: 153). Over against the "Society for Public Welfare", he organized in 1855 "The Association to the salvation of people (*De Vereeniging Tot Heil des Volks*)" to do the work of evangelism, service and prophetic proclamation, etc. and it still exists up to present (www.totheildesvolks.nl).

Groen van Prinsterer, however, played the most important role as the social reformer based on Calvinism. Being influenced by W. Bilderdijk, the founder of the Dutch revival movement, he, as a member of parliament, tried to establish the right to found Christian private schools and to guarantee the freedom of education. This freedom means in a narrow sense freedom from centralized education policy of the absolute state and in a broad sense freedom for Christian education (Cho, 2009b: 24). He argued that education is the process of worldview formation and so the education monopolized by the secular government following the idea of the French revolution is nothing but the attempt to formulate the modern Enlightenment worldview and this worldview is religiously never neutral but based on unbelief and an anti-Christian mind (Groen van Prinsterer, 1847). Therefore, he continued, Dutch Christians could not accept this education. Instead, he continued, the Netherlands which had a long history of Christianity should develop school education which forms a Christian worldview. He further stressed that the state-driven worldview education cannot truly integrate the people. Rather, this attempt could be very harmful because it faced in the Netherlands a strong resistance from the Calvinists, and Belgium even became independent during the process of the enforcing this educational law (Van Dyke, 1989: 62). The freedom of education is, therefore, as important as that of religion so the state should not oppress the people with the educational system just like it should not do the same with their religion. He emphasized further that children do not belong to the state but primarily to parents and their right of education is given by God (Van Dyke, 1989: 28, 60, 63). So the state should admit this right and parents should do this educational duty faithfully. In order to do this, he recommended a book called *Biblische Historien nach dem Kirchenjahre geordnet, mit Lehren und Liederversen versehen (Biblical History according to the church calander)* written by F. L. Zahn as a textbook. Groen himself translated this book into Dutch so that parents might teach the Bible and catechism education more actively (Van Dyke, 1989: 68). He held that the state should not monopolize education but respect religious diversity so that each religious group

should have the freedom to establish its own school where each confession might be taught to the pupils and these private schools should have the same status as public schools. It means that all schools should receive the financial support from the government equally and if there were no such support, the freedom of education would be granted to the rich alone and the poor cannot have it (Van Dyke, 1989: 81).

Regarding education as a politico-social activity and believing that the development and reformation of education could be achieved by this kind of activity, he was deeply involved in the legislation process to attempt the reformation and to achieve the justification of establishing Christian school. Facing some limits in reality, he did not give up but continued to pursue this school struggle (Cho, 2009b: 26). In 1857, for instance, when the parliament enacted the law of education and legalized the religious neutrality in primary schools, he began the school struggle over against that decision. He, together with Da Costa and other leaders of the revival, resisted the public education system based on the modernism of the Enlightenment and promoted the founding of Christian private schools and the equality between the public and private schools and the government support to the Christian schools. As its result, many other Calvinist leaders joined this school struggle and established Christian primary schools to teach the Bible and Christian doctrines. Some other organizations began to support his movement as well. In 1860, Groen further founded "The Association for Christian National School Education (CNS: *De Vereeniging voor Christelijke-Nationaal Schoolonderwijs*)" (www.onderwijsgeschied enis.nl/Tijdvakken/De-Schoolstrijd). The name "Christian National" meant the reformed character in the 16-17th centuries Dutch Republic and expressed the intention to unite all Christian schools into one organization (Rosendaal, 2006: 30). This organization had the goal of re-evangelization of the Netherlands through education, financial support to Christian schools, strengthening the solidarity and taking the initiative/leadership (Rosendaal, 2006: 32). Through his committed effort and leadership, the legal foundation for Christian private schools was established. Later he was succeeded by Kuyper who developed this movement further. For this reason, Groen is called "the father of the Christian private school movement in the Netherlands" (Cho, 2009b: 14).

Succeeding Groen's Christian philosophy of education and his school struggle, A. Kuyper organized an Anti-School law Association (*Anti-Schoolwet Verbond*) in 1879. This association was developed into Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP, *Antirevolutionaire Partij*) which was the first Christian party in the Netherlands

opposing the political thought of the French revolution influenced by the Enlightenment worldview. Furthermore in 1880, he founded the Free University (*Vrije Universiteit*) in Amsterdam to train Christian leaders who could lead the educational, scientific, social and cultural movement based on Neo-Calvinism which he had developed as the vision to redeem all of our life spheres and to put them under the sovereignty of God. The reason why he named this university 'free' was to emphasize that the university should be free from the intervention of the state and the church. He called this idea "sphere-sovereignty (*souvereiniteit in eigen kring*)." (Kuyper, 1880) It means that the Sovereign God has made this world so that the state, the church, family, school and company have respective sovereignty. Therefore, any institution can never claim supremacy over against other institutions. So any kind of central and state-oriented education is wrong according to the creation principle and thus should be corrected (Coetzee, 1958; 302).

Kuyper further emphasized that family is the foundation of social relations and the root of social life and that parents' right of education is given by God so the state should not interfere. Of course the intervention of the government is necessary when parents exercise immoral authority such as abandonment and abuse of their children, he said, but excessive interference of the state could weaken the educational function and responsibility of parents. Therefore, he tried to guarantee the right of parents to choose what kind of education their children might receive. In this way, he fostered private education (Cho, 2009a: 38). Finally, his struggle resulted in the enactment of the article 23 of the constitution in 1917, three years before he died, which guaranteed Christian schools the equal legal status and financial support as public ones (nl.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Schoolstrijd_(Nederland)). The neo-Calvinistic people in the Netherlands were merely 10-15% (in Dutch "*kleine luyden*(a few people)" of the whole population but they became the leading power in the social reform movement in the Netherlands (Sturm, 1988: 9). Kruithof points out that in this stream, public primary schools were 31% during 1900-1930 whereas private primary schools increased to 62% (Kruithof, 1990: 224).

Following Kuyper, H. Bavinck expressed his deep concern for the Christian education in Holland by stating his philosophy of education in his book *Paedagogische beginselen* (*Pedagogic Principles*, 1904). In this book, he first pointed out that a human being needs the help of the adults at the time of birth and early growth period. And it is the will of God for a baby to grow as an independent being in community and that is why he/she needs education (Bavinck, 1904: 9). Furthermore,

he basically distinguished the concept of education '*voeding* (nourishment)' from '*opvoeding* (upbringing)'. The former means physical education whereas the latter means a spiritual one and both are interdependent (Bavinck, 1904: 12-14). But the Greek word *teknogonia*, Latin *educare*, German *ziehen* and *aufziehen* and Dutch *opvoeden* have all the same meaning, he said, that is, "to take or lead children upward" (Bavinck, 1904: 14).

Furthermore, Bavinck distinguished family education (*opvoeding*) from school teaching (*onderwijs*). At home, on the one hand, parents should take care of their children's physical growth, health and good habits on the basis of instinct, biological and psychological solidarity and love. They should also teach their children to be good and able adults through personal and ethical education. At school, on the other hand, teachers should instruct pupils what parents cannot give sufficiently with more plan and with other kind of relationship and love. Especially school education should focus on forming intellectual capability and attempt to teach knowledge so that pupils might be able to observe, understand and think logically. But for Bavinck both home and school education are teaching in terms of scope even though they should be distinguished in function (Bavinck, 1904: 16).

In addition, Bavinck was of the opinion that education has been a human activity since ancient time and the discussion about that has been a very important scientific concern. For him, pedagogy is rooted in philosophy and its contents are borrowed from religion, ethics, theology and philosophy on the one hand but on the other hand from physiology, psychology and sociology (Bavinck, 1904: 21). As a reformed theologian, he further said that the Christian worldview is the most important leading principle in the constitution and practice of Christian pedagogy. On the one hand, he continued, the Christian community cannot have a sure answer to the origin, being and purpose of human being outside the Bible and on the other hand, to understand the world, human being, parents/children and family/society, the light of the Bible gives a much better light than the philosophy of Kant, Hegel or Rousseau who did not consider the Scriptures properly (Bavinck, 1904: 22-23). Therefore, he believed that the Christian pedagogy and humanistic pedagogy are fundamentally different because they came from totally different religious conviction and metaphysical presupposition.

Cho has aptly summarized the contribution of Bavinck to the Christian philosophy of education with four points (Cho, 2015: 123-126). First of all, Bavinck tried to integrate faith and learning in pedagogy. He did not give up

either one of the two, as many other Christian scholars often did at that time (Praamsma, 2006: 27). For instance, Leiden University gave up faith whereas Kampen seminary did science but he worked at both institutions to make a good balance between the two. For him pedagogy was neither limited to theology nor cut from other sciences. Rather, his conviction was that the Bible was the light of science as the truth that can transcend and lead human fallen reason. Secondly, he defended pedagogy as a separate science, independent of theology. At that time many scholars regarded the science of education as a practical discipline, subordinate to theology, having only application issues. But he attempted to explain pedagogy as an independent science having its own identity and assignment. Thirdly, Bavinck discussed Christian education not as a part of church education but in the context of family and school education. At that time, general pedagogy had greatly weakened the function of family education and the evangelical Christian education had overlooked the educational function of school. But he viewed education as one important function of family and it should be expanded and deepened toward a more planned and systematic school education. So he investigated pedagogy in family and school as a theoretical investigation of education and more practically, he became the leader of the Christian school movement in the Netherlands after Kuyper in order to establish the legitimacy of the Christian school. Finally, he further tried to discuss the essential character of education and pedagogy in order to reveal worldviews in different streams of educational thoughts (Meijer, 2000: 14-15). Arguing that the Christian pedagogy is an academic attempt based on the Christian worldview, he encouraged Christian teachers with the conviction that Christian pedagogy is different from and has theoretical excellence in comparison with other theories of general education. This kind of discussion has greatly contributed to establish the recognition of the Christian reformation of education and the educational institution of the Christian community. It also developed the research on the Christian philosophy of education.

Succeeding Bavinck, J. Waterink became the first official professor of the neo-Calvinistic pedagogy at the Free University. In his book, *Basic concepts in Christian pedagogy*, he asserted that in comparison with humanistic education, the Christian education is totally different in its foundation and direction because the Christian worldview is fundamentally different from modern humanistic worldview (Waterink, 1980: 10, 113). He argued further that the religious and moral value and norms are the major part of the purpose and contents of education, influencing the education system (Waterink, 1980: 14). Therefore, he viewed that pedagogy is

based on normative disciplines such as philosophy, dogmatics, ethics, logic and aesthetics, especially on dogmatics (Mulder, 1989: 218). Nevertheless, he thought that pedagogy deals with both theory and practice as an independent discipline different from other normative disciplines mentioned before (Waterink, 1980: 16-17).

Furthermore, he thought that pedagogy deals with both a concrete individual and a group and in this sense it is connected with psychology and sociology as an empirical science to the created world. Acknowledging these two disciplines as secondary to pedagogy, he established the so-called psycho-technical laboratory (*Psychotechnisch Laboratorium*) at the Free University and performed many psychological tests in order to give various guidance to the people involved in education area (Cho, 2013: 61). Like Kuyper, he accentuated that the law of development is a law of creation made by God so the result of academic research according to common grace is not contradictory to the truth of God if it is not distorted by human sinful nature. For example, both psychology and sociology can provide many useful resources for education as empirical sciences but they cannot require us to choose specific data in pedagogy. Rather, pedagogy is assisted by these disciplines if necessary (Waterink, 1980: 19). But pedagogy has an independent character in the sense that it explores the forming process of human being according to norms and uses both philosophical-deductive and empirical-inductive methods (Mulder, 1989: 216-217). Based on this understanding of academic system, he also did research on the normative character of the Christian education through biblical exegesis and reformed historical and philosophical investigation on the one hand and psychology on the other in order to understand the psychological features of children and youth and to treat pupils with learning problems and handicaps and to develop more effective pedagogical methods. He was convinced that these two dimensions are indispensable in pedagogy and so has given later generations his insights.

Waterink saw human being essentially as a religious being created in the image of God. Therefore, for him, what makes human beings is the religion, namely the relationship with God (Waterink, 1958: 60). Furthermore, he understood human beings as fallen and in need of redemption by arguing that the heart as the core of human being and self, I-ness (*Ik*) or ego is essentially religious because here man has the relationship with God (Waterink, 1980: 22-23). It means that human beings are created to serve God and, if he or she does not serve Him properly, man cannot but serve something else, namely, other creatures or self. Therefore, redemption means that we are totally transformed by regeneration and renewal of

our mind so that we might serve God by the guidance of the Holy Spirit (Waterink, 1980: 23-24). In this sense, it seems that Waterink was also influenced by H. Dooyeweerd's thought (Dooyeweerd, 1953-58: 68ff). Further, he viewed human beings as multi-faceted being and criticized idealistic philosophers who regarded human beings merely as rational and ethical being (Waterink, 1958: 60). He asserted that the rational and ethical characters of human beings are not two independent areas but united organically with each other being led by the religious aspect. Consequently, he included not merely rational and ethical dimensions but also cultural, aesthetical, social and physical aspects into the human educational character (Waterink, 1958: 623-626). This argument implies again that he was influenced by Dooyeweerd's theory of modal aspects (Dooyeweerd, 1953-58: 68ff). In addition, he explained human being as personal being. It means that human beings are personal being and as a whole person, centered on selfhood, an integrated one of various psychological traits as a whole and controlled harmoniously. Among these psychological traits, there are talents, natural tendencies, ambitions, emotions, passions, consciousness and these qualities are united to form a harmonious hierarchy depending on the function of self-control. Selfhood reveals a specific personality through religious attitude, norms and influence of relationship and various experience and he called it character (Waterink, 1980: 76-77). Thus he argued that an individual is a person with a special character and teachers should treat this whole character of pupils carefully (Waterink, 1980: 91). Finally, he expressed human life as three dimensions reflecting Christ's office. As a religious being, man serves God as a prophet through his/her intellectual work on God, His creation and His providence, as a priest through his/her submission and commitment to God and ministry in His created world and as a king through his/her exercise rule or dominion over the created world (Waterink, 1958: 61).

Based on this educational view of man, Waterink attempted to offer a general purpose of Christian education including human being, education and society as a whole not just limited to family, church or other specific area. Critically reviewing Bavinck's remark that on the basis of 2 Timothy 3:17, the goal of education is to equip the man of God thoroughly for every good work, Waterink asserted that it is from the Bible and so good but it does not consider pedagogical terms and the dimension of education and social life as a whole. Thus he maintained that we need to reformulate like this: "to form a human being as an independent person serving God voluntarily with all his/her talents for the glory of God and for the welfare of neighbor creatures according to His

word in all areas of our life that God has given" (Waterink, 1980: 37-41). Furthermore, following Kuyper and Bavinck, he agreed that family is the most important place for children's growth and school as the next significant institution for personality formation.

The contribution of Waterink's Christian philosophy of education is well summed up by Cho in the two following points to which I fully agree (Cho, 2013: 77-78). To begin with, he tried to build the academic identity and systematic constitution of Christian education based on a neo-Calvinistic worldview and actively used modern empirical research for the sake of making some practical ways to enhance the efficiency of education. In this way, he widened the horizon of research of Christian education. Secondly, also by stressing the absolute necessity of family education and the responsibilities of parents for their children's education at Christian private schools, he set the right relationship between family and Christian school education. Therefore, his argument fully reveals what is necessary in today's Christian community. The philosophy of education of these neo-Calvinists has developed the philosophy of Calvinists, emphasizing both family and school education at the same time in order to provide good human resources who can make a strong impact on the whole society through this education. In other words, pupils should be equipped to be the men of God, being able to do good works in order to realize the ideal of Christian education, namely, integrating true piety and science and the formation of Christian culture (Kruithof, 1990: 228, Golverdingen, 1995: 77).

4. The Second half of the 20th Century: Pluralism

The Netherlands experienced a national crisis during the first half of the 20th century due to the Second World War and a great flood but after that recovered the economy quite fast. Nevertheless, the ideological and social change in the 1960s in Europe made such a big impact to the Dutch society that postmodern and pluralstic liberalism spread. For instance, atheistic naturalism and existentialism resulted in a social resistance movement joined by students, workers and hippies and the spirit of tolerance (*verdraagzaamheid*) toward such issues as drugs, sex, homosexuality made the entire value system relative. In this situation, the numbers of Christians gradually decreased. For example, in 1958, 80% of the age group of 17-30 years belonged to the church but in 1991 it decreased into 28% (Golverdingen, 1995: 16) whereas Muslims began to increase due to

immigration, which resulted in religious pluralism after 1990s.

Therefore, after the second half of the 20th century, neo-Calvinism and the Christian schools began to diminish (Golverdingen, 1995: 38). For instance, the identity of the Free University changed. The "association of reformed schools(GSV: *Gereformeerde Schoolverband*)", founded in 1868 in order to found and support Christian schools and had been committed to elite education and to representing teachers and the reformed community together with the Free University, began in the 1960's to assimilate to the pluralized Dutch society (Rosendaal, 2006: 280) so the Free University has expanded the scope of its identity since 1971 from neo-Calvinism to ecumenism and since 2005 it has opened its door even to Muslims and made its slogan as "inter-life-view communication (*interlevensbeschowelijke communicatie*)"(Miedema, 2006: 20).

As the influence of Waterink decreased and the concern of the Christian school education shifted from neo-Calvinism to the formation of morality, there were new trends at the Free University. For instance, there were the phenomenological method with psychoanalytic approach in 1960s and the experimental-analytical and socio-critical methods in 1970-1980s. After 1980s, more attention was paid to the historical research and moral education than life-view education (Cho, 2009a: 42). At the same time, from the beginning of the 20th century, the influence of Philip A. Kohnstamm who, as a professor of Amsterdam University, paid more attention to the construction of pedagogy theory and emphasized the formation of morality and personal character, viewing pupils as fellow human beings. After 1960s, his disciple, Martinus J. Langeveld of Utrecht University made an enormous impact by emphasizing the choice of the life-conviction and responsible self-decision according to the phenomenological perspective (Cho, 2009a: 41-42). After that, attentions were paid to Wim ter Horst of Leiden University and Arie van den Beukel of Delft University who both stressed the concept of commitment in the secret of being and Siebren Miedema of the Free University who tries to make multiple approaches of the religious concept and inter-life-view formation of personality (Praamsma, 2006). Miedema argued that life-view is related with religiosity and in fact all education can never be value-neutral but affects the formation of life-view so education is ultimately not public but private (*bijzonder*). So, he continued, the formation process of life-view should be made at public school as well and such an education is after all inter-life-view dialogue, namely, pluralistic education and schools should have relatively autonomous character in order to do this (Miedema, 2000: 18-21, 2014).

This change has been reflected in Christian schools. Until now many reformed primary schools have kept their Christian identity but as a whole the passion is a little bit decreased. The association of reformed schools has been assimilated to the society after the 1960s and in 1971 it was merged with other organizations, losing its own role as an independent institution (Cho, 2009a: 43). Of course in 1980s and 1990s, there have been some movements rediscovering the heritage of Christian schools but they are not as influential as before (Rosendaal, 2006: 280).

Many Christian private schools in the Netherlands and Belgium were called 'school with the Bible (*school met de Bijbel*).' However, due to the influence of secularization, many changes have been made in this sphere so that many students, parents and even teachers do not have the Christian faith any more. We can still find the Christian norms and values in regulations and documents but in daily lives the Bible is not accepted as the faithful word of God and other worldviews are admitted together with the Christian worldview. For instance, according to the research on the identity of the Christian schools made by Anneke De Wolff, about 90% of teachers and 70% of students still belong to reformed churches but in urban area, more than 80% of teachers in Christian private schools are reformed Christians but as for students, 63.4% has no religion, 22.6% are Muslims, 8.7% are Catholics, 4.4% are protestants and 0.8% are Hindus (Wolff, 2000: 258, 326). In addition, according to the interview with teachers, many of them have different opinions from the existing Christian identity of their schools. Like Miedema, De Wolff also argues on the basis of her research that the autonomous judgment and right of the students on their life-view should be admitted and more multidimensional approach is desired in the education of life-view (Wolff, 2000: 468).

In this context, some Christian private schools struggle to preserve their own Christian identity. We can find this effort, for instance, the philosophy of education of Huib van Leeuwen who belongs to the 'liberated (*vrijgemaakte*)' church. Reformed schools have been founded by parents since 1952 after the '*vrijgemaakte*' church was established in the Netherlands in order for the parents to educate their children with the reformed worldview (Van der Steeg, 2011: 13). All the teachers belonged to this denomination and most pupils and parents did the same. These reformed schools were established nationwide and managed by the denomination members. But since 1990s, some felt that they should not be so isolated and so began to acknowledge that other Christians also serve the Lord in education and life as the same children of God. It did not lead to the unification with other denominations but at a local level, cooperation with other churches

began to increase and parents of other denominations began to send their children to reformed schools. It has caused the scope of the school be wide enough to receive various parents and teachers of other churches (reformedjr.com/xe/board05_02/8731).

Therefore, the membership of the church is still a condition to be a teacher at the reformed school but more important is that the candidate should be a Christian. It is still important for each teacher and staff to have a reformed identity but education is about pupils and they need Christian teachers and having Christian teachers will help them claim this identity. As a result, these schools have formed "The national association of reformed schools (LVGS: *Het Landelijk Verband van Gereformeerde Schoolverenigingen*)" in order to develop the reformed identity and it clearly shows to parents, pupils, staffs, teachers and government what they can expect from this school (www.lvgs.nl). The schools of this denomination find it very important to apply what is 'reformed to real life contexts. It might be not that difficult for the school board to get support by submitting necessary documents but it is rather more complex to put that identity into practice and it is simply mistake to think that everything will be okay if the right people work in school. This school where Van Leeuwen serves has a devotion time in order to preserve its Christian identity. At this time, teachers share their faith with pupils. Sometimes they confess that they have some doubts. Praying together for various needs of the world and asking for new strength for the day, they all meet together as students at Christ's school to form their lives (Spoelstra, 2014: 39).

Furthermore, Van Leeuwen says that there are three elements in Christian worldview education at Christian schools, namely, socialization, character-formation and quality improvement (reformedjr.com/xe/board05_02/8731). The first two elements mean the education environment of the school. They let pupils think what do other people mean to them and as Christians how they as Christians can engage in society as good citizens. The starting point is to regard pupils, parents and all the teachers/staff as God's children and as meaningful beings. It is very important to remember that we all live by grace because it helps to treat our mistakes. As for quality improvement, Christian faith can make an impact because pupils acquire knowledge and insight through education. They learn facts, the relationship among them and their integration. Through this knowledge, they can get deeper knowledge by asking more questions about meaning and purpose. The Christian worldview which says that God has created the world so creation has purpose and creation goes toward consummation provides deeper meaning to knowledge and interpretive framework.

Furthermore, he continues, one important goal of reformed education is to try to show God's greatness. For instance, we can teach God's creation by showing beautiful nature and explaining how new life can begin. The beauty of things can be found even in mathematics and languages. Important is that we learn God's world and know things and teachers should express God's greatness as often as possible. Therefore, teachers learn one another how to create and make use of this opportunity through this encounter.

In addition, van Leeuwen emphasizes that in Christian education, family, school and church should work together. As a child grows, family-school-church should grow together in a good balance like a triangle. This is one of the strong points of this denomination but nowadays this coherence is a little bit weakened says Pieter Vos (Vos, 2011: 76-81). The decisive point at school is that they pursue the same goal and they can work together with other reformed schools. That is why van Leeuwen formed "Association of Reformed Schools Randstad (GSR: *Gereformeerde Scholengemeenschap Randstad*) 'by the Christians and for the Christians.' Here each teacher expect to promote their faith, are actively involved at the reformed church and integrate their lives with faith. This kind of cooperation is very useful in the sense that they can invite other pastors or guests for a special lecture and teachers can share their know-how and experience with other youth group leaders of the churches.

The most important point in education is to lead pupils to more independent, according to van Leeuwen. In order to do that, educators should inform students about the world and help pupils to raise questions and find solutions by themselves. In this process, they learn through various trials and errors. In the higher education, the insight of the students is very important. Furthermore, when they enter into university, they will face various secularized situation so they have to keep their faith by themselves. Reformed schools need to equip pupils to face these challenges. In order to fill this need, van Leeuwen formed a reformed identity platform with other colleagues, called GRIP (*GeReformeerd IdentiteitsPlatform*, www.grip-g4.nl). It has developed some pedagogical method. For instance, the course 'care (*verzorging*)' can raise various questions about healthy life/sexuality and material and environment. In this way, pupils are trained to integrate 'how to live' and 'what to believe' from the Christian perspective. Another example is the course 'enjoy (*genieten*)' for higher grade pupils. Here such questions as how to enjoy sex and drinking with the sense of responsibility. For others who want to go to university, some Christian scholars are invited to reflect upon various questions such as 'can science and faith be

integrated?', 'what is the relationship between creation and evolution?', 'is it proper for Christians to do science? and if so how?' etc.

In addition, there are various cultures and religions in Rotterdam. So van Leeuwen visits a mosque together with pupils in order to know Islam and meet Muslim people. By doing this, pupils are encouraged to have a balanced view of other cultures. Pupils will graduate schools and they have to know how to live in this world so schools should not be a greenhouse for them. Of course, they need to be protected and guided but ultimately pupils should grow and be independent and responsible for them.

Ⅲ. Conclusion

We have seen how the philosophy of education has been developed in the Netherlands throughout the history. The 16-17th centuries were characterized by Calvinism whereas the 18th century was the Enlightenment modernism. Neo-Calvinism was the most important philosophy during the 19-20th centuries because it could achieve the freedom and government support to the Christian private schools through school struggle. Nowadays, pluralism dominates but we have seen that still there are some Christian schools which try to maintain their Christian identity. In this sense, the historical background of the Netherlands is different from that of Korea. Nevertheless, the Dutch Christian philosophy of education has a lot of implications for Korean educational sphere. Therefore, in conclusion, I will try to summarize those implications.

First of all, we need to remember that the Dutch Christians emphasized family education. In Korea, the tendency is very strong to entrust everything about education to school. However, the pious Dutch Calvinists stressed from the beginning the balanced education among home, school and the church like a three legged chair, which the child sits on. The three legs are illustrating the efforts in home, school and church to raise the children in life, knowledge and faith. When they do not cooperate, the chair will not be stable anymore and it shall be disastrous for the forming of the child. This is one of the most impressive points in the Dutch Christian education and it should be remembered by Korean Christian schools, parents and churches so that they might work together more closely. Recently, some Christian alternative schools in Korea

began to put extra stress on the role and participation of parents along with teachers. This is a very positive and desirable trend and should be encouraged further.

Secondly, the Dutch Christian philosophy of education made it clear that no education can be neutral and so the public school education based on the Enlightenment modernism is in fact promoting a humanistic and state-oriented worldview. Thus, we have to consider that this kind of worldview might give somewhat negative influence to pupils and so we should promote the Christian education to protect children and form the biblical worldview. The humanistic philosophy of education based on the Enlightenment modernism has made a great impact on the modern education in Korea, too. Even some Christian schools founded by missionaries became secular due to this influence and the education system of Korea is still strongly dominated by the government policy. Consequently, it is very important to know how the Dutch Christian philosophers of education responded to this challenge and we do need the Christian worldview education from the primary school.

Thirdly, the Christian education is not merely having Christians and chapels but rather it should include all of life spheres as neo-Calvinists emphasize. In other words, the goal setting of education, the formation of curriculum, the relationship among students and all the other activities should be integrated with the Christian worldview. I believe that this point is the most important one which Korean Christian educators should learn from the Dutch Christian educators.

Fourthly, the Dutch Christian educators have shown us that the rights of the parents in education should not be deprived by the government at public education. It means that parents have the freedom to educate their children according to their worldviews. During the period when the state tried to monopolize the public education as an instrument to integrate the people, the Dutch Christians claimed this freedom to guarantee the Christian private education. It reminds us the necessity of the parents' duty for education in Christian communities.

Fifthly, the Dutch Christian philosophy of education stresses the importance of engaging in social and political policy making process for education. The Dutch Christians have achieved the freedom and right of the Christian education through their social and political engagement whereas Korean Christians have not been so active in this socio-political engagement. The Christian socio-political movement in the Netherlands went hand in hand with the Christian school movement.

Likewise, Korean Christians should work together more closely with the Christian teachers and politicians in order to establish the legal status of the Christian education and schools.

Lastly, the Dutch Christian education has become somewhat weaker due to the strong stream of secularization after 1960s. It has compromised to this stream and as a result, some Christian schools could not but accept some pupils who have other worldviews. So it has become quite difficult for some Christian schools to maintain their Christian identity. Therefore, the maintenance and development of Christian school movement should be interconnected with evangelistic movement. As the Korean society becomes more secular and pluralistic, effective evangelism ministry should go hand in hand with the Christian school movement. It means that we need to make the established Christian private schools more effective. In order to do this, the Dutch protestant Christians have even united with the Catholic private schools and formed VERUS(www.verus.nl) to work together. All the Christian schools and related organizations should cooperate, forming another umbrella organization like this.

"This article is neither published nor planned to be published in any other journal."

"이 논문은 다른 학술지 또는 간행물에 게재되었거나 게재 신청되지 않았음을 확인함."

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국문초록

네덜란드의 기독교 교육철학에 관한 역사적 고찰

최용준 (한동대학교)

본 논문은 네덜란드의 기독교 교육철학에 관한 역사적 고찰이다. 이를 위해 먼저 기독교 교육철학의 목적을 간략히 논의한다. 그 후 네덜란드 교육의 역사를 개관하면서 그 교육 철학을 네 가지 단계로 나누어 분석한다. 첫 단계는 16-17세기에 네덜란드가 스페인의 압제에서 독립한 후 추구했던 칼빈주의적 교육 철학을 살펴본다. 개혁교회 지도자들이 이 기간에 매우 중요한 역할을 했다. 두 번째로는 18세기 프랑스가 네덜란드를 지배하면서 계몽주의에 의해 국가의 주도로 이루어진 공립학교 중심적 교육 사상에 대해 논의한다. 하지만 이러한 철학은 사실상 공적 영역에서 인본주의를 더욱 증진시켰다. 세 번째 단계로는 이러한 계몽주의적 근대주의에 대항하여 19세기부터 신칼빈주의자들이 일으킨 '학교 투쟁' 및 기독교 사립 교육 철학에 대해 서술한다. 그들은 사립학교들을 통해 기독교 교육을 회복하려 했으며 동시에 정부의 지원을 받으려고 노력했다. 마지막으로는 20세기 후반 이후에 포스트모더니즘에 의해 광범위하게 영향을 미치는 다원주의에 대해 고찰한다. 그 후 이러한 흐름 속에서도 기독교적 정체성을 지키기 위해 노력하는 프라이허막트(*vrijgemaakte*) 교단의 개혁주의 학교교육의 예를 살펴본 후 이러한 고찰이 한국의 기독 교육에 어떤 함의를 주는지 고찰함으로 결론을 맺는다.

주제어: 네덜란드 기독교 교육철학, 칼빈주의, 계몽주의, 신칼빈주의, 다원주의