

## ***Emancipating a Neo-liberal Society? Initial thoughts on the progressive pedagogical heritage in Flanders since the 1960s***

**Tom De Coster**

**Marc Depaepe**

*Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*

**Frank Simon**

*Ghent University*

'To the curriculum historian the importance of reform frequently lies not so much in its achievements as in its symbolism, particularly as reflected back into culture and society'. This is Richard Aldrich's conclusion concerning the England and Wales Educational Reform Act of 1988 and the resulting introduction of the National Curriculum. He observed, correctly, that the National Curriculum, although presented as a radical reform by the then Education minister Kenneth Baker 'was in terms of control, extent, content and form, firmly rooted in the English past. It was essentially backward rather than forward-looking, an attempt to preserve under the guise of change'.<sup>1</sup>

In this essay we develop this statement by examining what is left of the 'emancipatory' tradition that manifested itself in the educational landscape of the 1960s. We also consider how much is 'effectively' left in practice of the pedagogical modernism which aimed to develop the pre-world war reform movement of the New Education and have an innovative effect on society. In post-war Flanders, and more specifically from the 1970s on, a number of experienced educators drafted a concept for 'new schools', in part because of disaffection with the society that had given rise to the Second World War and, in part also, as a step toward a new, more humane and democratic society. Under the label of Freinet, Montessori, Jena Plan, Method, Living or Project School, they sought — inspired by emancipation — to develop an alternative to the regular education. Also within regular

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education the progressive heritage was increasingly being achieved through so-called Experiential Education.<sup>2</sup>

The question relates directly to the central concern of our recently initiated research project (FWO Flanders): 'What happened to the progressive education heritage in Flanders? Reception and implementation history of emancipatory educational models in the neo-liberal context after the 1960s'. In it, we are verifying the observation that the so-called 'progressive' education was gradually encapsulated in the regular<sup>3</sup> form during the interwar period and that the child orientation was chiefly symbolic. We are also studying the attraction of the reforms in the ideology of the 'new' school, again in the neo-liberal context of the 1980s and 1990s. Flexibility for integration into the existing system appears to have gone hand-in-hand with contradictions due to the complexity of embedding reformist pedagogical ideas in the social-historical context. In different sections we consider the authentic roots of the reformist pedagogical heritage at the basis of contemporary alternatives and the transformation processes of those original ideas into the developments which occurred in Flemish education after the 1960s. We also consider more deeply the historical-empirical reconstruction of that progressive stream within Flemish education, the 'agency' and the accompanying 'belief system'. Finally, the question of the systematic significance of the 'progressive' pedagogy in Flanders is posed.

Research into reception and implementation offers the frame of reference for approaching this question. This article, however, can do no more than indicate this tangible presence and the formation of a pedagogical compilation. To that end, the renowned basic principles of the emancipatory educational models — the 'Freinet' schools, for example — and hidden sources of inspiration will be tested against evidence from Flemish practice (1960–2000) and against data on the implementation of ideas, theories and research in that practice.

The source material from three organisations yields excellent data about these different aspects in the field of tension between theory, ideology and practice: the Workgroup on Revolutionary Pedagogy (*Werkgroep Revolutionaire Pedagogiek* or WERP), the Action Group on Critical Education (*Aktiegroep Kritisch Onderwijs* or AKO) and the Freinet Movement Flanders (*Freinetbeweging Vlaanderen* or FBV). WERP was founded in 1969 by socialist students at the State University of Ghent and was aimed at rethinking education adapted to the needs of the other society, as was the worldwide plea in 1968. It published the magazine 'Werp'. In the early 1970s, when the largest wave of enthusiasm had peaked and when membership had visibly dropped, WERP approached the Action Group on Critical Education (AKO),<sup>4</sup> which had been founded in

Antwerp in 1970 by some 30 progressive teachers. Needing the support of the first Flemish Freinet schools — established in 1970 — the Freinet Movement Flanders also had an encouraging start in 1983 with, for example, the magazine *Beweging* (Movement). However, in 1993, the FBV also merged with the AKO. This led to the emergence of the 'AKO magazine on education, of the Action Group on Critical Education and the Freinet Movement Flanders', and the successor to *Ako-Berichten*.<sup>5</sup> The AKO set itself the objective of 'breaking through the authoritative relations in the educational sector by means of a pedagogy aimed at the social-political emancipation of all students'.<sup>6</sup> The battle against 'classism', 'sexism' and 'racism' went hand-in-hand with the rejection of competition, rivalry and impractical education. Several publications have since seen the light within this committed association. *Akolade*, *Ako-werp*, *AKO-Dossiers* and the above-mentioned *Ako-berichten* were the principal ones. Although AKO would have the longest lifespan of the three, over time it shrank to a set core of about ten people united in the workgroup on primary education. The pioneers were disappearing while new, young enthusiasts were rare. The AKO complained of the lack of openness towards educational renewal.<sup>7</sup> In 2003, the action group entrusted some of its documents to AMSAB, an institute for social history, and in 2004 it closed down. Its exit marked the disappearance from the field of education of a post-1968 new social movement that was characterised by a weak, little-institutionalised organisational structure, by a selective, unstable, and informal relationship with political parties, and by dissatisfaction with the union's standpoints. In short, it had the characteristics of a challenger, as a symbolic issue for the political elite, and never managed or never sought to be structurally sound with a view to being gradually absorbed into the existing political establishment.<sup>8</sup>

After having asked ourselves about the possibility of a sudden turn resulting from the events in the 1960s, we will now expand on the implementation of the radically new theories and on the progressive educational inspirations of those years. Within that frame of reference, the significance of the neo-liberal discourse will be described.

***The Pitfalls of Self-discourse: the 'fault line' of 1968 and the turnabout in thinking connected to it.***

The year 1968 — 'the year that rocked the world', according to the subtitle of the book by journalist Mark Kurlansky<sup>9</sup> — is the reference for a generation that had broken with the respectable and pillarised 1950s and had surrendered to a leftist view of society and an attitude to life characterised by sex, drugs and rock and roll. Also in the historical pedagogical formulation of theories, there is a line of thinking that starts

from such anchor points. Thus, 1968 is a symbol for the breakthrough of anti-authoritarian relationships. The development of such a fault line, the self-discourse of the people involved, and its adoption by historians offers, upon closer examination, an explanation for the widespread idea of change and individuality. For more recent history 'our critical sense is misguided by a lack of perspective',<sup>10</sup> and because of this we tend to build in more 'turns' in researching it. Furthermore, the mass media happily supported the self-discourse and inflated it to mythical proportions. In this way, they helped to create the idea of being on a social fault line. The international student actions for a more just society had much to thank the mass media for in 1968 because they gave them the necessary publicity. In Belgium, for example, they contributed to efforts which succeeded in bringing down a government. Nevertheless, 1968 remains just as much a witness to continuity. The world remained divided between East and West — with conflicts in Vietnam and Prague for example, between rich and poor, between men and women, and so on.<sup>11</sup>

It has long been realised that in the present historical-pedagogical discourse, the promise of emancipation was already embedded in the Enlightenment discourse and that, in the nineteenth century, attempts to that effect had already been made, including those taken to emancipate women and labourers. Such critical attention should be paid to potential manipulation of sources, as shown, for example, by Bob Dylan in his recently published *The Chronicles*. Apparently he was reluctantly portrayed as the spearhead of a leftist movement that did not actually interest him. Moreover, returning to Kurlansky, about Marcuse he said: 'as Marcuse freely admitted, many of the young rebels who talked about his ideas had never read him'. But he was worshipped by those same students all the same, and 'inspired' them, associated at once with both Marx and Mao.<sup>12</sup> These are striking examples, but there also exist more subtle distortions.

What about the self-discourse of the WERP, the AKO, and the FBV? The most inspiring notions — especially in the first years of the AKO and the WERP — were 'critical' and 'emancipatory' as they had been worked out within the critical theory of Herbert Marcuse. Calling these notions into operation within the AKO and the WERP emphasized the call for involvement (the ombudsman), democratisation (education for everybody), resilience (women), as well as for liberation and emancipation (the teachers' status).<sup>13</sup> The related humanistic psychology (principally of Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow), psychoanalysis and critical pedagogy (of Paulo Freire and, to a lesser extent, Ivan Illich) were carefully scrutinised not only by the AKO and the WERP, but also by FBV.

In their attempts to reshape the educational system, the AKO and the WERP focused principally on the teacher Fernand Oury (1920–1998). He

received from them a platform from which to proclaim his ideas. He expanded these ideas in 1969, at the invitation of the WERP and in 1977 at the launch of the translation by the AKO of his book *De la classe coopérative à la pédagogie institutionnelle*. That the AKO translated only this book and promoted it widely shows the significance of the event. Moreover, the functioning of the working group on primary schools — the most important think tank of AKO — was based on his ideas. Oury updated Freinet's ideas for the large urban 'barrack schools' of the 1960s. That adaptation was named Institutional Pedagogy (IP) in which 'institution' stands for the execution of arrangements (rules) by the class collective. IP is based on the 'tripod' Freinet techniques, the unconscious and the group. The core concepts are freedom, responsibility, control and pedagogical and social self-control.<sup>14</sup>

In that early period, the AKO, the WERP, and the FBV made use of other sources that can be situated within several generations of the New Education, but they never generated the same resonance as did Oury. Freinet — known for his pedagogy (the techniques, self-sufficiency and partnerships), his involvement in the resistance during the Second World War, and his 'Marxist' interests — was, of course, a central figure within the FBV.<sup>15</sup> Then again the interest shown by the AKO and the WERP for Freinet could be understood from the ties Oury had with the French Freinet movement, although he was excluded from this until 1978. In addition, attention was also given, albeit more in the background but still often, to *Summerhill* (1960), by Alexander S. Neill (1883–1973) about his world-famous school of the same name. Only sporadically were Peter Petersen and Maria Montessori discussed.<sup>16</sup> What is remarkable is that many of these authors wrote from the experience of their own practice.

The AKO, the WERP, and the FBV presented this discourse on the considered emancipatory (pedagogical) canon to their readers as being a coherent and critical movement originating from the magical influence of the events of 1968. On the one hand, there are reasons to think that historians have focused on the self-discourse and the thesis of the turnabout too intensely. Jürgen Oelkers preceded the historians of education by suggesting that the continuity between the reformist pedagogical novelties and existing practices was greater than the break revealed by reformist pedagogues themselves.<sup>17</sup> Also within the historical research of social movements — to which the critical education movement has been ascribed — that same tendency is found in questioning the 'new' and unique nature of the 1960s variant against the social movements at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, the existence of reformist pedagogical alternatives leads to a problem of coherence. In this way, 'AKO'-philes disputed bitterly among themselves over alternative

schools as independent pedagogical islands or integration of their views into regular education.<sup>19</sup> In a previous section, we have already questioned the uniformly leftist character of the AKO, and more generally the new social movements, as a problem; the *Neuen Linken*, as a group, existed more in the mind than in reality.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, historians in general, and historians of education in particular, are suspicious of holistic interpretations of the 'spirit of the times'.

The above-described discourse does not correspond with the language usage of 'Alternative Schools' that presented itself in 2002 as a 'Reference Handbook'. To describe the four main themes of progressive education, it uses scientific notions like 'quality of community life', 'application ... of ... more active, and more rational pedagogical techniques', 'the tailoring of instruction', and 'systematic and rational approaches to the administration and management of the schools'. These are difficult to connect with the sources of inspiration. Where is the critical, emancipatory discourse? General characteristics of alternative schools are discussed in that same publication through comparison largely with regular schools, but where is the idea of a different school for a different society?<sup>21</sup> In this way, WERP wrote on the very first page of its magazine: 'In a socialist society property rights do not exist, not even in scientific publications. In a capitalist society we maintain the prohibition on *bourgeois bodies* reprinting our articles'. Such critical remarks on the social structure gradually subsided; in 1990, AKO spoke of itself as 'the clown with the too short legs'.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, we can conclude that the 1968 discourse hardly changed the pedagogical world into an emancipatory utopia, and over-simplified statements on this topic need to be approached with caution.

### ***Educationalisation as a Conceptual Key for the History of Education***

No sudden awakening took place — it was more a process of a changing interaction with the child. The process can be interpreted with the conceptual key of 'educationalisation'. The concept — as it is used in Germany and as some of us have used it in the Belgian context — describes a route of increased and intensified pedagogical activity that has found itself in a field of tension throughout the pedagogical history of the last 400 years between emancipation and freedom on the one hand, and pressure and control on the other. This immediately implies that the increased attention has not necessarily increased freedom. The emancipatory educational models have explicitly been converted to the pole of emancipation and experience-oriented *Wachsenlassen*, rejecting the normatively-led *Führen*. Have these models been able to escape from

the increasing pedagogical interference from regular education by resolutely playing the emancipatory card?<sup>23</sup>

This does not seem to have been the case. For reasons of clarification, we will delve more deeply into the concept of emancipation. The emancipatory discourse is characterised by strong ambivalence. On the one hand, there are those who defend the ideal of the 'liberation from dependency' and 'breaking the culture of silence' (Freire), and state that society must make the means available to achieve this end. Those means must mainly be distributed or redistributed fairly. One may call this the side of 'socio-political analysis' and 'social criticism'. Their central concern is to study the 'gateways' to emancipation. This was the way that AKO, WERP and FBV originally conceived emancipation. AKO, for instance, made it its mission in 1974 to 'unmask the interests of the established pedagogy and to propose one that is aimed at the socio-political emancipation of the majority'.<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand, there is a more ethical trend in which 'self-mastery' or 'self-care' is central. This ethic of the 'art of living' tends more towards an individualistic ideal of liberation and, because of this, will considerably decontextualise the gateways to that liberation. This approach was taken in the 1980s and even more so in the 1990s within the emancipatory educational models. In this way the members of the AKO in particular, demanded that first and foremost their own practical problems be given priority. They lamented the difficulty of the critical and theoretical discussions, and stayed away when they felt that the AKO was not offering suitable solutions for this.<sup>25</sup>

In this context it is interesting to note the 'emancipatory concept' as discussed by the philosopher Ton Lemaire. He states: 'Inescapably, there will be a field of tension between that abstract and concrete freedom, the philosophical idea of human kind and the socio-anthropological realism, between the liberation of and the liberation by culture and tradition'. According to Lemaire, the double dynamics cannot be erased: 'On the one hand the individual will have to be protected against tradition and collectivity, and on the other hand community and tradition will have to be protected from individualisation'.<sup>26</sup>

The possibility of escaping completely from pedagogical interference, as it existed in regular education, must be further put into perspective. The Freinet schools in Ghent originated within municipal education. Moreover, since the end of the 1990s, a number of Freinet schools have made the transition to the umbrella of public education. Finally, the volunteers from 1968 also became professionals who were paid and supervised by the government in 2000. In that context, it is not difficult to understand that the gap between emancipatory and regular school practice did not need to

be as great despite what was sometimes thought, and that traces of incorporation can be found in everyday practice. The grammar of schooling, here too, seems to be active: along with modernisation, a complex set of acts was introduced into school life. Its purpose was to impart knowledge to pupils and to socialise and discipline them, a purpose that the educational practice unintentionally achieved.<sup>27</sup> As such, parents were asking questions about the subject matters covered and the pedagogical approaches taken with a view to the further school and professional career possibilities of their children. One teacher reported: 'At this school, we are as concerned as at any other school with whether children have enough basic knowledge with which to start high school. We don't put their future at risk. We make enough enquiries among our former students now in high school and their parents to find out what they have problems with, and it works.'<sup>28</sup>

### ***Between Theory and Practice***

To understand better this enclosing mechanism in practice and the proper place of the discourse, we study the mutual relationship between the theoretical starting points, the ideological operationalisation, and the practical effects of the emancipatory educational models. The essence of the epistemological distinction between theory and practice (especially in expostulation structures) is likely determined and borne in part by a sociologically traceable difference in 'perspective' from which the 'reality' is regarded and approached epistemologically. Many a researcher in 2005 starts from a concept of uniformity between theory and practice. This means that scientific research ideally steers practice through the use of insights gained from seemingly timeless notions like objectivity, neutrality, and efficiency. Because of this relevance to practice, it obtains status and finance to justify further research.<sup>29</sup> In contrast to such a concept of uniformity, Beattie, in his research on Freinet in Germany, discusses three 'knowledge levels', each with a different relationship to practice. Freinet used *Erziehungswissenschaft* ('assured, formal knowledge and enquiry', but virtually unusable in practice) only minimally, but did use *Didaktik* ('tips for teachers', relevance for practice) regularly. *Pädagogik* would then be a combination of the two and can be described as 'tips for teachers within a principled framework, towards explicit purpose beyond efficiency'.<sup>30</sup> From such distinctions, we can conclude that scientific recognition and the associated social status was not intended for *Didaktik* reflections as it was for such things as the Freinet pedagogy.

At the end of the nineteenth century, however, theories served as inspiring, enthusing examples for the teacher and future teacher to secure the development of the nation and to impart the correct attitude for such a



purpose. Until a few decades ago, the ideologically correct foundation of a theory was more important — which is not unexpected in the context of a pillarised society.<sup>31</sup> While the representation of such an objective was not subject-bound, universal reality was an illusion in practice. Thus this frame of thought clarified the position of the theories of Freinet, Oury, and others which did not fit within the recent ideas of status-rich research. The language of Freinet lacked, for example, 'sophistication, precision and neutrality'. From Beattie, however, we can understand that it was appreciated in practice. What is often written is a reflection on practice, without scientific pretences, either as an inspiring example or as 'tips for teachers'.<sup>32</sup> Those tips (and possibly a framework) were discussed regularly in the several publications of the AKO, the WERP, and the FBV. Every teacher integrated his or her elements of choice in class practice ('pick and mix'). The ideal Freinet class did not exist; the teacher remained a ghost in the machine and his or her consistent practice was more of an art, obeying a wealth of rules based on practical experience ('the customs'). It was, for example, not the intention that children would freely choose a project, but that the teacher would assist them; the teacher kept order in the progress!<sup>33</sup> It is against this background that Raillon states that education, at the level of the pedagogy, is entering the twenty-first century with nineteenth century methods.<sup>34</sup>

The consistency of this practice is confirmed because theory mainly serves to legitimate existing practices. Many emancipatory initiatives emerged from a discontent on the part of parents, teachers or educators with the existing education. Only later did they subscribe to one or another theoretical framework which sometimes also changed with the years. Whereas legitimisation originally took place according to socio-critical theories, for example Freinet, with a view to reforming the existing society and education, it shifted later increasingly towards scientific research. Pedagogical-didactical processes of rewording, filling in, recharacterising, didacticising, and simplifying made possible a legitimisation based on the progressive pedagogical heritage. Innocent techniques and procedures were integrated while sources of inspiration were thrown overboard.<sup>35</sup> Gradually adaptation to the rules of the game of the existing society increased. That image is sharply present in the history of the *Onderwijskrant*, the obligatory Flemish magazine of education reformers. Whereas in 1977 it was giving a voice to 'alternative education', in other words to education 'where parents and children are in charge of their own school'<sup>36</sup> and to 'alternative schools', in recent years it has been bulging with articles with a conservative tenor in which the utility of such schools is questioned. The appealing poster *vom Kinde aus* was allowed to remain a symbol,<sup>37</sup> but it was forced, in the 1980s and 1990s, to support the

existing scientific model in the context of a normative, value-bound, 'back-to-basics' pedagogy.

But how can we better understand the ironic, paradoxical relationship between theory and practice? The core of the answer is in the vision of progress within modernisation, the roots of which reach back to the Enlightenment. For the world of education this meant: 'In such a society, "schoolish" life was, in preparation as well as while waiting for "real" life, diluted to a pre-structured entity of well-organized relations and networks, whereby it gradually took on more and more the character of an educational island in society, on which pupils were isolated during a moratorium period. They were forbidden to take part in "real" life'. On the other hand, the society itself became, as some of us have argued in *Order in Progress* more and more 'schoolish'. This was due not only to the role of the school steadily expanding in society, but also because the late-capitalist and social-democratic social ordering appeared to appropriate itself constantly to the schoolish characteristics of order and authority.<sup>38</sup>

Although cultural changes also characterised our post-modern society (individualism, fragmentation, relativism, etc.), over the last decade an economic (neo-liberal) discourse about and within education has dominated. In the 1980s and 1990s, neo-liberalism, mainly propagated by the United States and the United Kingdom and promoted by Reagan and Thatcher and Reagan gained in popularity. In the mid 1990s the vision of globalisation and the global market economy was presented as being natural and inevitable. By contrast Giddens' 'The Third Way', 'part of the left', developed as 'the renewal of social democracy in a world where the views of the old left have become obsolete, while those of the new right are inadequate and contradictory'.<sup>39</sup> Competitiveness has become the answer to the demand for economic development and social justice. This Third-Way thinking has been characterised to this day by the more emphatic, but therefore not uncritical, acceptance of the market as the most suitable allocation and distribution mechanism (flexibility), by the impossibility and even undesirability of drastically reforming this system; by the rhetoric of the balance between rights and duties and the related contractualism; by a weakened condemnation of *post-factum* inequalities (only guarding integration); by pushing a thorough and critical analysis of the existing mechanisms into the background and emphasizing 'ethical principles' and general civic duties; by the implicit blaming of some non-active or insufficiently active categories, the avoiding of conflicts and battle by seeking a consensus in everything and offending as few (active) groups as possible; by the revaluation of pragmatism as a philosophical doctrine, a defeatist attitude towards or even endorsing of the 'retreat of policy'; while, conversely, the 'primacy of policy' is propagated (the

government facilitates) ..., and all this in a (sincere) rhetoric of solidarity, emancipation (empowerment), freedom and equality.<sup>40</sup> Since the eras of Blair and Clinton, this way of thinking cannot be ignored, although Giddens makes the following remark about them: 'the critics see the third way in this guise as warmed-over neo-liberalism'.<sup>41</sup> Within this framework economics seems to take priority over politics: 'Within the ongoing debate on the Third Way, globalisation is more often than not reduced to the imperatives of the global free market that can only be controlled by the increasing competition.'<sup>42</sup> Therefore, we continue speaking of 'neo-liberalism'. At the end of the 1990s counter- and anti-globalists have pointed to this neo-liberalism as the cause for the gulf between the poor and the rich. The free market and its globalisation have been demonstrated as being incapable of offering an alternative in order to banish inequality from the world.<sup>43</sup>

### ***Questions with the Neo-liberal Discourse***

The logic of economic competition is increasingly being interwoven with pedagogical education-logic, and economic choices have prevailed more and more over the sustainable and pedagogical choices.<sup>44</sup> The importance of a 'good' education had already been acknowledged by, amongst others, Adam Smith in his 'Wealth of Nations' (1776). By good education he meant, in fact, education that is in large measure adapted to the needs of the economy. Now, it is also the turn of institutions such as education to be subjected to the mechanisms of the free market and its all-regulating competition logic. To this day this reasoning has had a strong hold on the educational discourse with notions such as privatisation, responsibility, autonomy, and productivity (management, marketing, and public relations). Furthermore, utilitarianism, meritocracy, selection, and neo-Darwinistic competition are central in terms of human capital and manpower. The customers — parents but also students — are mollicoddled.<sup>45</sup> By focusing education unidirectionally on 'utility' and 'return', education has increasingly less to do with 'improving oneself as a person'. Education is structuring itself more and more around the principle of 'the market' and progress. This is the core of an arrogant belief in progress based on a neo-liberal ideology without limits. This discourse in relation to education indicates a 'perversion of ends and means'. 'Man' has become 'the means' for the economy (end). Training and qualification are investment factors that contribute to the increase in personal income and the economic growth of a country. A vicious circle is created when people have to train or retrain as a function of economic demand. Raes refers to the market-oriented way of thinking in the education sector as 'the dictatorship of utility'.<sup>46</sup>

The discourse of the current education policy, characterised by some to be a reversal and a perversion of the ideal of New Education, is typical of the changed socio-economic context. The Keynesian model, from which the emancipatory education models originate, was put to the test in Belgium between 1969 and 1986. The necessity of restructuring came together with the crisis: labour has, increasingly, become overly expensive in Western Europe.<sup>47</sup> According to Petrella, there is little 'community' left in our 'developed societies', and 'the culture of profit' is gaining ground. 'We are losing the sense of "being together and doing something together", the sense of a common interest. Individual projects (my education), individual survival strategies (my job, my income), individual assets (my car, my PC) take priority and are considered as the fundamental and irreplaceable expression of freedom .... In all developed countries, the leading classes have arrived at considering the welfare state as a stumbling block for enterprises and an obstacle to its competitive position. The solidarity on which this welfare state is based is no longer considered the guiding principle of societies.'<sup>48</sup> The vertical, rational bureaucracy of mass production has become unusable and must make way for the flexible employee and the 'network company'.<sup>49</sup>

In Flanders and Belgium this renewal of liberal thinking was introduced in national and recently in international politics, by Guy Verhofstadt, who has held important functions within the Liberal Party.<sup>50</sup> In his *Radicaal Manifest* (Radical Manifesto 1979) and *Burgermanifesten* (Civic Manifestos 1991, 1992 and 1994), he emphasised chiefly the primal importance of the free market (laws on competition and economic growth are of primal importance), privatisation, freedom through restructuring the government and the removal of barriers in political life (emancipating the citizen), individual choices and initiatives (creativity, innovation), equal opportunity, deregulation, tax cuts and contract thinking as a basis for social contact.

As regards education, he underlined the importance of the autonomy of the school, the regulation, control by minimal conditions and the freedom of the parents to arrange education as they see fit, principally to counter the unions and large and expensive networks. In this context he stated: 'Large reforms and experiments are being continually implemented. Even holding examinations, giving homework assignments or awarding marks have been done away with, rarely with egalitarian motives as the starting points .... The more resources we put into our education and the more we fiddle and experiment with it, the more the quality declines.'<sup>51</sup>

In 1986 Verhofstadt, the Minister of Finance, wanted to make drastic reductions to the national debt by cutting back on government spending. The strict budget control was named the Sint-Annaplan and was strongly

contested within (emancipatory) education. His plea for anti-authoritarianism and pluralism in education must, we believe, be understood from the demand for individual freedom and deregulation. Verhofstadt also gave emancipation a rather individualistic interpretation, which should not be surprising for somebody about whom it was said: 'give him a bike and he wants to become world champion'.<sup>52</sup> Critics have a more nuanced opinion as regards the relationship between individual and collective.<sup>53</sup> Contrary to Verhofstadt's opinion it would appear that our choices are pre-programmed, as it were, by structures and authorities. The free individual (*Homo optionis*) is a creature from utopia; 'Never before in human history have large-scale societies had so many resources and so many people available to socialise all members of society, to train, educate and influence them'. In doing this Verhofstadt highlighted the role of history in imparting democratic principles, citizenship and being fully human. This resembled a utilitarian plea attuned to his own liberal preferences.<sup>54</sup>

### ***The Irony of Emancipation in a Flemish Neo-liberal Discourse***

All this has led to a particularly ironic situation for emancipatory education models. Their supporters have warned about the neo-liberal discourse. The *Oproep voor een democratische school* (Ovds: Call for a democratic school) — which is interesting because of its democratic starting point — questioned whether the method schools and the Freinet education were able to withstand the liberal steamroller. Strong criticism was voiced against schooling as merchandise, the education 'market', and the OESO. Nico Hirtt, the driving force behind Ovds, warned against the private sector taking over public education. The spearhead within this trend was, according to him, the supply of all kinds of home courses, attuned to immediate use for the business community and offered by software companies with certificates over which the government had no control. The newsletter for the *Federatie voor Onafhankelijke, Pluralistische en Emancipatorische Methodescholen* (FOPEM: Federation for Independent, Pluralistic and Emancipatory Method Schools) reported in June 1999: 'The Court of Arbitration considered a healthy financial regime to be more important than pedagogical and ideological discrimination'. These criticisms are reminiscent of the basic principle of the emancipatory educational models: knowledge is an objective in itself and cannot be valued to the extent it offers a return. People cannot be made secondary to the flow of information. But the voice was not sounded loudly; the many initiatives were found in the margins of the educational field.<sup>55</sup>

The credo of the ever-present neo-liberal discourse — adapt to the new social order — took over the discourse of the emancipatory educational

models. The way in which the previous liberal minister of education used the term 'critical' — for example 'learning how to use the PC critically' — indicates an altered, but only symbolic meaning; only the rhetoric of the critical aspect was left. The significance of the government's participation decree must also still prove its value in the future. It disguised the credo with a humanistic veil and made it into a seemingly neutral discourse.<sup>56</sup>

In 2005, the school waiting lists are even longer but the critical aspect, in practice, will disappear gradually and the emancipatory educational models will be increasingly encapsulated in official education. Officials were compelled to take the steps which will culminate in this situation by, for example, having to respond to direct government interventions such as the Rationalisation and Programme Law of 1984, through which subsidies were granted in exchange for the right to control. The new Decree on Primary Education (1997) and the new syllabi have also generated major concern. The FOPEM schools are still not making their own syllabi, but rather use those of OVSG (the umbrella organisation of the communal and provincial schools). Supervision since the 1990s has come in the form of final qualifications imposed by the Flemish Parliament. They signify a limitation on action. Despite discussion about this in several AKO publications, there were never any problems with its application. The Freinet schools were even pleased to find their own basic principles outlined in it. In this way, the Freinet school draws *De kRing* ('the circle') around the 'school vision'; 'just as any school of community education, the syllabus and achievement of the final qualifications are central'.<sup>57</sup> Apart, but not separate from this, the government plays an indirect role as banker. Put as a caricature, many emancipatory schools were facing a dilemma: either charge tuition fees and be flooded with criticism for being an elite school (where mainly the cultural elite is hoping to buy 'better' education)<sup>58</sup> or try to get subsidies and sacrifice pedagogical freedom.<sup>59</sup> The risk of losing jobs (few teachers were willing to participate in the protest) and the operating funds of the AKO (the 'AKO-philes' received government subsidies for one member of staff) also contributed to the burden.<sup>60</sup> The recent source material, such as the FOPEM newsletters, can be interpreted in this context; how do we deal with interferences such as scaling up and efficiency norms imposed on us by the government? To put it thus is to find similarity with the way Boomkens speaks of Foucault's vision on emancipation, freedom and liberation; freedom does not mean the reversal of the existing power but the way we deal with our condition of freedom.<sup>61</sup>

With the arrival of the new millennium, the curtain fell; 'there is nothing left of this more-than-ordinary adventure in which the great educators participated, educators who, with a few new ideas, could have

yielded the hope of a true revolution in the domain of education and teaching'.<sup>62</sup> The gradual permeation of the emancipatory ideas into the basic principles of regular education has also had a very distorting effect. In this way, the project of Experiential Education by Laevers has given the 'progressive' notion of creativity (Rogers) a neo-liberal touch (creativity as sense for enterprising).<sup>63</sup>

Although the foundation is likely 'working on diligently and industriously',<sup>64</sup> the above reflections, based on normative sources, illustrate that Aldrich's way of thinking, founded on the analysis of a conservative pedagogical heritage that seeks to appear progressive,<sup>65</sup> is ultimately also applicable to the progressive ideology that, at least in Belgium and Flanders, dresses increasingly in neo-conservative (or neo-liberal) clothing.

#### NOTES

1. Aldrich, Richard. 1996. *Education for the Nation*. Institute of Education Series, University of London. London: Cassell, 38.
2. Laevers, Ferre. 1994. The Innovative Project Experiential Education and the Definition of Quality in Education. In *Defining and Assessing Quality in Early Childhood Education*, edited by Ferre Laevers, 159–172. *Studia Paedagogica*, n.s. 16. Louvain: Leuven University Press; Laevers, Ferre. 2003. Making Care and Education more Effective through Well Being and Involvement. In *Involvement of Children and Teacher Style: Insights from an International Study on Experiential Education*, edited by Ferre Laevers and Ludo Heylen, 13–24. *Studia Paedagogica*, n.s. 35. Louvain: Leuven University Press.
3. Depaepe, Marc, et al 2000. *Order in Progress. Everyday Educational Practice in Primary Schools: Belgium, 1880–1970*. *Studia Paedagogica*, n. 29. Louvain: Leuven University Press.
4. Based on the three only issues *Werp* has known: *Werp* 1, *Werp* 2 and *Werp* 3; with regard to co-operation, see: Editorial. 1971. *Akolade* (9–10) and *Werp* (4): 1.
5. Vanthoutnout, P. 1983. *De Freinetpedagogiek in België voor de Tweede Wereldoorlog*. Louvain: Helicon; Decramer, Ruth. 2004. *De ontwikkeling van de freinetpedagogiek in Vlaanderen na de Tweede Wereldoorlog: een historisch kwalitatief onderzoek*. Lic. thesis, Catholic University Leuven, Louvain; Redactioneel. 1981. *Beweging*. Een uitgave van de Freinetstichting Vlaanderen 1 (0): 3 (Beweging already existed since 1981).
6. Dieltjens, Dirk. 1990–1991. *Tussen utopie, rebellie en seculaire religie. Een biografisch onderzoek naar belief systems bij emancipatorische onderwijsvernieuwers in de Werkgroep Basisschool van Aktiegroep Kritisch Onderwijs*. Lic. thesis, Free University Brussels, Brussels, 22; Verbeeck, Fons. 1990. Voorwoord. *AKO-Berichten* 8 (5): 56.
7. Van Den Heurck, Tony. S.d. *30 jaar onderwijsverandering, -vernieuwing, -verbetering?* In press; Decramer, *De ontwikkeling van de freinetpedagogiek*; Lotens, Walter and Chico Detrez. 1990. *20 jaar kritische onderwijsbeweging of de Aktiegroep Kritisch Onderwijs (A'pen) en de Werkgroep Revolutionaire*

- Pedagogiek timmeren twee decennia lang aan de weg van de onderwijsvernieuwing. *Ako-Berichten* 8 (5): 5; Detrez, Chico. 1990. Het circus en de clown met de te korte beentjes. *Ako-Berichten* 8 (5): 41–42; Verbeeck, Fons. 1987. Werkgroep basisschool nog steeds een belangrijke werkingsas van AKO. *Ako-Berichten* 5 (3): 20; Verbeeck, Fons. 1991. 20 jaar werkgroep basisschool. *Ako-Berichten* 9 (4): 14–28; with regard to the changes within AKO: see further in the text.
8. Hooghe, Marc and Jaak Billiet. 2004. Inleiding: tussen vernieuwing en continuïteit. Sociologen en historici over nieuwe sociale bewegingen. *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis* 34 (3): 320–322.
  9. Kurlansky, Mark. 2003. 1968. *The Year that Rocked the World*. New York: Ballantine.
  10. Eco, Umberto. 2002. *Hoe schrijf ik een scriptie?* Translated from Italian by Yond Boeke and Patty Krone. Amsterdam: Aula, 33.
  11. See, Kurlansky, 1968, 229–230; Hobsbawm, Eric. 1994. *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914–1991*. London: Michael Joseph.
  12. Dylan, Bob. 2004. *The Chronicles*. Vol 1, 113–117. New York: Simon and Schuster; Kurlansky, 1968, 109.
  13. With regard to AKO: Van Den Heurck, Tony. S.d. *30 jaar onderwijsverandering, -vernieuwing, -verbetering?* In press.
  14. AKO dedicated a special issue to Oury at the time of his passing away: Fernand Oury 1920–1998. 1998. *AKO: aktiegroep kritisch onderwijs, freinetbeweging* 16 (2); Redactie. 1969. Editoriaal. *Werp* 1 (September): 1; Redactie. 1978. Basiswerking: Oury was in het land. *Onderwijskrant* 3 (March): 26–28; Dieltjens, Tussen utopie, rebellie en seculiere religie, 23–26; Oury, Fernand and Aïda Vasquez. 1967. *Vers une pédagogie institutionnelle*. Textes à l'appui/pédagogie. Paris: Maspero; Pain, Jacques. 2004. L'éducation nouvelle a-t-elle existé? In *L'éducation nouvelle histoire, présence et devenir*, edited by Annick Ohayon, Dominique Ottavi and Antoine Savoye, 318, 326. Exploration: Education: histoire et pensée. Bern e.a.: Peter Lang; The most important promoter of Oury in Belgium was Jacques Dhaenens, who, in the 1960s, travelled to the Parisian *banlieu* to participate in workshops with Oury (Dhaenens, Jacques. 1970. Institutionele stage. *Werp* 2 (January): 9–10).
  15. Beattie, Nicholas. 2002. *The Freinet Movements of France, Italy, and Germany, 1920–2000. Versions of Educational Progressivism*. Mellen Studies in Education, vol. 74. Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press.
  16. Van Den Heurck, Tony. 1995. 100 jaar Freinet! *AKO: onderwijstijdschrift van de Aktiegroep kritisch onderwijs & De Freinetbeweging Vlaanderen* 13 (5): 3–8; Decramer, *De ontwikkeling van de Freinetpedagogiek*, 15–17; Dhaenens, Jacques. 1969. Wij lazén ... Summerhill. *Werp* 1 (September): 23–25; Van den Bremp, Toon. 1977. Basiswerking, naar een andere school. *Onderwijskrant* 1 (October): 28; Steel, Wim. 1979. Basisonderwijs in Nederland: een reisverslag. *Onderwijskrant* 9 (March–April): 30–33.
  17. Oelkers, Jürgen. 1989. *Reformpädagogik. Eine kritische Dogmengeschichte*. Grundlagentexte Pädagogik. Weinheim, München: Juventa Verlag.
  18. Hooghe and Billiet, 'Inleiding', 320–321; Mirel further notes that, as regards the American situation, progressive education in the 1990s was carried by the conservative President (Mirel, Jeffrey. 2003. *Old Educational Ideas*, New



- American Schools: Progressivism and the Rhetoric of Educational Revolution. *Paedagogica Historica* 39 (4): 487).
19. On this, see for example: Werkgroep Basisschool. 1989. Zinvol leren in zelfbeheer. *AKO-Berichten* 7 (5): 25–28; Detrez, 'Het circus en de clown met de te korte beentjes', 41–43, 51–52; *Onderwijskrant* 63 [special issue] deals with alternative schools.
  20. Hooghe and Billiet, 'Inleiding', 321–322; Lotens and Detrez, '20 jaar kritische onderwijsbeweging', 7.
  21. Conley, Brenda Edgerton. 2002. *Alternative Schools: A Reference Handbook*. Contemporary education issues. Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1–2.
  22. Quote: Redactie. 1969. Editoriaal. *Werp* 1 (September): 0; Detrez, 'Het circus en de clown met de te korte beentjes', 31–54.
  23. Depaepe, Marc. 1998. Educationalisation: A Key Concept in Understanding the Basic Processes in the History of Western Education. *History of Education Review* 27 (2): 16–28.
  24. Lotens and Detrez, '20 jaar kritische onderwijsbeweging', 10.
  25. Redactie. 1987. Editio. *AKO-Berichten* 5 (1): 2–10; Lotens, Walter. 1990. Menuet van Kondratieff. *AKO-Berichten* 8 (6): 19–29; Redactie. 1988. Tien jaar *Onderwijskrant*: wel en wee van een onafhankelijk onderwijstijdschrift. *Onderwijskrant* 50 [special issue] (February): 3–7; Houbrechts, Wim. 1971. Bedenkingen na een jaar AKO. *Akolade* 9–10 and *Werp* 4 (May-June): 4–5; Redactie. 1970. Editoriaal. *Werp* 2 (January): 1; Lotens, Walter. 1971. Wat nu AKO? *Akolade* 9–10 and *Werp* 4 (May-June): 6–9; Commers, Ronald. 1971. Het verleden en de toekomst van AKO. *Akolade* 9–10 and *Werp* 4 (May-June): 10; Lotens, Walter. 1987. 10 jaar *Onderwijskrant*: een rondetafel rond een rond getal. *AKO-Berichten* 5 (4–5): 20.
  26. Lemaire, Ton. 1990. *Twijfel aan Europa. Zijn de intellectuelen de vijanden van de Europese cultuur?* Baarn: Ambo, 66; AKO on emancipation: Lotens, Walter. 1991. Naar aanleiding van 20 jaar AKO: onderwijs en postmodernisme, deel 1. *Onderwijskrant* 65 (February): 11–21; Martens, Lode. 1972. School en maatschappij. *Akolade-Werp* 3 (1): 4–25.
  27. Depaepe, *Order in Progress*, 11–18.
  28. Quote: <http://users.skynet.be/aped/ovds/DS/DS5/Freinet1.htm>; for questions as regards school career, see [http://www.geocities.com/trappenhuis/tek\\_art8.htm](http://www.geocities.com/trappenhuis/tek_art8.htm)
  29. Depaepe, Marc. 2002. The Practical and Professional Relevance of Educational Research and Pedagogical Knowledge from the Perspective of History: Reflections on the Belgian Case against its International Background. *European Educational Research Journal* 1 (3): 360–379; Depaepe, Marc. 1992. Experimental Research in Education 1890–1940: Historical Processes behind the Development of a Discipline in Western Europe and the United States. In *Aspects of education. Journal of the Institute of Education, The University of Hull*. Edited by V.A. McClelland. Vol. 42, *Education and Europe: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Maurice Whitehead, 67–93. Hull: Studies in Education Ltd.
  30. Beattie, *The Freinet Movements*, 334–335, 369.
  31. For example: Huyse, Luc. 2003. *Over politiek*. Louvain: Van Halewyck, 115–192.
  32. Elements taken from Beattie, *The Freinet Movements*, 369, 334–335.
  33. Beattie, Idem; with regard to the importance of "a collective biography of progressivists", see: Cunningham, P. 2001. *Innovators, Networks and Structures*:

- Towards a Prosopography of Progressivism. *History of Education* 30 (5): 433–451; Oelkers, Jürgen. 1995. Break and Continuity: Observations on the Modernization Effects and Traditionalization in International Reform Pedagogy. *Paedagogica Historica* 31 (3): 713; with regard to the impossibility of "the one Freinet class": Landroit, Henri. 1998. Freinetklas? Translated from French by Luc De Meulenaere and Olivier Jonneaux. *AKO: aktiegroep kritisch onderwijs, freinetbeweging* 16 (4): 22–24; for this paragraph and the next one: Depaepe, *Order in Progress*.
34. Raillon, Louis. 2004. L'éducation nouvelle a-t-elle existé? In *L'éducation nouvelle histoire, présence et devenir*, edited by Annick Ohayon, Dominique Ottavi en Antoine Savoye, 318, 326. Exploration: Education: histoire et pensée. Bern e.a.: Peter Lang. See, AKO: <<http://www.ako.be/intro.htm>>.
  35. Depaepe, 'The practical and professional relevance', 360–379; Zilvermit, Arthur. 1993. *Changing Schools: Progressive Education Theory and Practice, 1930–1960*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 176; De Coster, Tom. Wat is er in Vlaanderen met het progressief pedagogische erfgoed gebeurd? Inspiratiebronnen en hun filterproces in het kader van receptie- en implementatiegeschiedenis van "emancipatorische" opvoedingsmodellen in de neoliberale context na de jaren 1960. Paper presented at the 7d annual meeting of the Association des Cercles Francophones d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Belgique and the 44d annual meeting of the Fédération des Cercles d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Belgique, 26–28 August, at University of Louvain-la-Neuve, Louvain-la-Neuve; with regard to 'didacticism': Beattie, *The Freinet Movements*, 367.
  36. Redactie. 1977. Waar ouders en kinderen baas zijn in eigen school. *Onderwijskrant* 2 (December): 13–28. Other points of view: Wyffels, Danny. 1990. The thin line between love and hate. Verliefdheid en wrevel t.a.v. alternatieve scholen. *Onderwijskrant* 63 [special issue] (September): 12–15. *Onderwijskrant* 63 [special issue]; Lotens, '10 jaar Onderwijskrant', 22.
  37. Oelkers links this with 'moral expectations': Oelkers, 'Break and Continuity', 712; About the problem of rhetoric, see for example: Mirel, 'Old Educational Ideas, New American Schools', 477.
  38. De Coster, Tom, Marc Depaepe, Frank Simon and Angelo Van Gorp. S.d. Dewey in Belgium: A Libation for Modernity? Coping with his Presence and Possible Influence. In *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education*, edited by Tom Popkewitz. In press.
  39. In connection with Thatcher, see: Aldrich, Richard. 1992. Educational Legislation of the 1980s in England: An Historical Analysis. *History of Education* 21 (1): 68 and also Giddens, Anthony. 1998. *The Third Way. The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 5, 155.
  40. Devos, Carl, Tine Boucké, Patrick De Vos and Dries Lesage. 2001. *De Stille revolutie van de globalisering en de Derde Weg. Bedenkingen bij de activering van de Belgische welvaartsstaat*. Demokritos. Mededelingen van de vakgroep politieke wetenschappen, vol. 4. Ghent: Universiteit Gent, 20.
  41. Giddens, *The Third Way*, 25; Gordon, Peter, Richard Aldrich and Dennis Dean. 1991. *Education and Policy in England in the Twentieth Century*. London: The Woburn Press.
  42. Text in this paragraph without a specific reference, is based on: De Vos, Patrick. 2004. Over derde en andere uitwegen: sociaal-democratisch revisionisme in

- historisch perspectief. In *Schijn of scharnier: politieke trendbreuken in de jaren '90*, edited by Carl Devos and Helmut Gaus, 177–188. Ghent: Academia Press (quote: 184).
43. See, <http://websitemaker.kennisnet.nl/andersglobalisme/frameset.htm>
  44. With regard to the interaction between education and economy in the period 1973–1995, see the chapter “From Vocationalism to the Enterprise Culture, 1973–1995” in: Aldrich, Richard, David Crook and David Watson. 2000. *Education and Employment: the DfEE and its Place in History*. Bedford Way Papers. London: Institute of Education, University of London.
  45. Wielemans, Willy. 2000. *Ingewikkelde ontwikkeling. Opvoeding en onderwijs in relatie tot maatschappij en cultuur*. Louvain, Leusden: Acco, 230; Raes, Koen. 2001. *Verschaalde waarden, de onmin in een cultuur*. Kapellen: Pelckmans, 165–166.
  46. Raes, *Verschaalde waarden*, 166; ‘Successful design teams’ in contrast to ‘non-productive ones’: Mirel, ‘Old Educational Ideas, New American Schools’, 488; McCulloch questions the ‘strong conviction in the power of education and training to improve economic performance’ (McCulloch, Gary. 1998. *Education and Economic Performance. History of Education* 27 (3): 203).
  47. Petrella, Riccardo. 1996. *Le Bien commun. Eloge de la solidarité*. 2<sup>d</sup> ed. Collection Quartier Libre. Brussels: Editions Labor, 10.
  48. Petrella, *Le Bien commun*, 11.
  49. Castells, Manuel. 1996. *The Rise of The Network Society*. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, vol. 1. Cambridge MA, Oxford: Blackwell; Castells, Manuel. 1997. *The Power of Identity*. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, vol. 2. Cambridge MA, Oxford: Blackwell; Castells, Manuel. 1998. *The End of The Millenium*. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, vol. 3. Cambridge MA, Oxford: Blackwell.
  50. Vanpeteghem, Boudewijn and Olivier Mouton. 2003. *Numero Uno: Guy Verhofstadts weg naar de top*. Tielt: Lannoo, 41, 51–58.
  51. Based on: Verhofstadt, Guy. 1979. *Het Radicaal Manifest. Handvest voor een nieuwe liberale omwenteling*. Duplicated, and the three civil manifests published in: Verhofstadt, Guy. *Angst, afgunst en het algemeen belang*. Antwerp, Baarn: Hadewijch (quote: 118); the educational ideas are also embodied in liberal publications from this period: the journal *Liberaal Reflex*, conference papers (like those in 1972, 1978, 1987 and 1997) and PRAGMA, Politieke club voor eigentijds liberalisme. 1978. *Een politieke identiteit voor liberalen*. Antwerp, Amsterdam: Standaard Uitgeverij. (Vanpeteghem and Mouton, *Numero Uno*).
  52. Vanpeteghem and Mouton, *Numero Uno*, 9.
  53. Wielemans. *Ingewikkelde ontwikkeling*; Wielemans, Willy. 1993. *Voorbij het individu. Mensbeelden in wetenschappen*. Louvain, Apeldoorn: Garant; Semel, Susan F. and Alan R. Sadovnik. 1999. ‘Progressive Education: Lessons from the Past and the Present.’ In “*Schools of Tomorrow, Schools of Today; What Happened to Progressive Education*”, edited by Susan F. Semel and Alan R. Sadovnik, 366–376. *History of Schools and Schooling*, 8. New York et al: Peter Lang.
  54. Quote: Elchardus, Mark and Ignace Glorieux, ed. 2002. *De symbolische samenleving. Een exploratie van de nieuwe sociale en culturele ruimtes*. Tielt:

- Lannoo, 16; see also: Beattie, *The Freinet Movements*, 383; Vanpeteghem and Mouton, *Numero Uno*.
55. Quote: Arbitragehof bevestigt discriminatie van methodescholen. 1999. *Nieuwsbrief FOPEM* 5 (4): 1; Hirtt, 'Kan Freinet worden opgelost in de school-als-koopwaar?', 11-12; Hirtt, Nico and Gérard de Selys. 1998. *Tableau noir, Résister à la privatisation de l'enseignement*. Brussels: EPO; Hirtt, Nico. 2001. *L'école prostituée*. Brussels: Editions Labor.
  56. Vanderpoorten, Marleen [Bea Bossaerts]. 2002. *Een bank vooruit. Onderwijsbeleid in Vlaanderen*. Antwerp, Amsterdam: Houtekiet.
  57. <http://www.de-kring.be/Ouders/schoolvisie.htm>; Detrez, Chico. 1997. Decreet Basisonderwijs. AKO: *onderwijstijdschrift van de aktiegroep kritisch onderwijs & de freinetbeweging* 15 (1): 12-14; Stubbe, Patrick. 1997. Eindtermen. AKO: *onderwijstijdschrift van de aktiegroep kritisch onderwijs & de freinetbeweging* 15 (1): 17-21; Redactie. 1997. Het nieuwe Decreet Basisonderwijs. *Nieuwsbrief FOPEM* 4 (1): 1; Lust, Ann. 2000. FOPEM-nieuws. *Nieuwsbrief FOPEM* 7 (1): 12; De Maeseneer, Rudi. 1997. Grove borstels. AKO: *onderwijstijdschrift van de aktiegroep kritisch onderwijs & de freinetbeweging* 15 (4): 9-17.
  58. De Niel, Rudy. 1995. 17 maart 1995. AKO: *onderwijstijdschrift van de Aktiegroep kritisch onderwijs & De Freinetbeweging Vlaanderen* 13 (4): 6-12; Detrez, Chico. 1995. Oude wijn in Maastrichtse vaten. AKO: *onderwijstijdschrift van de Aktiegroep kritisch onderwijs & De Freinetbeweging Vlaanderen* 13 (4): 14-18; Detrez, 'Het circus en de clown met de te korte beentjes', 41-43.
  59. Medaer, Carl. 1995. Methodescholen van de ARGO. AKO: *onderwijstijdschrift van de Aktiegroep kritisch onderwijs & De Freinetbeweging Vlaanderen* 13 (5): 9-14; Lotens and Detrez, '20 jaar kritische onderwijsbeweging', 5-30.
  60. Zilversmit, *Changing Schools*, 178; Viaene, Lieven. 1992. Kiezen voor een niet traditionele basisschool. Een exploratieve studie naar het recruiteringsveld van de alternatieve basisscholen in Vlaanderen en naar de keuzemotieven van de ouders. Lic. thesis, Free University Brussels, Brussels, 111; Medaer, 'Methodescholen van de ARGO', 10-11; Lotens and Detrez, '20 jaar kritische onderwijsbeweging', 5-30.
  61. Boomkens: [http://www.culturelestudies.be/onderzoek/smeul\\_reneboomkens](http://www.culturelestudies.be/onderzoek/smeul_reneboomkens) 3.
  62. Raillon, 'L'éducation nouvelle a-t-elle existé?', 317, 325-326. In subsequent research we will still have to investigate this conclusion further based on the inspirational research for these new social movements.
  63. Laevers, 'The Innovative Project Experiential Education and the Definition of Quality in Education', 171; Laevers, 'Making Care and Education more Effective', 20-21.
  64. De Vlaminck, Ann. 1997. Voorwoord. *Nieuwsbrief FOPEM* 4 (2): 1.
  65. Aldrich, Richard, ed. 2002. *A Century of Education*. London, New York: Routledge, Falmer, 6.