



Bébé, petite Enfance en Contextes  
Toulouse, 18-20 mai 2022

# LA MARCHANDISATION DE LA PETITE ENFANCE

Ou l'individualisation de la responsabilité  
parentale

Michel Vandebroeck

Département du Travail social et de la Pédagogie sociale  
Université de Gand, Belgique





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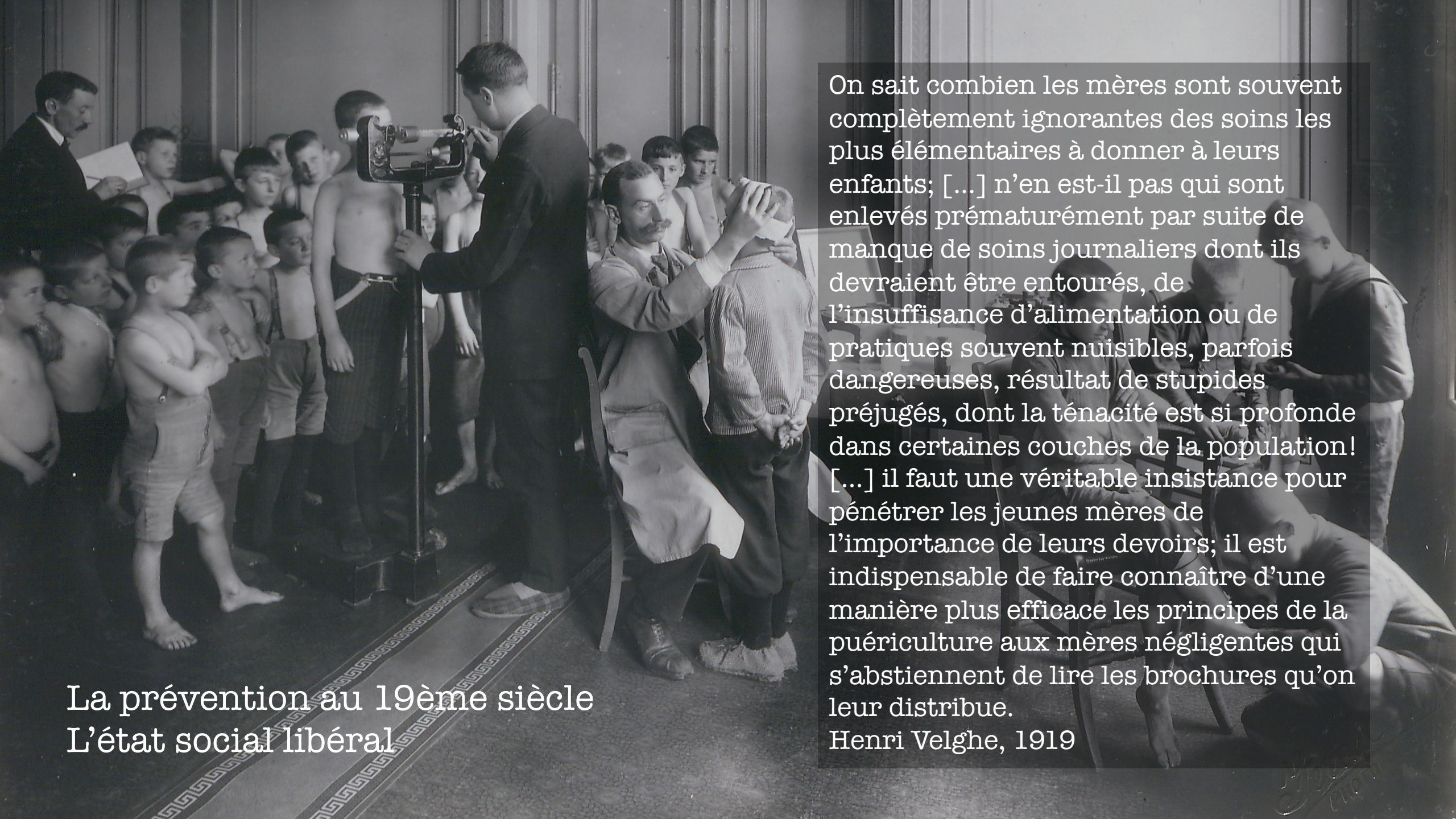
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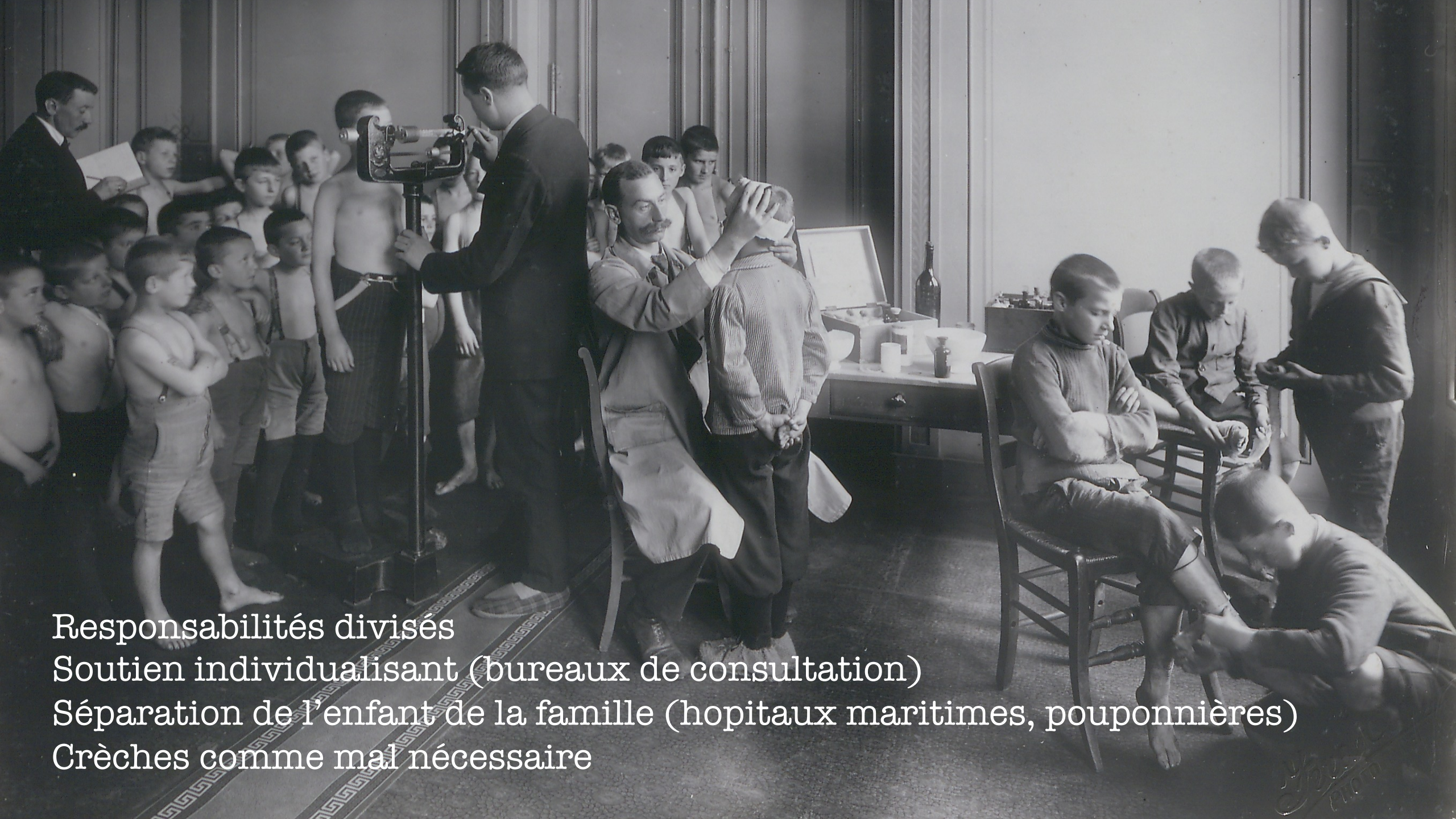
1. Un regard historique sur les conseils aux parents
2. Les conseils aux parents aujourd'hui
3. La marchandisation de la petite enfance
4. La parentalité paranoïde et l'industrie du soutien parental



La prévention au 19<sup>ème</sup> siècle  
L'état social libéral

On sait combien les mères sont souvent complètement ignorantes des soins les plus élémentaires à donner à leurs enfants; [...] n'en est-il pas qui sont enlevés prématurément par suite de manque de soins journaliers dont ils devraient être entourés, de l'insuffisance d'alimentation ou de pratiques souvent nuisibles, parfois dangereuses, résultat de stupides préjugés, dont la ténacité est si profonde dans certaines couches de la population! [...] il faut une véritable insistance pour pénétrer les jeunes mères de l'importance de leurs devoirs; il est indispensable de faire connaître d'une manière plus efficace les principes de la puériculture aux mères négligentes qui s'abstiennent de lire les brochures qu'on leur distribue.

Henri Velghe, 1919



Responsabilités divisés  
Soutien individualisant (bureaux de consultation)  
Séparation de l'enfant de la famille (hopitaux maritimes, pouponnières)  
Crèches comme mal nécessaire

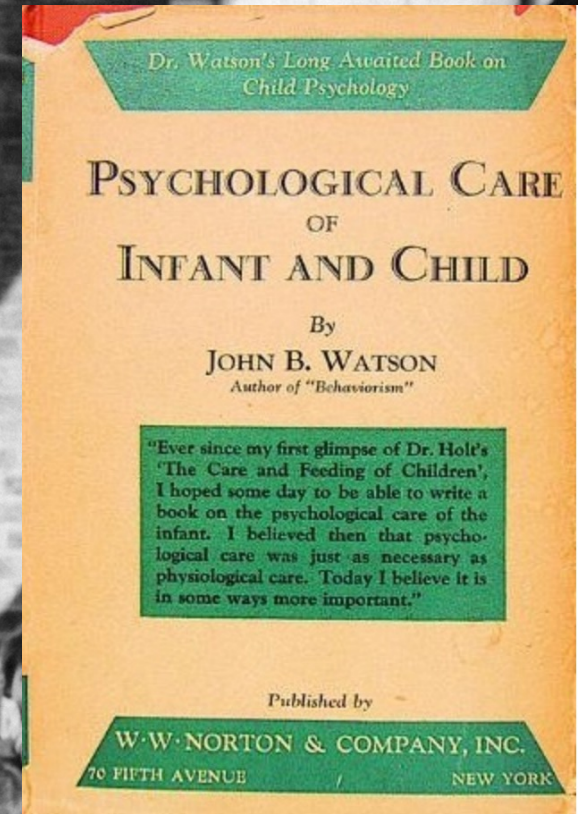
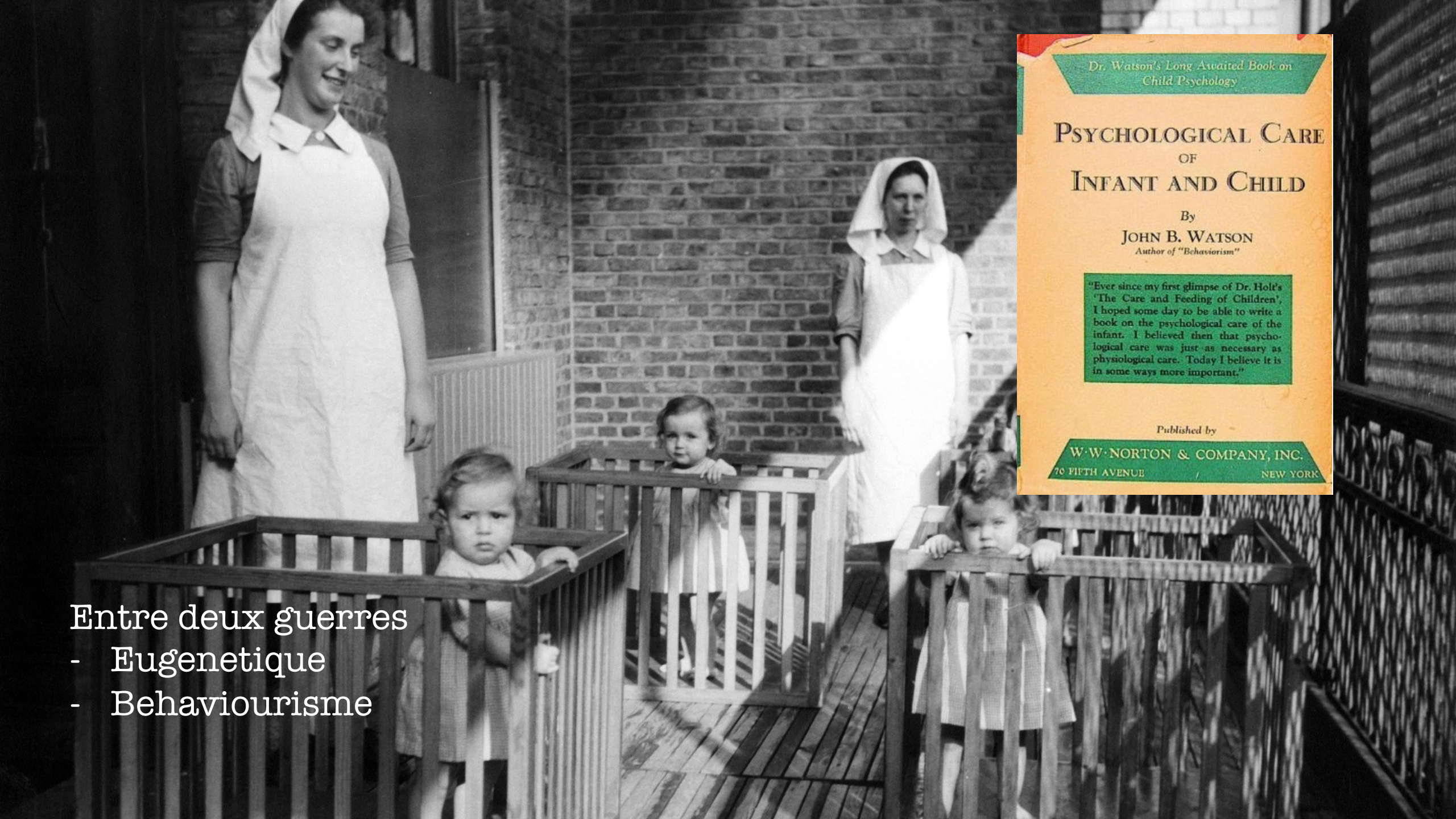


Plus on étudie les causes de l'indigence, et plus on reconnaît que le défaut d'éducation est celle qui fait le plus d'indigents, comme elle est aussi celle qui fait le plus de criminels

Dans la grande majorité des communes, les maisons [...] sont dans un état déplorable, tant au point de vue de l'application des règles de la morale qu'à celui des lois de la salubrité

(De Gérandot, Le visiteur du pauvre)

La pédagogicalisation de problèmes sociaux



Entre deux guerres

- Eugenetique
- Behaviourisme

the petting needed for a baby to learn that it is growing up in a kindly home.

But even granting that the mother thinks she kisses the child for the perfectly logical reason of implanting the proper amount of affection and kindness in it, does she succeed? The fact I brought out before, that we rarely see a happy child, is proof to the contrary. The fact that our children are always crying and always whining shows the unhappy, unwholesome state they are in. Their digestion is interfered with and probably their whole glandular system is deranged.

*Should the mother never kiss the baby?*

There is a sensible way of treating children. Treat them as though they were young adults. Dress them, bathe them with care and circumspection. Let your behavior always be objective and kindly firm. Never hug and kiss them, never let them sit in your lap. If you must, kiss them once on the forehead when

they say good night. Shake hands with them in the morning. Give them a pat on the head if they have made an extraordinarily good job of a difficult task. Try it out. In a week's time you will find how easy it is to be perfectly objective with your child and at the same time kindly. You will be utterly ashamed of the mawkish, sentimental way you have been handling it.

If you expected a dog to grow up and be useful as a watch dog, a bird dog, a fox hound, useful for anything except a lap dog, you wouldn't dare treat it the way you treat your child. When I hear a mother say "Bless its little heart" when it falls down, or stubs its toe, or suffers some other ill, I usually have to walk a block or two to let off steam. Can't the mother train herself when something happens to the child to look at its hurt without saying anything, and if there is a wound to dress it in a matter of fact way? And then as the child grows older, can she not train it to go and find the boracic acid and the ban-

James B. Watson  
Psychological Care of Infant & Child  
Norton Press, 1928

Dr. Watson's Long Awaited Book on  
Child Psychology

PSYCHOLOGICAL CARE  
OF  
INFANT AND CHILD

By  
JOHN B. WATSON  
Author of "Behaviorism"

"Ever since my first glimpse of Dr. Holt's 'The Care and Feeding of Children', I hoped some day to be able to write a book on the psychological care of the infant. I believed then that psychological care was just as necessary as physiological care. Today I believe it is in some ways more important."

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70 FIFTH AVENUE / NEW YORK

# EVERYDAY PROBLEMS OF THE EVERYDAY CHILD

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

GRACE ABBOTT

DIRECTOR OF THE UNITED STATES CHILDREN'S BUREAU

D. APPLETON AND COMPANY  
NEW YORK LONDON

1933

## CHAPTER VIII

### OBEDIENCE AND DISCIPLINE

**O**BEDIENCE implies submission to the control of others, and the "others" to whom we refer in speaking of child training are parents or those who are in authority. It is not instinctive, like hunger. It is something to be acquired by experience and training.

There are, however, certain innate tendencies, such as imitation, love of approbation, and plasticity that can be utilized in developing habits leading to obedience.

Obedience should not be looked upon as an end in itself. Mere submission to parental authority may prove to be an attitude harmful to the child in later life. It may soon deteriorate into mere compliance or a willingness to conform to the wishes and desires of any one who has a strong will. Obedience is a means to an end, and that end is self-control and restraint.

This means not only conformity to social laws and customs as well as family rules and regulations, but also obedience to principles and standards, which go to make up the moral fabric of personality.

Obedience in itself cannot be taken as a criterion of character, and the ease with which it is developed in the child is not an indication of his ability to make a satisfactory social adjustment later in life. The plasticity of a child's mind is the greatest factor to be

[ 116 ]

## Obedience and Discipline

reckoned with in the development of this particular trait. "Plasticity," says William James, "means the possession of a structure weak enough to yield and strong enough not to yield all at once . . . the phenomena of habits in human beings are due to plasticity."<sup>1</sup>

The parental attitude that demands obedience at all costs leads to the use of such drastic and unfair measures that, in gratifying their desire for power and authority, the parents may lose all those finer feelings that should exist in the parent-child relationship. How often mothers say, "I can't do a thing with him, but it takes just one look from his father." This tells the story of a child whose sole motive for desirable conduct is fear. He has not been taught how much pleasure and satisfaction can be derived from honest effort, coöperation, and team play. He is indifferent to approbation. Uninfluenced by either praise or blame, he directs his course, or rather has it directed for him, toward a future filled with difficult social situations.

Disobedience may be looked upon as a form of self-assertion that is misplaced. It may be brought about by physical illness, when the child's sense of well-being is at low ebb. Forceful and uncompromising measures on the part of the parents that tend to push rather than to lead the child are common causes of stubbornness, which is often construed as disobedience. Doubts, indecisions, jealousy, and fear all tend to disturb the

<sup>1</sup> William James, *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. I. (Holt & Co.), p. 105.

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## Feeding by the Clock.

The importance of establishing and practising perfect regularity in the feeding-times for babies is so great, and the prejudice against waking an infant if he happens to be asleep when feeding-time comes round is so widespread, that it is necessary to specially insist on the point. There is no doubt whatever as to the duty of mother and nurse in this matter.

The leading authorities of the day—English, Foreign, and American—all agree that the first thing to establish in life is **regularity of habits**. The mother who "can't be so cruel" as to wake her sleeping baby if he happens to be asleep at the appointed feeding-time, fails to realise that a few such wakings would be all she would ever have to resort to.

At the dawn of life, a day or two of regular feeding with proper intervals (practically speaking no baby needs to be fed more often than every three hours) suffices to establish clock-like regularity of the rhythm of alternate sleeping and feeding. The new-born babe should sleep nine-tenths of his time. At perfectly regular intervals the infant should wake, feed, and drop off to sleep again—indeed, he is often half asleep for the last few minutes of his feeding. Babies regularly and properly fed tend to sleep like dormice, digest their food well, and are infinitely more contented and happy than those whose mothers are irregular and unsystematic.

In making out a time-table, the mother should be guided by the "Table for Feeding" and the "Clock Faces," pp. 34, 35. Having put down on paper the hours at which her baby should be fed and the quantity to be given at each feeding, the mother should adhere to this until the time comes for making a change, when she should write out another time-table. It is amazing how much time mothers waste, and how much trouble and nervous irritation they give themselves and their babies under the mistaken notion that feeding should take place every two or two and a half hours. The most reliable modern experience and research shows that even during the first month feeding every 4 hours suits most babies, and no normal baby needs feeding more often than 3-hourly.

### No "Night-feeding."

Nothing in the history of modern baby-feeding is more strange than the way in which humanity seems to have jumped to the conclusion that a young infant needs "night-feeding," without ever pausing to consider whether the procedure is really a natural and proper one—ignoring the fact that darkest night is the appointed period for the most profound rest and the deepest sleep, and that it is not customary for the young of other mammals to be suckled at this time.

The baby should be fed only six times in 24 hours (say at 6 a.m., 9 a.m., 12 noon, 3 p.m., 6 p.m., and 10 p.m.). This ensures an undisturbed night's rest to the mother, and establishes the baby in its proper rhythm from the start, saving it from the period of irritability, disturbed rest, and slackening of growth incidental to the breaking of a bad habit a few months later.

### Recreation, Sleep, Insomnia.

Romanes has said, "RECREATION IS PARTIAL SLEEP, AND SLEEP IS UNIVERSAL RECREATION (RE-CREATION)." Why, then, should the young of man.

whose nervous system is the most complex, delicate, sensitively-balanced, and vulnerable of all created tissues, be denied the perfect fulfilment, at the appointed time, of this most beneficent provision of Nature—especially throughout the early months, when sleep is the predominant feature of normal life!

**Why break in on the night's rest? Why import any tendency to insomnia at the start of life? Happy the baby who sleeps all night from the dawn of existence—who never loses this priceless gift, never becomes the victim of insomnia? It would be a great advance if parents could be brought to realise that the harvest of the seeds of insomnia, constipation, disobedience, and other such faulty habits, thoughtlessly sown in infancy, are commonly reaped in adult life.**

If the restless irritability and lack of control of an ill-regulated babyhood, leading oftentimes to convulsions, is a common precursor of Hysteria, Epilepsy, and other grave nervous disorders of the adult; if Hysterical and Epileptic convulsions are commonly **INFANTILE CONVULSIONS COME BACK**, and Imbecility is often not **INBORN**, but **ACQUIRED DURING INFANCY**; if our physical, mental, and moral destiny are half-determined in the first year of life (see pages 149-152);—if these things are really so, then, indeed, is the future of the children, for good or evil, in the hands of the mothers.

It is scarcely possible to overestimate the far-reaching benefits which would follow on a general recognition of the principle that there should be fewer day feedings and no night feeding. On the other hand, if the presence of a young baby is regarded as necessitating 10 feedings in the 24 hours, and broken rest for all concerned, parenthood is made to entail much more strain and sacrifice than under the natural and healthful regimen indicated. It cannot be doubted that wrong procedure in this connection has been one important factor in the declining birth-rate.

### ILLUSTRATIVE CASE.

This baby ceased to thrive at a month old, suffering successively from severe indigestion, diarrhoea, wasting, and symptoms of severe nervous irritation, which caused the gravest anxiety. He was losing weight rapidly, in spite of every attention lavished on him in an excellent home by keenly anxious and devoted parents. In despair they sent him to the Karitans Baby Hospital, where in six weeks he was restored to good health and condition. On his return home his parents adhered strictly in all respects to the simple hygienic regimen advocated by the Society—especially pure, cool, free-flowing air day and night, the use of humanised milk and fruit juices, proper intervals, perfect regularity of habits, and plenty of exercise and outing.

He weighed, at 11 months, when photographed, 22½ lb., being 2 lb. over the average, and by this time he had cut 10 teeth, none of them having given him the slightest trouble. Now, at 23 months, he is the picture of health, and his parents say that from the time he left the Hospital he has gone straight ahead and never given them a moment's anxiety.



FIG. 11

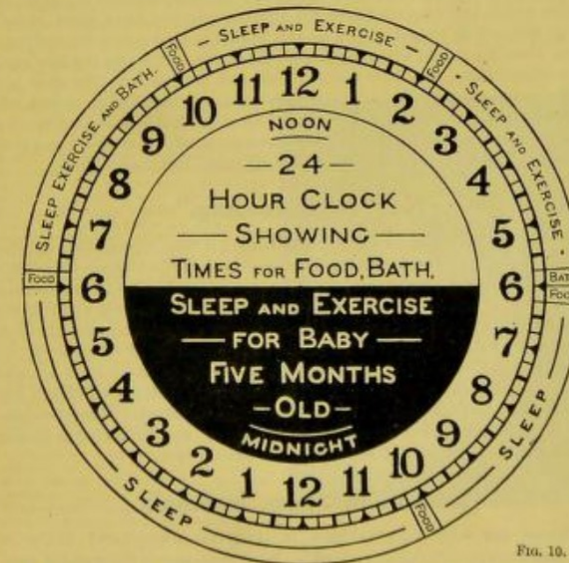
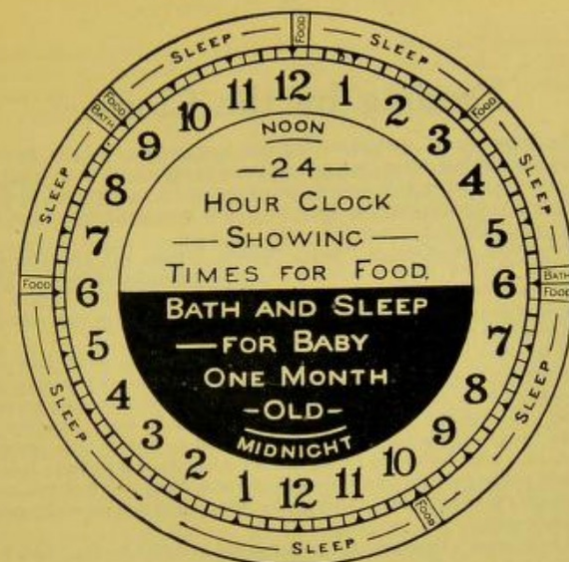
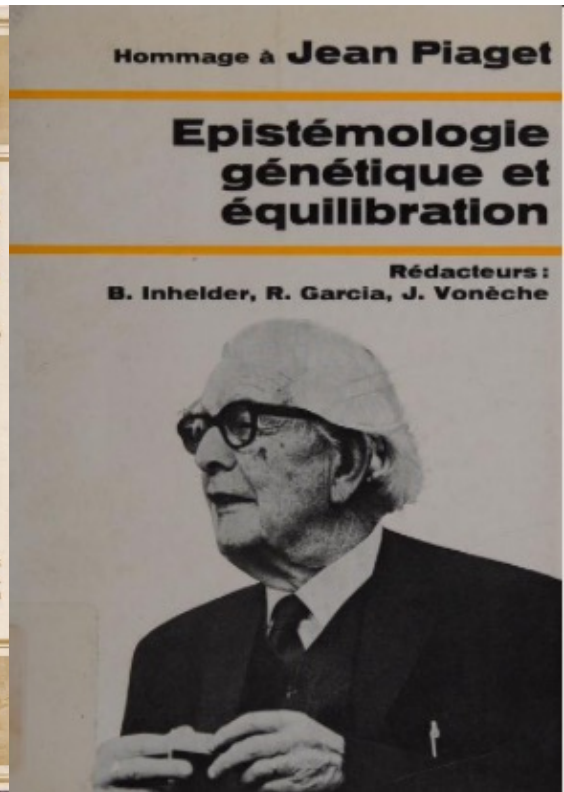
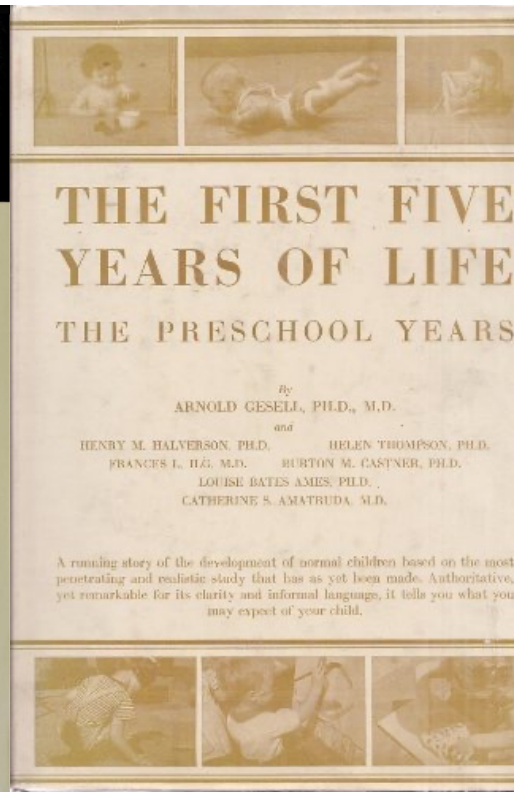
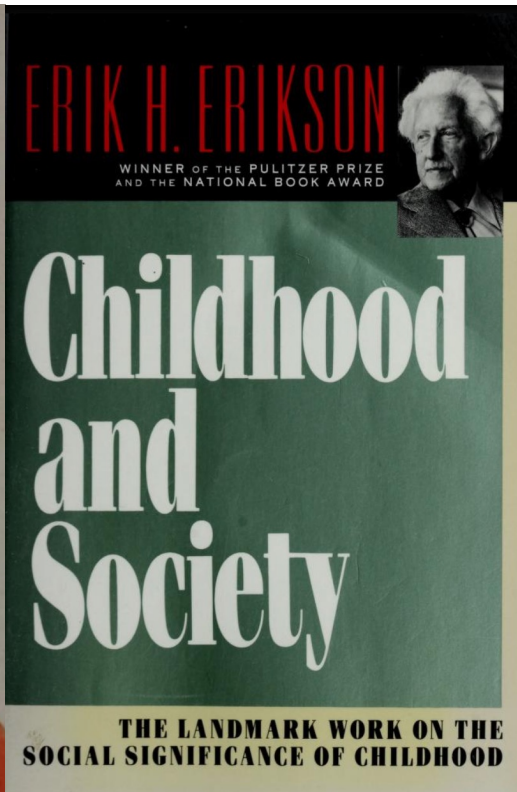
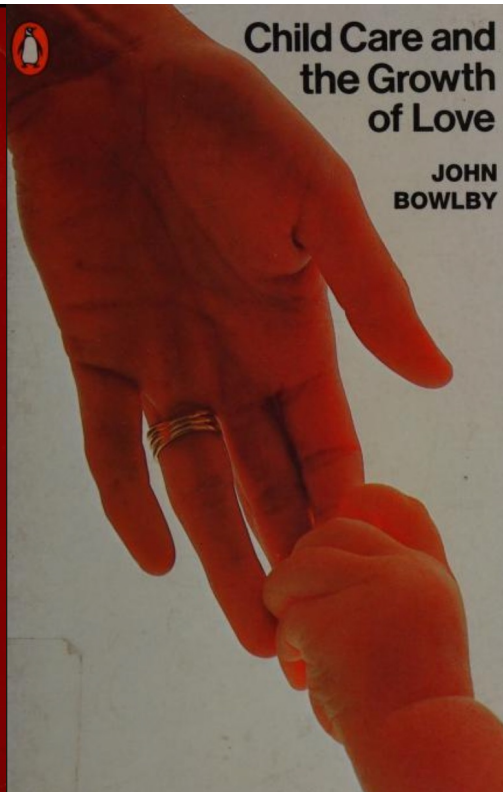
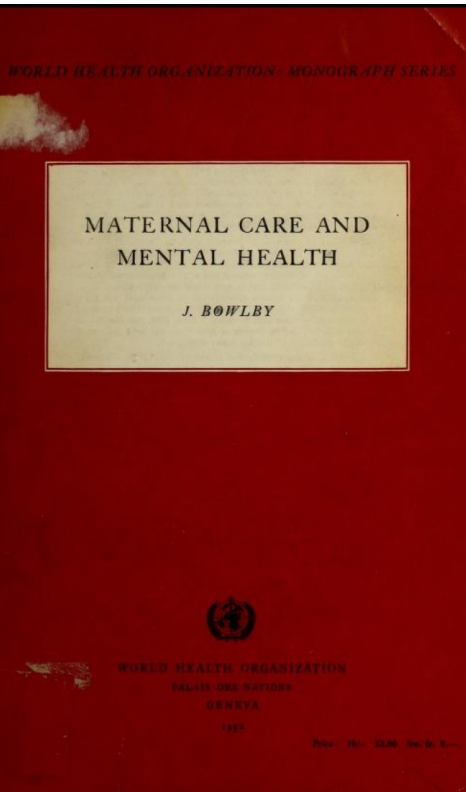


FIG. 10.

N.B.—The word "EXERCISE" used in the lower clock face means mainly artless prattle and baby play, but includes also set periods for more active kicking-exercise, etc. (see "Exercise," page 82).



## Eight Ages of Man

## 1. BASIC TRUST VS. BASIC MISTRUST

THE FIRST demonstration of social trust in the baby is the ease of his feeding, the depth of his sleep, the relaxation of his bowels. The experience of a mutual regulation of his increasingly receptive capacities with the maternal techniques of provision gradually helps him to balance the discomfort caused by the immaturity of homeostasis with which he was born. In his gradually increasing waking hours he finds that more and more adventures of the senses arouse a feeling of familiarity, of having coincided with a feeling of inner goodness. Forms of comfort, and people associated with them, become as familiar as the gnawing discomfort of the bowels. The infant's first social achievement, then, is his willingness to let the mother out of sight without undue anxiety or rage, because she has become an inner certainty as well as an outer predictability. Such consistency, continuity, and sameness of experience provide a rudimentary sense of ego identity which depends, I think, on the recognition that there is an inner population of remembered and anticipated sensations and images which are firmly correlated with the outer population of familiar and predictable things and people.

What we here call trust coincides with what Therese Benedek has called confidence. If I prefer the word "trust," it is because

## L'après guerre: le plaisir et l'amour

La prévention de la pathologie psychologique remplace les soucis par rapport à l'hygiène et la santé physique. Les enfants doivent être autorisés à exercer pleinement leurs envies de mettre en bouche des objets et de gâcher leur nourriture à table.

The Legend of  
Hitler's Childhood

The most ruthless exploiters of any nation's fight for a safe identity have been Adolf Hitler and his associates, who for a decade were the undisputed political and military masters of a great, industrious, and studious people. To stop these experts of the cheap word from becoming a threat to the whole of Western civilization the combined resources of the industrial nations of the world were mobilized.

The West would now prefer to ignore the question mark which thus challenges the idea of unilinear progress. It hopes that, after some feeling and policing by occupation troops, these same Germans will once more emerge as good customers, easily domesticated; that they will return to the pursuit of *Kultur*, and forever forget the martial foolishness they were once more trapped into.

Men of good will must believe in psychological as well as in economic miracles. Yet I do not think that we are improving the chances of human progress in Germany or anywhere else by forgetting too soon what happened. Rather, it is our task to recognize that the black miracle of Nazism was only the German version—superbly planned and superbly bungled—of a universal contemporary potential. The trend persists; Hitler's ghost is count-

ing on it.

For nations, as well as individuals, are not only defined by their highest point of civilized achievement, but also by the weakest one in their collective identity: they are, in fact, defined by the distance, and the quality of the distance, between these points. National Socialist Germany has provided a clear-cut illustration of the fact that advancing civilization is potentially endangered by its own advance, in that it splits ancient conscience, endangers incomplete identities, and releases destructive forces which now can count on the cold efficiency of the super-managers. I shall therefore go back this one step in our history and restate here a few formulations written for a U.S. government agency at the beginning of World War II, in preparation for the arrival of the—oh, so arrogant—first Nazi prisoners. Some of these formulations may already sound dated. Yet the psychological problems presented here do not vanish overnight either from Germany proper, or from the continent of which she is the center. At any rate, history only teaches those who are not overeager to forget.

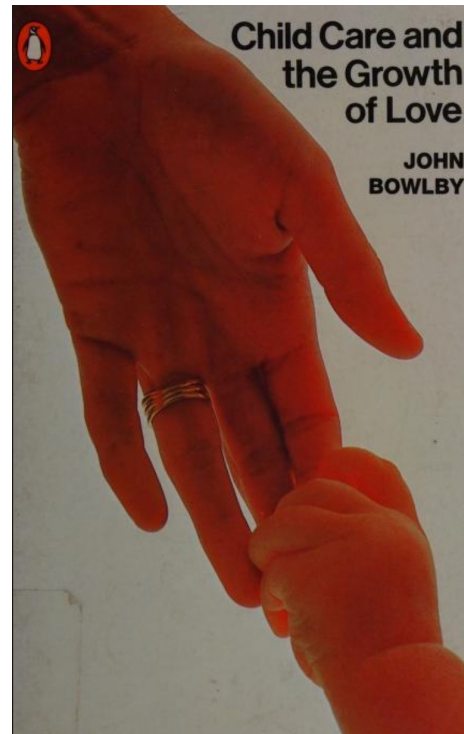
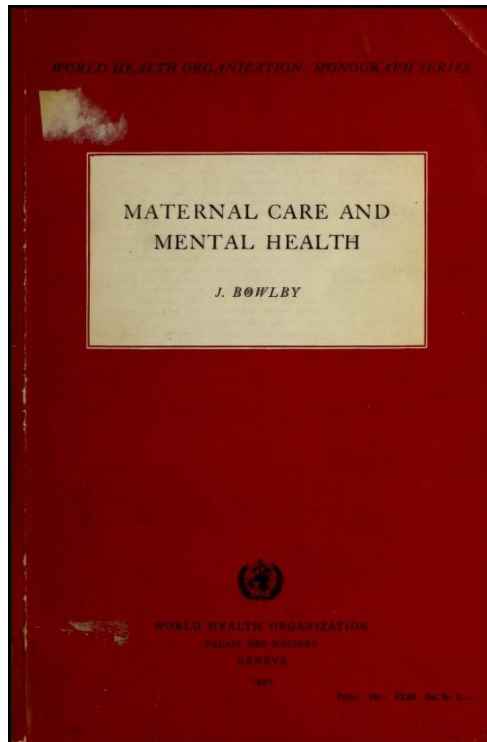
I shall take as my text the Brown Piper's sweetest, most alluring tune: the account of his childhood, in *Mein Kampf*.

"In this little town on the river Inn, Bavarian by blood and Austrian by nationality, glided by the light of German martyrdom, there lived, at the end of the eighties of last century, my parents: the father a faithful civil servant, the mother devoting herself to the cares of the household and looking after her children with eternally the same loving care."<sup>1</sup>

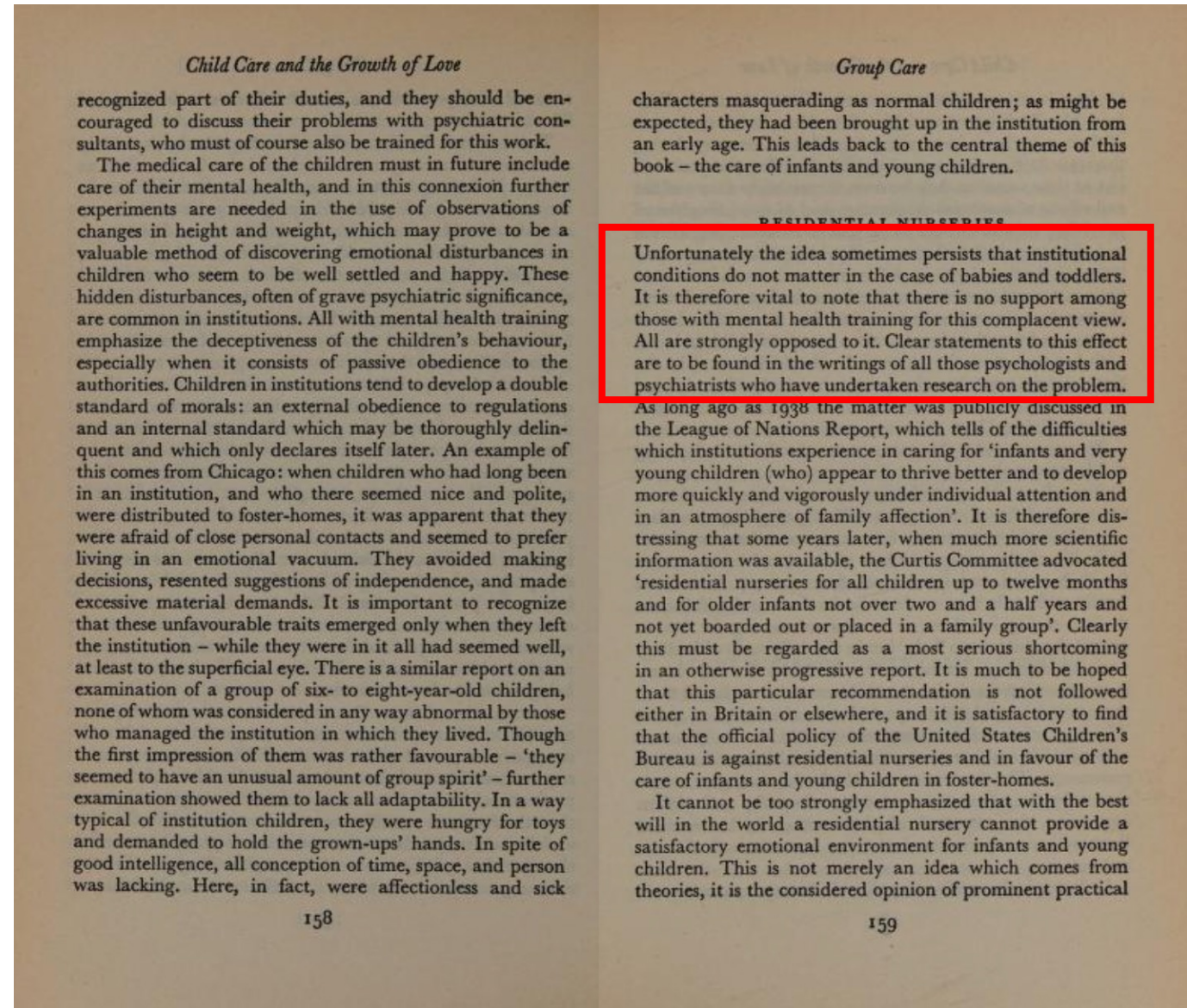
The sentence structure, the tone quality, indicate that we are to hear a fairy tale; and indeed we shall analyze it as part of a modern attempt to create a myth. But a myth, old or modern, is not a lie. It is useless to try to show that it has no basis in fact; nor to claim that its fiction is fake and nonsense. A myth blends historical fact and significant fiction in such a way that it "rings true" to an area

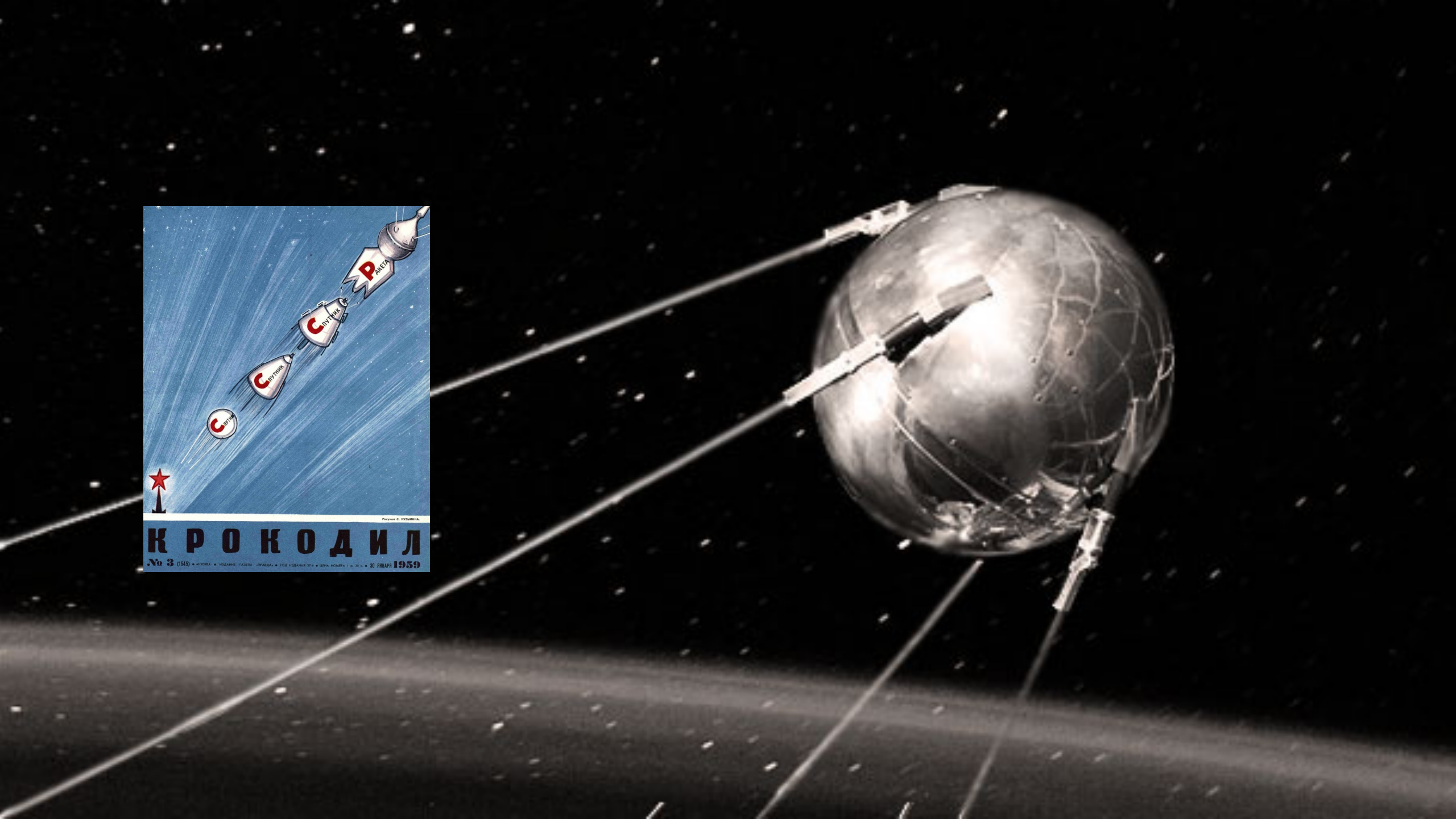
<sup>1</sup>Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Reynal & Hitchcock edition, New York, 1941, by arrangement with Houghton-Mifflin Company.

# L'après guerre: le plaisir et l'amour



L'amour maternel dans la petite enfance est tout aussi important pour la santé mentale que les protéines et les vitamines le sont pour la santé physique (Bowlby, 1952; 1967)





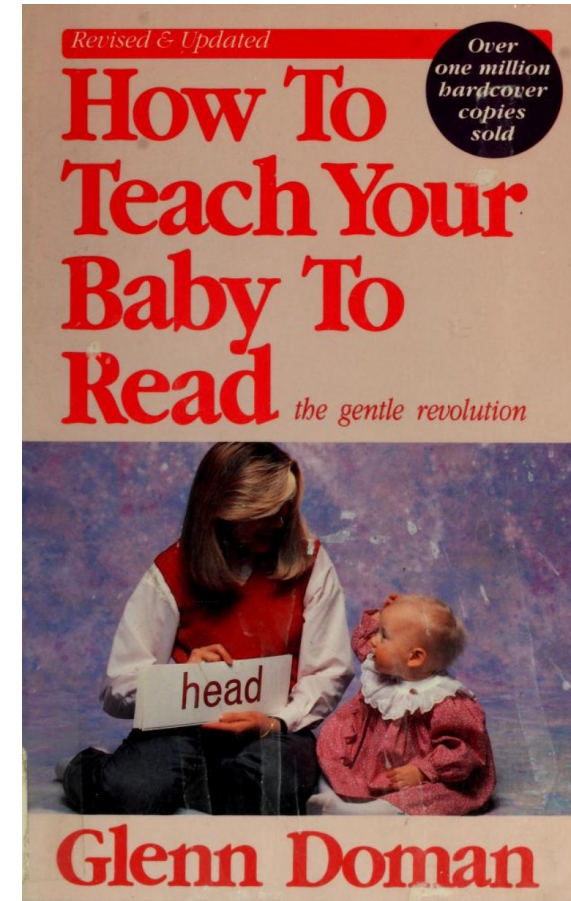
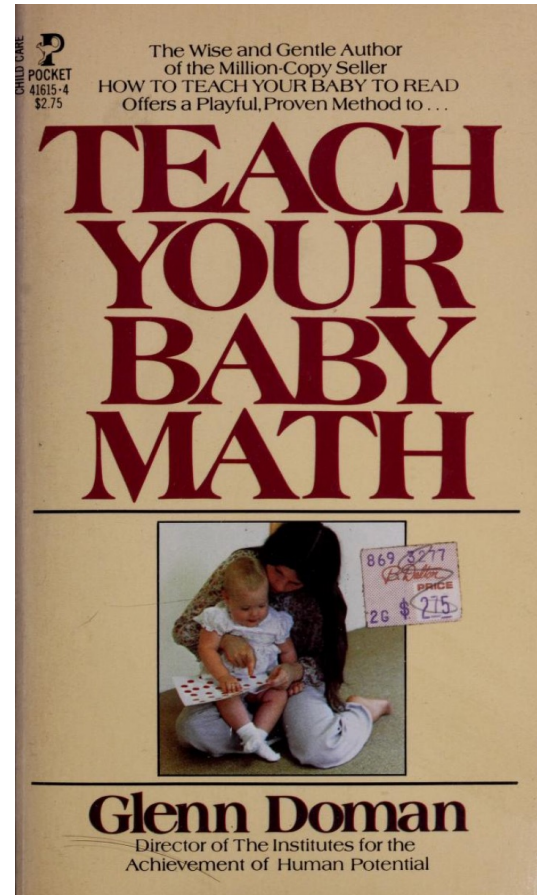
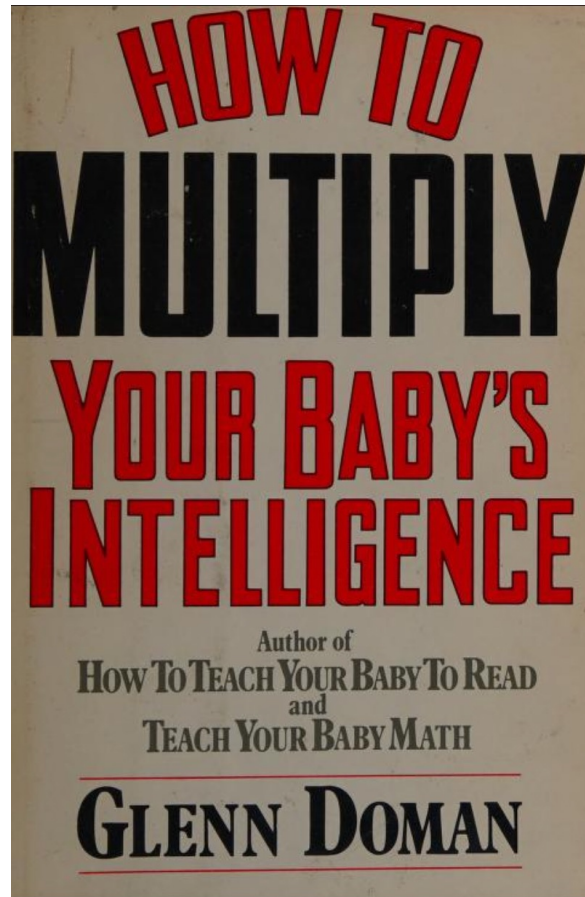




[...] daß sich die Bindungen zwischen den Eltern und dem Kind verstärken [...] daß sich dadurch das lernen des Kindes gefördert wird, und daß schließlich ein stabiles interpersonales System entsteht, das imstande ist, die Entwicklung des Kindes zu fördern und für die Zukunft zu sichern  
(Bronfenbrenner, 1974).

# Les jeux olympiques du développement

Le Better Baby Institute du prof. Glenn Doman






# Double bind

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---

### *The Parents' Part*

---

**TRUST YOURSELF**

1. You know more than you think you do. Soon you're going to have a baby. Maybe you have him already. You're happy and excited, but if you haven't had much experience, you wonder whether you are going to know how to do a good job. Lately you have been listening more carefully to your friends and relatives when they talk about bringing up a child. You've begun to read articles by experts in the magazines and newspapers. After the baby is born, the doctor and nurses will begin to give you instructions, too. Sometimes it sounds like a very complicated business. You find out all the vitamins a baby needs and all the inoculations. One mother tells you that egg should be given early because of its iron, and another says that egg should be delayed to avoid allergy. You hear that a baby is easily spoiled by being picked up too much but also that a baby must be cuddled plenty; that fairy tales make children nervous, and that fairy tales are a wholesome outlet.

Don't take too seriously all that the neighbors say. Don't be overawed by what the experts say. Don't be afraid to trust your own common sense. Bringing up your child won't be a complicated job if you take it easy, trust your own instincts, and follow the directions that your doctor gives you. We know for a fact that the natural loving care that kindly parents give their children is a hundred times more valuable than their knowing how to pin a diaper on just right or how to make a formula expertly. Every time you pick your baby up, even if you do it a little awkwardly at first, every time you change him, bathe him, feed him, smile at him, he's getting a feeling that he belongs to you and that you belong to him. Nobody else in the world, no matter how skillful, can give that to him.

It may surprise you to hear that the more people have

3

# Double bind

7106678

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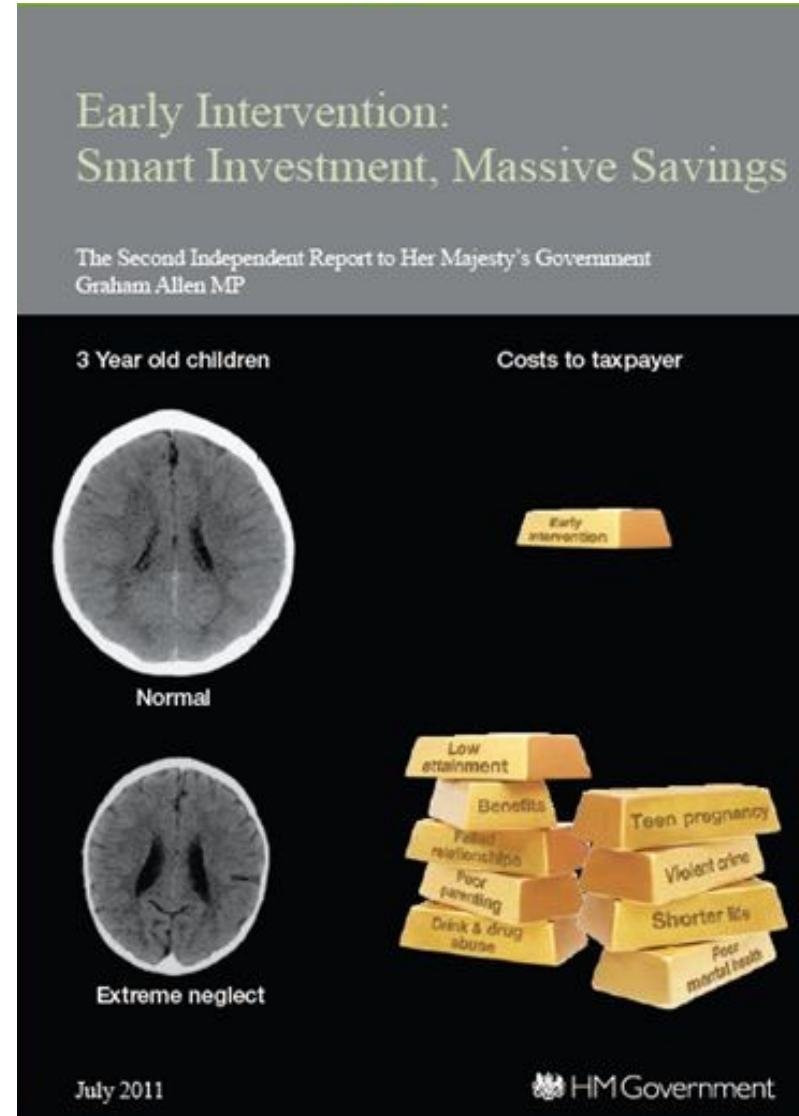
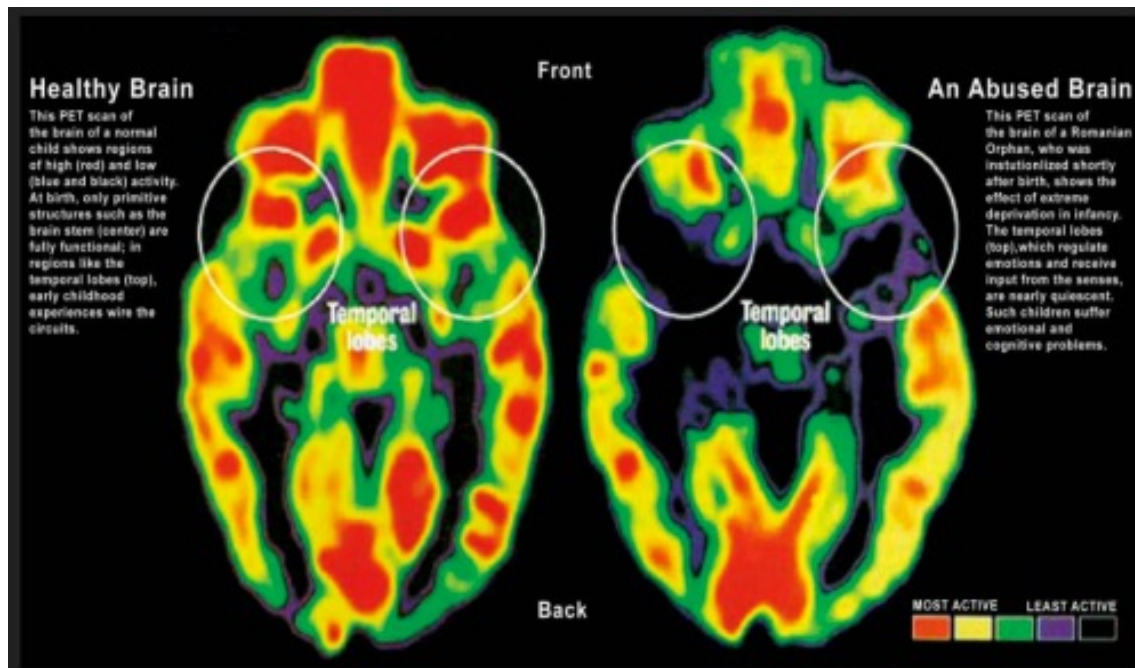
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9TH EDITION



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DR BENJAMIN SPOCK updated and revised by DR ROBERT NEEDLMAN

# Le non expert n'y voit rien

Les neurosciences montrent l'importance critique des cinq premières années de la vie pour le développement du cerveau. (...). Inversement, si un enfant manque un environnement stimulant dans les premières années, il peut difficilement rattraper son retard, ce qui peut nuire aux chances de toute une vie.



# Le non expert n'y voit rien

Qui nous sommes Coordonnées English

De l'information pour les **parents**  
par des **pédiatres** canadiens

Home > Santé

urité et  
ntion des  
ssures

Vie saine

Comportement et  
développement

Santé mentale

Troubles de santé  
et traitements

## Comment stimuler le cerveau d'un bébé ?

by [Maria Claes](#) — 9 mars 2022

SE ET BÉBÉS / COMMENT FAVORISER LE DÉVELOPPEMENT DU CERVEAU DE...

### Comment favoriser le développement du cerveau de votre bébé

Le cerveau de votre bébé se développe continuellement. Cette croissance commence durant la grossesse et se poursuit jusqu'au début de l'âge adulte. Or, pour se développer correctement, le cerveau a besoin d'une base solide.

Le cerveau est composé de plusieurs régions qui contrôlent tout ce que nous faisons : écouter, marcher, résoudre des problèmes ou encore ressentir des sentiments. Chaque région contient des millions de cellules cérébrales appelées « neurones ». Ces neurones communiquent entre eux en se transmettant des messages chimiques dans de minuscules espaces nommés

#### Faits saillants

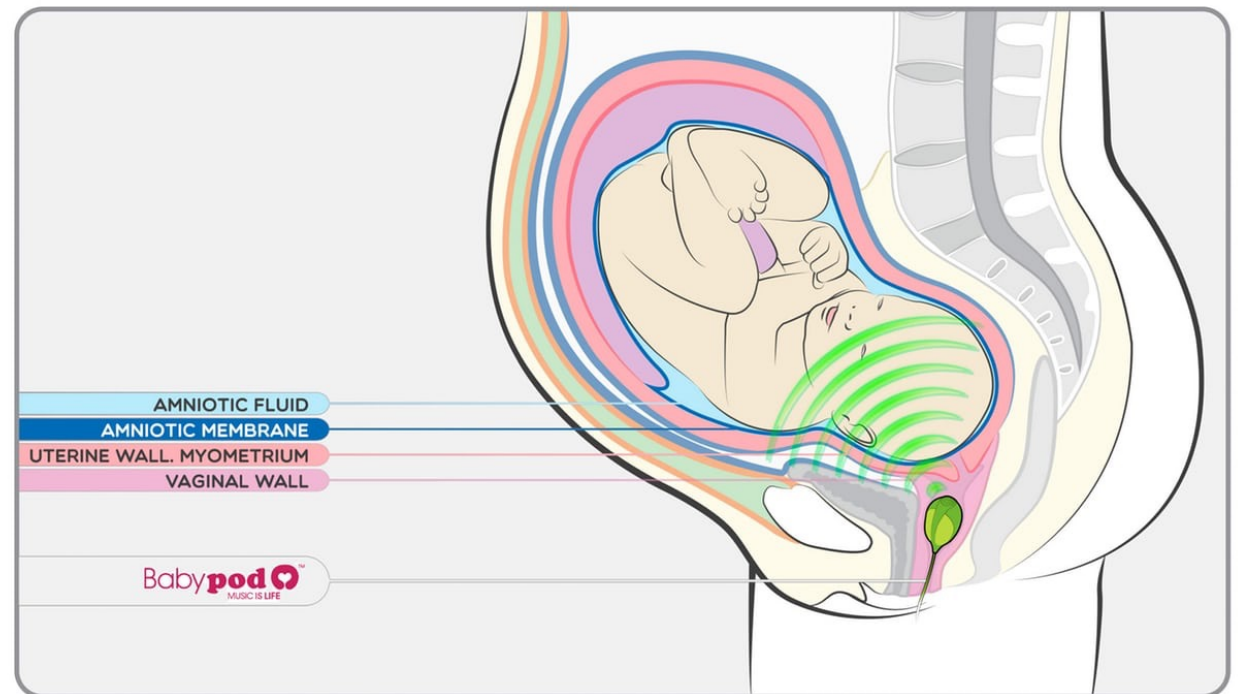
- Le cerveau de votre bébé a besoin d'une base solide.
- Des relations chaleureuses, constantes et positives favorisent le développement du cerveau de votre bébé et le protègent des effets négatifs du stress.
- Les expériences quotidiennes de votre bébé contribuent au développement de son cerveau, qu'elles soient liées aux routines quotidiennes ou aux



# Le non expert n'y voit rien

## Sonic youth: vaginal speaker lets you play tunes to foetuses

Babypod, a speaker inserted into the vagina, launches with 'first concert for foetuses' as 2009 Eurovision song contest contender sings to pregnant women



# La marchandisation de la petite enfance

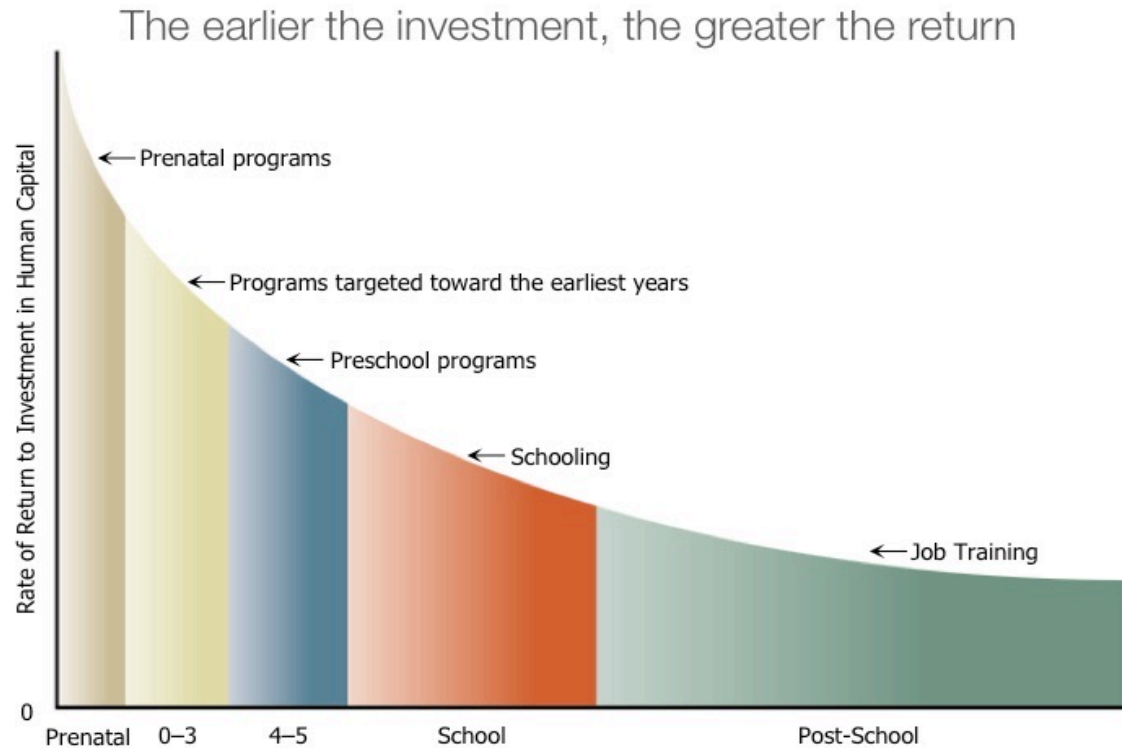
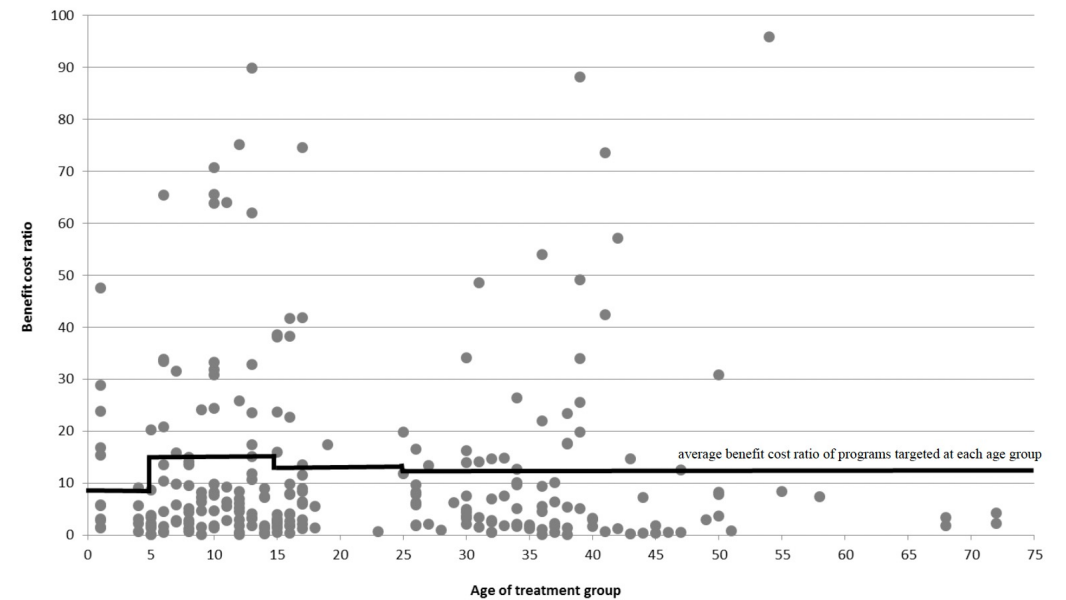
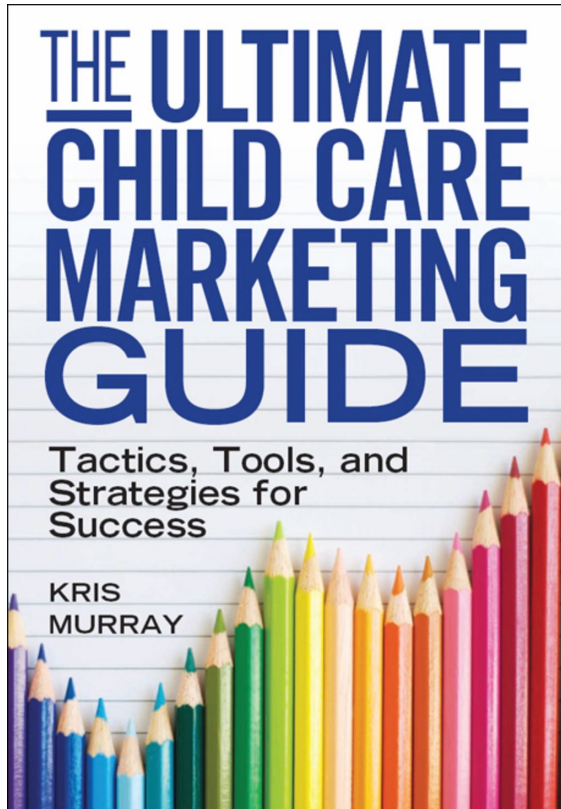


FIGURE 3: BENEFIT COST RATIO'S BY AGE FOR PROGRAMS FROM THE WASHINGTON STATE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY



Source: Washington State Institute for Public Policy, August 2017 update. Note: Programs with benefit cost ratios greater than zero and less than \$100 (N=248).

# La marchandisation de la petite enfance



California: Welfare Reform Program (1997)

Australia: Child Care Benefit (2000)

Quebec (2002)

Les pays Bas (2005)

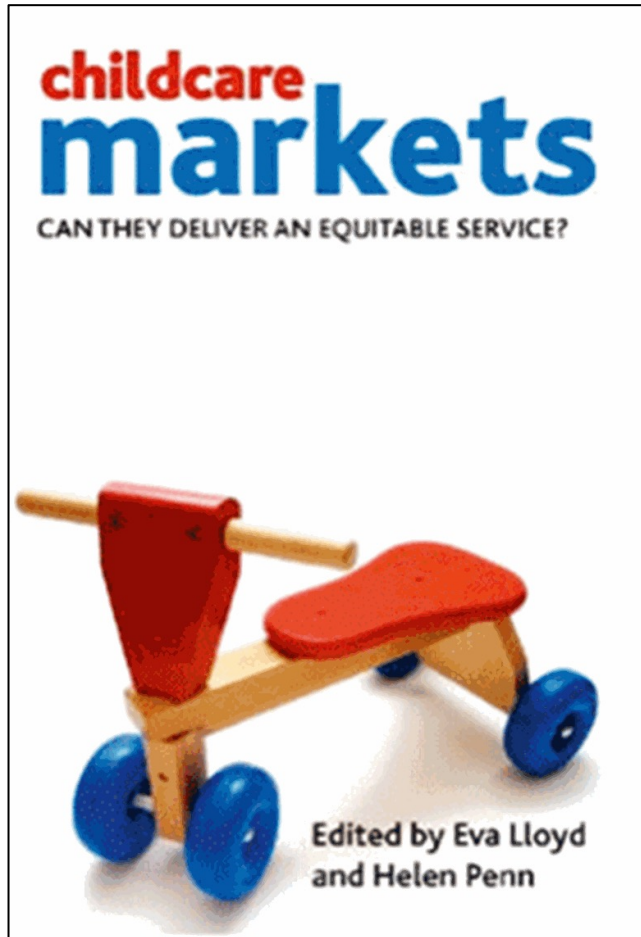
Hong Kong (2006)

Royaume Uni: British Child Care Act (2006)

France: CMG de la Paje (2017)

Finlande: Kotihoidontuki (Child Home Care Allowance)

# La marchandisation de la petite enfance



## La légitimation

- Flexibilité pour répondre aux changements des besoins
  - X L'inégalité d'accès augmente
- Augmenter la qualité à un prix raisonnable
  - X La qualité et les conditions de travail se dégradent
- Le langage du choix
  - X Quels choix pour qui?



# L'individualisation des responsabilités parentales

Parents comme clients  
Parents comme consommateurs  
Language du choix et de la satisfaction

Qu'est-ce qui détermine la satisfaction?

- 2650 parents / 400 locations
- Ce n'est pas la qualité

(Janssen, Spruyt & Vandenbroeck, 2020)

La responsabilisation des parents pour la qualité

Early Childhood Research Quarterly 55 (2021) 97–106

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Early Childhood Research Quarterly

Is everybody happy? Exploring the predictability of parent satisfaction with childcare in Flanders

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**ABSTRACT**

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Investing in childcare provision makes good economic sense. Yet, conventional and behavioral market failure theory suggest that the benefits of childcare may fail to materialize because parents are irrational childcare consumers. The current study examines whether parent satisfaction with childcare is symptomatic of this imperfect rationality. Data were drawn from the MeMoQ project, the first rigorous baseline study of childcare quality in Flanders (Dutch-speaking Community of Belgium). Classroom quality was assessed in 380 infant/toddler childcare settings and survey data were collected from 2650 parents. Findings from multilevel models indicate that parent satisfaction is only modestly associated with classroom quality, as well as with childcare type. On a more personal level, parent satisfaction is predicted by partner status, frequency of attendance, migrant status, and how parents perceive their options in childcare. The results demonstrate that while the question of parent satisfaction with childcare has a glaringly obvious answer, it is less predictably irrational than commonly anticipated. The explanatory power of our models is limited and warrants further inquiry into the more complex nature of parent-childcare relations.  
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Today, there is increased awareness of the economic benefits of childcare. Cost-benefit analyses portray childcare as an economic investment potentially yielding substantial returns on public investment (Allen, 2011; Barnett & Ackerman, 2006; Cattain, Crawford, & Dearden, 2014; Goodbody Economic Consultants, 2011). Alongside immediate returns of parent employment and job creation, the rhetoric of returns is largely built upon an understanding of the 'investable' child. Indeed, longitudinal data suggest that investing in children makes good economic sense as early childhood experiences may have lifelong effects for their future social and economic functioning (Akgündüz, Ünver, Plantenga, & Nicaise, 2015; Camilli, Vargas, Ryan, & Barnett, 2010; Dalli et al., 2011; Vandenbroeck, Lenaerts, & Beblavý, 2018).

The economic reframing of childcare thrives on the quality of childcare provision. However, many countries lack strong regulatory regimes capable of ensuring high-quality provision and, instead, rely entirely or in part on market mechanisms to determine the future direction of childcare provision. This has been criticized, in particular because childcare is not like any other commodity (Ball & Vincent, 2005). Conventional and behavioral market failure theory, which we elaborate on in turn, provides a battery of arguments to assume that childcare markets fail to create higher quality provisions at lower costs. This study focuses on one of the basic principles of the market, that is the belief that consumers or clients (parents) are the best judge of their own welfare. Therefore, we aim to disentangle the factors that contribute to parent satisfaction with childcare in Flanders. Particular focus is given to classroom quality because parents, especially now market mechanisms have permeated the governance of childcare provision in many countries and regions, are given responsibility for prudent decision-making on behalf of their child.

**1. Parents' imperfect economic rationality**

Though parents intuitively understand that childcare quality matters (Barros & Leal, 2015; Cryer & Burchinal, 1997; Cryer, Tietze, & Wessels, 2002; da Silva & Wise, 2006; Fenech, 2012; Grammatikopoulos, Gregoriadis, Tsigilis, & Zachopoulou, 2014; Harris, Thompson, & Norris, 2007), there are several reasons to believe that their so-called market behavior may not drive quality improvement in the market. A frequently encountered imperfection is caused by information asymmetry. It implies that

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# Dispositif

**FOUCAULT**

*Dits et écrits II, 1976-1988*

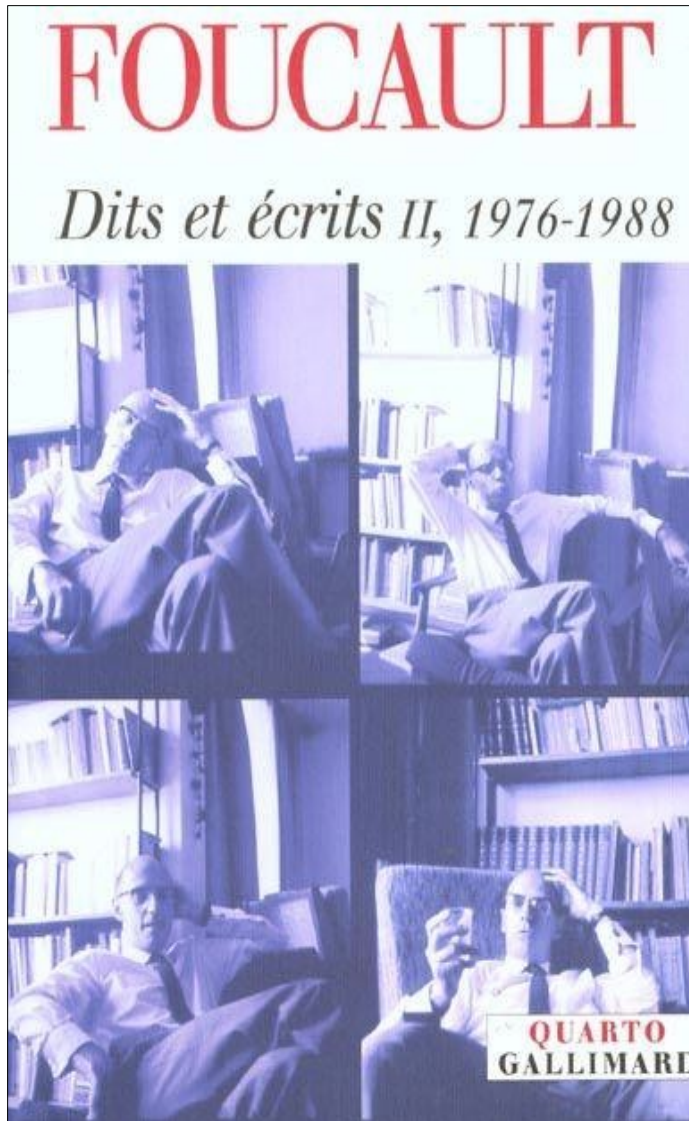


Ce que j'essaie de repérer sous ce nom, c'est, premièrement un ensemble résolument hétérogène, comportant des discours, des institutions, des aménagements architecturaux, des décisions réglementaires, des lois, des mesures administratives, des énoncés scientifiques, des propositions philosophiques, morales, philanthropiques, bref : du dit, aussi bien que du non-dit, voilà les éléments du dispositif. Le dispositif lui-même, c'est le réseau qu'on peut établir entre ces éléments.

Deuxièmement, ce que je voudrais repérer dans le dispositif, c'est justement la nature du lien qui peut exister entre ces éléments hétérogènes. (...)

Troisièmement, par dispositif, j'entends une sorte – disons – de formation qui, à un moment historique donné, a eu pour **fonction** majeure de répondre à une urgence. Le dispositif a donc une fonction stratégique dominante.

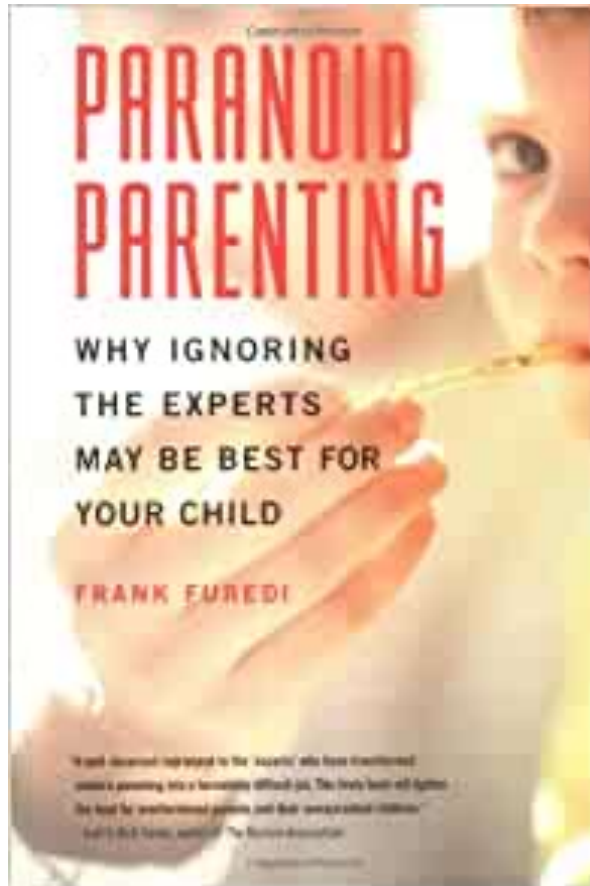
# Dispositif



Science come diachronique avec les pratique  
Science middle class et décontextualisée  
Conseils parentaux et effets contre-productifs  
Parenting newspeak (empowerment)  
La marchandisation de l'éducation

Et l'industrie croissante du soutien parental

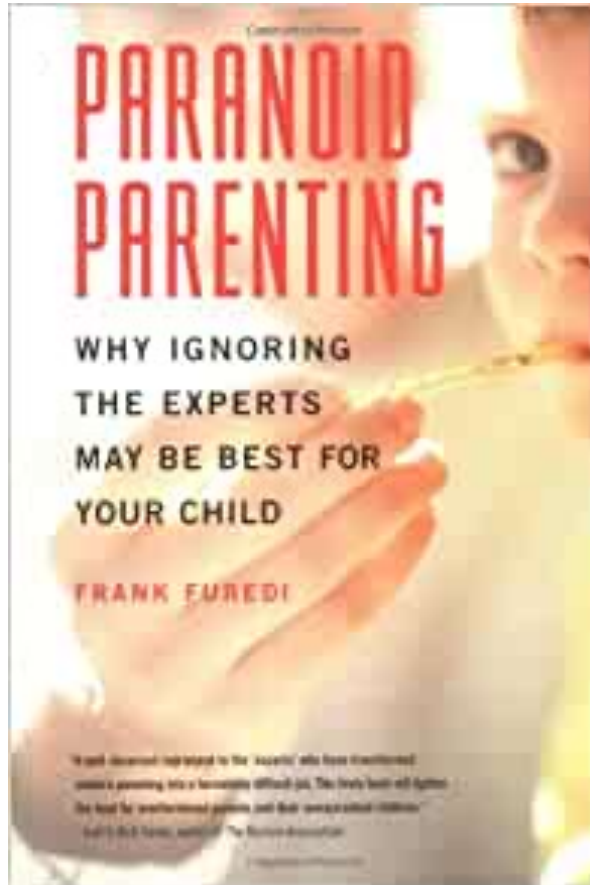
# La parentalité paranoïde



The interlocking myths of **'infant determinism'** (the assumption that infant experience determines the course of the future development) and **'parental determinism'** (the notion that parental intervention determines the future fate of a youngster) have come to have a major influence on the relations between children and their parents. By grossly exaggerating the degree of parental intervention required to ensure normal development they make the task of being a parent appear impossibly burdensome. (p 24).

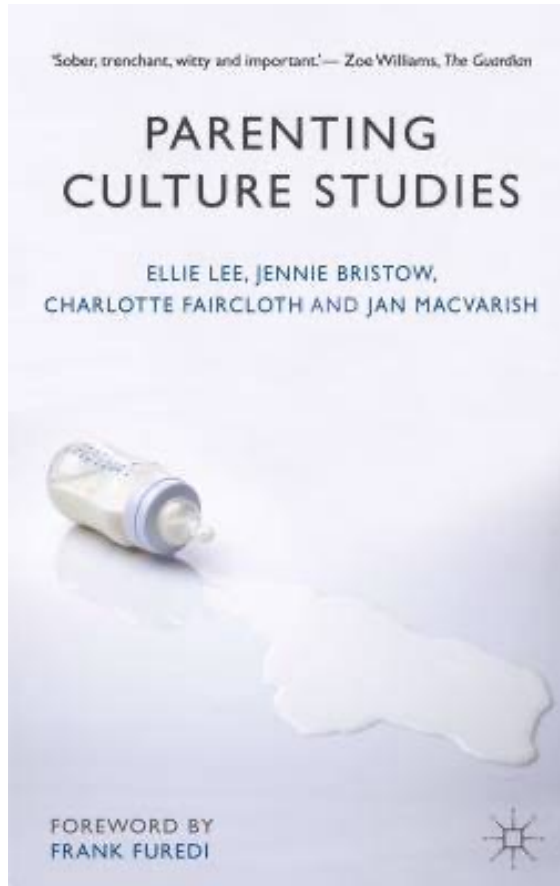
The implication of the thesis of infant determinism is that parenting, specifically parenting in early childhood, is *the* main variable influencing the fate of a child. The corollary of this argument is that incompetent parenting during the early years of children's lives can have long-term devastating outcomes for them.

# La parentalité paranoïde



From the Government downwards, everybody involved in the parenting debate reiterates **the need to support** parents and families. Parents do need support, **but not the kind that is generally on offer.** Parents need access to quality childcare, and we need child-friendly communities. Most important of all, as parents we need to know that the decisions, we take about the future of our children will be supported and not undermined by the rest of society. Sadly, the term ‘support’ is often used as an euphemism for offering advice and training about how parents should behave. Parenting education is primarily oriented towards altering adult behaviour and providing mothers and fathers with skill that they allegedly lack. The pity is, however, that projects that aim to transform incompetent adults into skilled parents have **the unintended consequence of disempowering mothers and fathers and empowering the professionals**

# La parentalité paranoïde et le néolibéralisme



The idea of a one-dimensional, causal relationship between parenting and socioeconomic outcomes tends to be conveyed through discrete and specific claims, such as the allegation that a lack of proper nurturing has a significant influence on the development of children's brains.

# L'industrie du soutien parental

Les conseils aux parents ne sont ni a-historiques,  
ni a-politiques

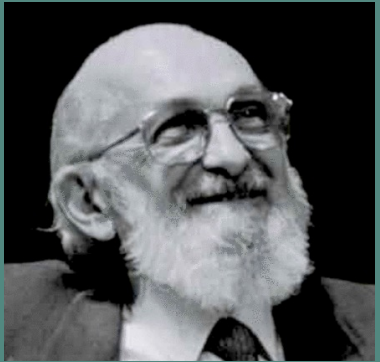
Les sciences de l'éducation "gendered, white, middle  
class sciences"?

Une contribution à la pédagogicalisation de  
problème sociaux et au status quo?

Ou des sciences de l'éducation comme sciences de  
l'espoir, de la solidarité et du changement?



Conformément au but libérateur de l'éducation dialogique, l'objet de la science n'est pas l'homme (comme si l'homme était un fragment anatomique), mais plutôt le langage-pensée avec lequel l'homme se réfère à la réalité, et sa vision du monde, dans laquelle se trouvent les thèmes génératifs.



Paulo Freire, 19790





Yet each man kills the thing he loves  
By each let this be heard.  
Some do it with a bitter look, some  
with a flattering word.  
The coward does it with a kiss, the  
brave man with a sword! (...)  
For each men kills the thing he loves,  
Yet each man does not die.  
He does not die a death of shame  
On a day of dark disgrace



Oscar Wilde, 1898

