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Discourses of Critical Literacy Practices:

A Microethnographic Case Study of the Paris Self-managed High School (LAP)

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Abstract

My case study of the pedagogical practice in the Paris Self-managed High School (*Lycée Autogéré de Paris*, LAP) intends to establish how (much) a school, self-proclaiming to implement critical and democratic pedagogical practices, can build counter-hegemonic educational and social practices. My objective is to explore to what extent the logic of neoliberal 'banking' education is resisted and how much the dominant educational identities of the official pedagogic discourse are challenged. For my approach, I draw on a critical analysis of discourse as formulated by Norman Fairclough (2003) and on Basil Bernstein's theory of pedagogical discourse. I have carried out a micorethnographic fieldwork in LAP and collected various observations of events from the daily life of the school as well as interviews. My analysis is focused on the articulation of dialogicity, modality and evaluations in state official documents on education, in local pedagogical texts and particular events in LAP. Through a triangulation of my data, I show that the dominant representations, practices and identities of market-oriented pedagogical models are attenuated in LAP, and that the collective aspects of practices of knowledge production and learning are asserted within the framework of a discourse informed by what Kreisberg (1992) calls a pedagogy of 'power with'.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The dominant discourse in contemporary education reduces knowledge to 'skills' and thereby integrates it in the structure of the capitalist economy as a 'commodity' (Laval et al. 2011: 58). The distribution of skills are presented to the students by the dominant pedagogical practice according to the position the students are imagined to assume in the labor market (Laval et al. 2011: 104) while concealing this social reproduction mechanism behind the ideology of 'merit'. Teaching 'critical thinking' is nowadays a commonplace in statements of value of educational institutions, from primary education to higher education. The French Ministry of Education, for example, dedicates various webpages and textbooks to explain the meaning and the relevance of the concept (Bidar et al. 2019; Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche 2016). According to the French Ministry of Education (2016), 'critical thinking', the opposite of 'dogmatic thinking', is a skill and its transmission is mostly the goal of two isolated subjects: 'Media education' (*Education aux medias et à l'information, EMI*) and 'Morality and civics' (*Enseignement moral et civique, EMC*). In the Paris Self-Managed High School (LAP), critical thinking is argued to be an outcome of critical pedagogical practices, rather than of the teaching of two narrow subjects. In other words, in LAP, critical pedagogic practices are argued to be founded on a democratic functioning of the whole school, and to encompass the broad range of educational activities organized in the school's context and in its environment.

Democratic education makes use of critical pedagogy and rejects the idea that teaching is a technical tool to achieve the "transmission" of specific skills and that there are inherently "bad" and "good" ways of teaching, independent of the actual social context (Gay 2000). In his first book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire 1968), Freire, the founding figure of the field, criticized this dominant pedagogic practice of modernity and calls it "banking pedagogy" (ibid, 53). Such practice is characterized by a top-down organization of the educational system at every level, most visibly in the classroom in which the curriculum is expected to be transmitted from the state to passively positioned students through the (equally passive because obedient) educators as if the students' heads were empty 'banks' needed to be filled with 'what is best for them' from above. My major interest is to investigate how critical pedagogic practices can be produced in opposition to neoliberal practices of 'banking' pedagogy, and this is why I have chosen to do a case study of democratic pedagogy in the *Lycée Autogéré de Paris*, or Paris Self-

managed High School, as they claim to be an institution committed to the liberation and the empowerment of their students. LAP was initially founded in 1982 as a pedagogic experiment by the ministry of education. Today it is fully self-managed by its different actors and can welcome 225 students. In LAP, students are supposed to learn how school-based democratic practices shape broader democratic practices through practices of self-management instead of practices fostering competition of all against all. LAP is self-positioned against the ideal of a "careerist" life. They argue that critical thinking must reveal such ideal as ideological. It is enmeshed in the hegemonic values of individualistic entrepreneurship and consumerism that Bernard Legros and Jean-Noël Delplanque (2009) pointed out. In the Paris Self-Managed High School (LAP), critical thinking is argued to be an outcome of critical pedagogical practices, rather than of the teaching of two narrow subjects. In other words, in LAP, critical pedagogic practices are argued to be founded on a democratic functioning of the whole school, and to encompass the broad range of educational activities organized in the school's context and in its environment.

My research draws on critical approaches to language use, pedagogy and ethnography as I wish to privilege the agenda of the students and of the school for the creation of liberating knowledge at the level of interaction, instead of a technocratic agenda that analyzes and evaluates performance it in terms of a reified idea of 'efficiency'. This research is situated at the intersection of critical pedagogy (Giroux 2001; Freire 1968) and New Literacy Studies (Street 1995), which owe a lot to the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. What these have in common is a discoursal approach to their field of interest that allows reflection on the broader social dimensions of classroom practices. In order to analyze the dynamics of power relations in the classroom, I draw on Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony (Gramsci 1971), Basil Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse (Bernstein 2000; Bernstein 2003), Seth Kreisberg's theory of 'power with' (Kreisberg 1992); and on the insights from methodological approaches theorized by critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003; Fairclough 1992; Fairclough 2001; Fairclough 2010), critical ethnography (Krzyżanowski 2011a; Hammersley 1992), and microethnographic discourse analysis (Bloome & Carter 2014; Bloome et al. 2004).

The particular discourse I explore is pedagogic discourse, whose specificity, according to Basil Bernstein, lies in evaluating what counts as the relevant, appropriate or natural uses of language in pedagogic practices of teaching and learning. According to Bernstein's definition, pedagogic discourse consists of two constitutive discourses: a primary regulative discourse, i.e. a discourse defining the social order and a secondary instructional discourse, classifying and

organizing the knowledge to learn (Bernstein 2003: 92). In other words, pedagogic discourse functions to qualify what is thinkable or unthinkable in the educative field at a particular historical moment.

I compare the values presented in LAP's mission statement and their actual practices, taking into account the limiting fact that because LAP is an institution of the French ministry of education, pedagogic practice in the school is also situated in the broader context of state pedagogical practices. Indeed, the school also prepares its students for the national high school leaving exam, or *baccalauréat*, for which more conventional 'banking' practices of grading and testing have to be implemented. In the chosen school, I carry out a critical ethnography that can be considered a "critical theory in action" (Madison 2005) as such in line with the logic of a critical pedagogic discourse itself. It is a critical praxis itself in so far as its goal is to reveal unfair relations of power hidden beneath the surface of what seems to be "given", to take into account and acknowledge the critical expressions of different communities of practice as valid critique and to enact or inspire acts towards social justice.

In Chapter 2, I explain the dialectical relationship between hegemonic discourse and potential counter-hegemonic discourse through the power theories of Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault, which allow for an understanding of the contradictions between domination and emancipation inherent to every institution, such as education. The way domination and liberation can be enacted in the educational system under the specificities of neoliberal capitalism will also be discussed in this chapter. The modalities of Basil Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse in the specific context of neoliberal capitalism are the focus of Chapter 3. In this chapter, I explain the relationship between particular pedagogical models of 'competence' and 'performance' and the particular pedagogical identities they legitimize, in order to understand the specificities of the Paris Self-managed High School (LAP) in its broader context. In Chapter 4, the methodological categories I used in my analysis are discussed, to grasp the intersection between a critical approach to (pedagogic) discourse and ethnography. The issues of critique and validity are brought together in this chapter to formulate the two ultimate research questions that inform my data analysis.

The actual data analysis is carried out in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. In Chapter 5, the discourses on education articulated in the texts produced by the French State and LAP are analyzed. Analyzing these two texts together will allow for an interpretation of how the school (micro-level) institution articulates its educational discourse with regard to the expectations mediated

through the regional expectation of the macro-level of the state discourse. The data sets analyzed in Chapter 6 deal with the actual practices in the everyday life of LAP. The chapter contains the analysis of the data collected in my fieldwork, namely interviews, observations and that of *Une Fabrique de Libertés* (*A Freedom Factory*), the promotional book published by LAP. In Chapter 7, the analysis concentrates on my involvement in 'Radio LAP', a weekly transdisciplinary pedagogical activity organized in LAP. I especially focus on these radio programs because of their relevance for understanding the processes of recontextualization of different discourses in a potentially critical media and pedagogical discourse. The student's participation in running the radio is seen as a pedagogical event that allows them to make full use of their creativity and position them as collective agents in the course of the production and organization of the weekly programs. In Chapter 8, I shall reflect on the findings of my data analysis, and I will point out how much the pedagogical discourse of LAP allows for a resistance to the logic of neoliberalism and in what sense of the word. I shall also reflect on the legitimate identities in the State official pedagogical discourse and their reconfigurations and challenges in LAP, in order to show how much these identities correspond to the school's self-identification as a 'critical' institution.

CHAPTER 2
POWER RELATIONS AND IDEOLOGY IN EDUCATION

In Chapter 2, theories of power and resistance are discussed in relation to dominant and critical approaches to education and pedagogy. Antonio Gramsci's and Michel Foucault's theories of power and hegemony will be adopted to explain the articulation of the neoliberal instrumental discourse in the educational system, and the spaces of 'agency' allowing for an understanding of potential resistances and counter-hegemonic practices. I will argue that a more dialectical theory of power that takes into account possible relations of solidarity alongside relations of domination is needed to understand the contradictions inherent in every educational process, especially in educational institutions committed to the use of a critical pedagogy, such as the Paris Self-Managed High School (LAP).

2.1 Hegemony, Power and Resistance

In his theory of power, Antonio Gramsci argues that for a class or a bloc to rule, this class or this bloc needs to form alliances with other classes or blocks, through "compromise, ideology, cultural mechanisms and more" (Gross 2011: 59), and not count on domination by force. The leadership of a dominant bloc in alliance with other historical blocs is what Gramsci calls hegemony or winning the consent of the less privileged:

> the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production. (Gramsci 1971: 12)

Hegemony is the consent some subordinate group, may it be of a class, gender or race nature gives to a dominant group in return for some relative gains. This consent is the result of various structures such as ideology, which are visible or invisible to the individual. Unquestioned beliefs and assumptions held by members of a society are what Gramsci calls 'common sense'. Common sense is the "conception of the world which is uncritically absorbed by the various social and cultural environments in which the moral individuality of the man is developed" (Gramsci 1971: 412). In other words, it informs what members of a historical bloc believe are desirable or justified social relations. Consent is complemented by coercion by state

power “which ‘legally’ enforces discipline on those groups who do not consent either actively or passively” (Gramsci 1971: 12).

The concept of hegemony is then not deterministic but dynamic. Norman Fairclough (Fairclough 2010: 62) argues hegemony is negotiated through a dialectical process that encompasses economic, political and ideological aspects of social life. Hegemony entails power relations “over society as a whole” but is also the focus of a constant struggle. It is this dynamic conceptualization of power that necessarily opens up to change which is captured by the concept of agency. In hegemony, Gramsci theorizes the relations between structure and agency, “between individual agents and their contributions and historical collective moments” (Olssen 1999: 91). Thus, this “unstable equilibrium” (Fairclough 2010: 62) enables the construction, the destruction and the shifting of social alliances of economic, political or ideological form between blocs. As a location of struggle and contradiction, hegemony entails ongoing moments of resistance integral to the reproduction of dominant power relations. According to Jacob K. Gross, a critical analysis of hegemony

> aims to expose and deconstruct the ideological strategies used by dominant groups to legitimate their domination as “common sense”; the concept has also been deployed to strategize counterhegemonic movements and discourses that might disrupt dominant formations and bring previously subordinated groups into positions of power. (Gross 2011: 65)

Gramsci’s notions of hegemony and hegemonic struggle, however, focus too much on structures. Mark Olssen claims that Michel Foucault’s understanding of power could make the static nature of structure and thereby hegemony as “constituted through practices in concrete historical settings (from below)” rather than a “form of socialization (from above)” (Olssen 1999: 104). Foucault allows an understanding of the constitution of hegemony “in terms of the exercise of multiple processes (techniques, strategies), of power and its effects” (ibid.). This is so because the Foucauldian concept of power represents power as a process that “comes from everywhere”, i.e. the dominant relations permeate all institutions and events and this power, in turn, confronts, strengthens, or reverses force relations in a way that is never completely foreseeable. Power is a process that can form systems or can disrupt force relations in arrangements of some relative equilibrium. In other words, agency is the condition for the formation of a given power matrix. Power is a process that can crystallize force relations into institutions such as the state and “various social hegemonies” (Foucault 1990: 92). Foucault theorizes power as (1) decentered, i.e. it arises from multiple sources in a capillary way and has multiple effects; (2) productive, i.e. it is not limited to domination but also gives way to creation

of non-exploitative relations; (3) manifested in historically specific, hence localized, forms; (4) a technique rather than an institution, (5) always entailing resistance and (6) always intertwined with knowledge (Metro-Roland 2011: 151).

However, as Derek Layder points out, Foucault's theory of power does not define the shape, the boundaries or the topography of power, which makes it hard to grasp the intensity of its effects and its structural conditions (Layder 1994: 109), or to put it differently, to locate power in a dominant pattern or configuration. Moreover, as Nancy Fraser argues, his conception of power, eventually, does not enable him to condemn "objectionable features of modern societies" and argue for better arrangements of social relationships (Fraser 1989: 33). Also, because the Foucauldian approach to power represents it as dissipated, there is a tendency to emphasize individual agency over more collective forms of social action. Such overemphasizing of individual agency is likely to silence expressions of agency that question the neoliberal economic model and involve a collective transformation of this model. Thus, agency has often been recuperated in neoliberal discourse as a concept embodying the 'struggle for survival' of the individual in the neoliberal economy rather than collective social action to change that very logic (Wilson 2013: 86). Kapana Wilson argues that the concept of 'agency' has historically been associated with the liberal construction of the 'free' individual imagined to be in control of, and responsible for their own life and with the capitalist notions of 'enterprise' and individual 'merits'. She adds that it is in this context of the 'entrepreneurial spirit' that 'agency' has been cited within the broader discourse of neoliberal economics of 'competition' which became hegemonic from the 1970s (ibid., 88).

Foucault's prioritization of individuality and the uniqueness of historical events can be moderated by Gramsci's focus on collective social structures and expressions, allowing a better understanding of the social circumstances and the ways in which social activity, that is the "dynamism of agency", and "constraint" takes place (Olssen 1999: 92). Olssen claims that Foucault completes Gramsci with an "understanding of how various complex social techniques and methods central to the construction of identities, values, and political settlements are constituted and how they operate" in a dynamic fashion (ibid., 104). This dynamism, argues Olssen, is grasped by the Foucauldian concept of 'governmentality', that Foucault developed as a response to criticisms that "his conception of power was too localistic and regional" (ibid., 103), preventing any sedimentation of power over time. Through his concept of governmentality, Foucault links the macro and macro levels of social structures, explaining how state power functions in relation to populations (ibid., 105). Governmentality also enables

Foucault to explain how techniques of domination and conduct are exercised over others and at the same time over oneself (Dardot et al. 2014: chap. Neo-liberalism as rationality). These techniques of power encompass a "whole series of power networks" to which the state is "superstructural" (Foucault 1980: 122). These power networks are not exclusively situated in the economic field, but in all fields of life:

> I don't want to say the State isn't important; what I want to say is that relations of power, and hence the analysis that must be made of them, necessarily extend beyond the limits of the State. In two senses: first of all because the State, for all the omnipotence of its apparatuses, is far from being able to occupy the whole field of actual power relations, and further because the State can only operate on the basis of other, already existing power relations. The State is superstructural in relation to a whole series of power networks that invest the body, sexuality, the family, kinship, knowledge, technology and so forth (ibid.).

Gramsci's and Foucault's theories of power enable the consideration of the dynamics of agency; however, they rather focus on relations of domination and their interiorization by social agents. To be able to grasp the dynamics of resistance to power better, a conception of power that is centered on domination is crucial but insufficient. This conception of power as domination is what Seth Kreisberg names "power over" (Kreisberg 1992: 21). In this conception of power, power is a scarce resource to be hoarded and used in one's interests. This entails "winners and losers", "powerful and powerless" in interactions of power, in which "we are basically alone and in constant competition with others" (ibid., 32). Conceptions of power as 'power over' are based on the assumption that there are "inevitable tensions between individual fulfillment and the needs and desires of other individuals and the community as a whole" (ibid., 51) and are "linked to the rise of modern science, patriarchy, the market economy and the modern state" (ibid., 74). Kreisberg distinguishes another form of power that is characterized by "collaboration, sharing and mutuality" (ibid., 61). He calls this alternative form of power "power with", and argues that it is manifest in relationships of co-agency, i.e. relationships in which "there is equality: situations in which individuals and groups fulfill their desires by acting together" (ibid., 85). 'Power with' entails relations of power that cultivate "cooperation, collaboration, reciprocity, and mutual responsibility for learning among students and between students and teachers" (Gay 2000: 43). Power with and power over are two

inextricable aspects of power relations, and in a given event, one aspect may prevail over the other.

2.2 The Neoliberal Reason in Education

Neoliberalism, also called the "post-Fordist", or "flexible" (Harvey 1992: 141) regime of capitalist accumulation, rests on flexibility with respect to labor processes, labor markets, products, and patterns of consumption" (ibid., 147). Neoliberalism consists in a "historically specific economic and political reaction against Keynesianism and democratic socialism" while extending the scope of the fields and activities to be governed by 'economic' values (Brown 2015: 21). In the educational system, neoliberalism entails a specific form of pedagogy which aim is to configure subjectivities towards the development of one's human capital. Another dimension of neoliberal capitalism, especially salient since the 2008 financial and economic crisis in Europe and directly concerning the educational system as well, is fiscal austerity. It is a process shifting the prerogatives of the welfare state to fund public services such as education or healthcare, from taxation towards debt-funding, through various mechanisms of tax reduction and through financing the state via borrowing on financial markets. Fiscal austerity is presented in neoliberal ideology as a remedy to the increase of the 'burden' of public debt. For David Harvey, because it is a mechanism of debt crisis management, austerity is one of the main neoliberal mechanisms of wealth redistribution, or mechanisms of "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2007: 157). Wolfgang Streeck argues that, even before 2008, it was taken for granted that the fiscal crisis of the post-war state had to be resolved by lowering spending instead of raising taxes, especially on the rich (Streeck 2016: 69). However, since 2008, private global financial creditors amplified demands for fiscal austerity as they wanted to make sure "that their vastly increased investment in government debt would not be lost" (ibid., 87). Fiscal austerity politics foreground the democratic contradiction between the capacity of nation states to "mediate between the right of citizens" and "the requirements of capital accumulation" (ibid., 91).

Because "competition, not exchange, structures the relation among capitals" (Brown 2015: 81), the educational system needs to teach subjects how to better adapt to the generalized competition in the perspective of improving one's employability. One symptom of this transformation is the increased importance of professionalization in the curricula, which subordinates the acquisition of knowledge to the acquisition of a normalized behavior supposedly common to all professional situations. This normalized behavior can be

summarized by the concept of *transversal skills* (Laval et al. 2011: 95). The development of these skills would facilitate the adaptation of the subjects to the increased flexibility they will experience in the economic system (ibid., 96). Thus, neoliberal norms of employability define the ideal obedient, flexible and adaptable subjectivities required by the capitalist firms. The neoliberal rationality also negates the relevance of the democratic public sphere: public goods such as education are "increasingly difficult to secure" while citizens are transformed into investors or consumers instead of "members of a democratic polity" (Brown 2015: 176). Knowledge gets value only in so far as it can enhance the value of human capital, that is, knowledge is valued according to market metrics, "it is sought for positive 'ROI'", or "return on investment" (ibid.). It is not valued according to criteria that would sustain democratic practices, that would aim at redefining the common good while struggling against domination.

States have lead the flexible restructuration of the economy from the 1970s on through the establishment of "competition" as a general norm for international relations as well as for all social, cultural and educational matters (Laval et al. 2011: 21). Wendy Brown argues that neoliberalism does not limit itself to an ideology or a new phase of capitalist accumulation as described by David Harvey; rather, neoliberalism is "an order of normative reason" that forms a governing rationality "extending a specific formulation of economic values, practices and metrics to every dimension of human life" (Brown 2015: 30). In other words, the neoliberal rationality "disseminates the model of the market to all domains and activities", with or without a monetary dimension (ibid.). Neoliberal rationality tends to structure the behavior of its subjects as entrepreneurs of the self: "everyone is an enterprise to be managed and a capital to be made to bear fruit" (Dardot & Laval 2010: 458). The subject of the neoliberal rationality, whose project is "to self-invest in ways that enhance its value or to attract investors through constant attention to its actual or figurative credit rating, across every sphere of its existence" is "homo oeconomicus" (Brown 2015: 33). Homo oeconomicus is not limiting its prerogatives to profit-seeking in the economic sphere. Instead, its prerogatives are extended into the political and the social sphere: homo oeconomicus is, in every possible sphere, "human capital" that seeks to "strengthen its competitive positioning" rather than solely its exchange value (ibid.). Increasing the value of homo oeconomicus' human capital entails "enhancing its portfolio in all domains of its life" through "practices of self-investment and attracting investors" (ibid.). These practices take place, for example, in the social media sphere, in dating, physical training, leisure, etc. Homo oeconomicus vanquishes homo politicus, the ideal subject of liberal

democracy, as neoliberalism "transposes democratic principles" into "an economic idiom", "transforms the state itself into a manager" and the nation into a financial firm.

2.3 Critical Theories of Education

Critical pedagogy is based on Frankfurt School's theory of ideology critique, on Gramsci's theory of hegemony and Paulo Freire's educational theory and notion of conscientization. These three theories consider that their subject, the 'subjugated' or the 'oppressed', are respectively the "incorporated working and middle classes", the "proletarian masses" and the "disenfranchised peasantry" (Luke 1992: 26–27). However, some critical approaches depoliticize the notion of 'empowerment' trough the fetishizing and romanticizing of its agents in education. The aim of empowerment is often abstracted in expressions such as "human betterment", "the possibility of human agency", or "expanding the range of possible identities people may become" that fails to identify any social or political position, institution or group (Ellsworth 1992: 99). Feminist critique Patti Lather warns that critical literacy can lack reflexivity and is often concerned with "sedimented discursive configurations of essentialized, romanticized subjects" with general needs for emancipation from general "social oppression", via "the mediations of liberatory pedagogues capable of exposing the 'real' to those caught up in the distorting meaning systems of late capitalism" (Lather 1992: 131). Indeed, as agents of empowerment, the teachers are not removed from the structures they wish to change and their relations of domination; rather, they are embedded in "learnt and internalized oppressions" and privileges and do not necessarily share or understand better the various oppressions their students may experience (Ellsworth 1992: 99–101). The context of the teacher's work has to be taken into account in critical pedagogy. Through dialogue, students are supposed to 'share' their experiences of oppression in the classroom with other students and the teacher. For Elisabeth Ellsworth, the voice of oppositional groups rather consists of "talking back" to oppression than to plainly "share" about oppression (Ellsworth 1992: 102). Oppositional groups construct their voices through their experiences of oppression as this is a "condition for survival" (ibid.). Consequently, in the classroom, the idealized unity of an "us-ness" against a "them-ness" may enforce a harmony of interests and silence the "fragmentary, unstable, not given" dimension of unity (ibid., pp 106-107). It is not enough to pronounce empowerment, instead, the dynamics of empowerment are context-specific. Jennifer Gore argues that context

> must be conceived as filled with social actors whose personal and group histories position them as subjects immersed in social patterns. Thus, contexts for the work of empowerment need to be defined historically and politically with

> acknowledgement of the unique struggles that characterize the exercise of power at the micro-levels (Gore 1992: 51).

Ellsworth affirms that instead of a mythical 'unity', critical pedagogy necessitates the building of a coalition among the "multiple, shifting, intersecting and sometimes contradictory" parts of a larger group that she calls "affinity groups" (Ellsworth 1992: 107). Thus, what is reversed here is the approach of creating a mythical collective 'unity' at the classroom level from atomized individuals against an 'other' or 'them'; instead, this approach focuses classroom interaction on the interaction between groups with their own differing histories of lived oppressions and resistances. The different forms under which the affinity groups' voices can 'talk back' are processes of knowledge production that mutually help each group to exercise power. In Jennifer Gore's words, this is "consistent with much critical and feminist work that tends to deny constructions of pedagogy as "instruction", and instead represent pedagogy as the production of knowledge: indeed, "empowerment must be pedagogical – a process of knowledge production" (Gore 1992: 68).

The conceptualization of power as 'power with' in educational settings raises several questions.

> Do people truly experience power with? In describing the processes of empowerment, do teachers experience power in terms of power over, power with, or both? What are the dynamics of power with in relationships and groups? What is the relationship between power with and power over in the experience of empowerment? What are the dynamics of power in empowering student-teacher relationships? (Kreisberg 1992: 89)

These questions are concerned with the processes that constitute educational practice, and to analyze these processes, education should be analyzed in a dialectical manner. David Harvey argues that "dialectical thinking emphasizes the understanding of processes, flows, fluxes, and relations over the analysis of elements, things, structures, and organized systems" (Harvey 1996: 49). Analyzing education as a process allows an understanding of the contradictions, inherent in all processes, that it is constituted of. These contradictions make education a process in constant evolution and transformation. Drawing on Murray Bookchin, Harvey adds that education consists in the "exploration of possibilities" and is generally the "central motif of dialectical praxis as well as the primary purpose of knowledge construction" (Harvey 1996: 55), as opposed to deduction and induction, respectively consisting in "spinning out the implications of known truths" and "discovering the laws regulating what already exists" (ibid.). Therefore, a dialectical approach to education enables taking into account and exploring

of potentialities for change inherent in the contradictions of education, and can reveal how power relations are brought to change or to crystallize in educational settings and in the broader society.

Dialectical thinking enables the theorizing of resistance in education away from the positivistic approach that considers education as a 'thing', as Henry Giroux puts it "entrenched in the logic of technocratic rationality", a 'thing' that consists solely of an "instructional site" removed from power relations (Giroux 2001: 3). Contrarily to this approach, education is also a political site, "an arena of contestation and struggle" embedded in relations of power between "differentially empowered cultural and economic groups" (ibid.). Critical theory and dialectical thinking permit the educator and the researcher to grasp how human agency is at play in education and to reveal the political dimension of educational practice, that is, in Giroux's words, "the gap between society as it presently exists and society is it might be" (ibid., 36). The theory of power and hegemony detailed above enables an analysis of schools as sites in which constraints generates resistance, sites "in which different social groups both accept and reject the complex mediations of culture, knowledge, and power that give form to meaning to the process of schooling" (ibid.). School practice is a "moment", a component "constituted as in internal relation of the others [moments] within the flow of social and material life" (Harvey 1996: 80). Thus, schools are connected "with the realities of other socioeconomic and political institutions" responsible of the distribution of various social resources in the dominant society, e.g. different forms of capital (Giroux 2001: 62). This is why education should be considered as embedded in the broader social order, in its inequalities, in its conflicts and power relations, as a site aimed at achieving hegemony among students and also as a potential site to wage counter-hegemonic practices (Gross 2011: 66).

The theories of resistance focus on the "non-reproductive" moments of schooling (Giroux 2001: 102) as constitutive of human agency. Resistance that takes place in educational settings is part of broader resistance practices occurring in other sites such as the workplace or the home, sites where they can be sustained in a more substantial way. Giroux argues that for this reason, resistance can only be understood in its wider context, as embedded in the culture and practices of the "oppositional groups under analysis" (ibid., 103). This leads Giroux to condemn the psychologizing approaches to resistance explaining it as helplessness or

pathology, and to push for analyzing the articulation of "moral and political indignation" in oppositional behaviors:

> Thus, central to analyzing any act of resistance would be a concern with uncovering the degree to which it speaks to a form of refusal that highlights, either implicitly or explicitly, the need to struggle against the social nexus of domination and submission. In other words, resistance must have a revealing function, one that contains a critique of domination and provides theoretical opportunities for self-reflection and for struggle in the interest of self-emancipation and social emancipation. (Giroux 2001: 108)

Considering resistance in education as a moment of resistance in society shifts the hegemonic view of education as a moment of the reproduction of, or the adaptation to, the dominant economic or cultural configuration towards a moment of its transformation towards a goal of social justice. Educating for social justice is the fundamental concern of critical pedagogical approaches.

Critical literacy is antithetical to the dominant approach to literacy that has been promoted by national and international entities such as the UNESCO since the post-WW2 years. This approach is what Giroux names "functional literacy", and it is embedded in an "instrumental ideology" that defines literacy in "relation to the financial and economic needs of a given society" (Giroux 2001: 215). Functional literacy is

> geared to make adults more productive workers and citizens within a given society. In spite of its appeal to economic mobility, functional literacy reduces the concept of literacy and the pedagogy in which it is suited to the pragmatic requirements of capital; consequently, the notions of critical thinking, culture, and power disappear under the imperatives of the labor process and the need for capital accumulation. (Giroux 2001: 215)

Paulo Freire criticized the dominant approach to literacy, qualifying it of "banking education" (Freire 1968; Kreisberg 1992: 7). "Banking education" entails a hierarchy between the teacher, possessing the knowledge, and the students, a blank box to be taught, i.e. in which to 'deposit' the knowledge. In other words, "banking education" relies on the teacher/student contradiction, a contradiction in which the teacher is placed in a dominant position vis-à-vis the subordinated student, and which reflects the oppressed/oppressor contradiction present in the broader society. The neoliberal approach to literacy is embedded in the instrumental ideology since it orients education to the "back to basics" (Giroux 2001: 215) and represents it as a means to successfully prepare students for the desired job at the market, while in fact positioning them as "flexible" subjects in the capitalist organization of the so-called knowledge (based) economy

of contemporary society (Fairclough 2010: 301). For Freire and critical literacy theorists, questioning and changing the binary opposition between teacher and student goes together with questioning and changing the opposition between the oppressed and the oppressor. Allan Luke defines critical literacy as aiming at a "critique and transformation of ideologies, cultures and economies, institutions and political systems" (Luke 2014: 22). The goal of critique is the "explosion of reification", which means to unveil the social function of texts, for instance serving the interests of domination, in order to "redesign and reposition" the text in what is considered a more 'democratic' interest (Adorno 1973; in Giroux 2001: 155; Janks 2014: 36). Critical pedagogy, according to Carmen Luke, is based on the assumption that if "the 'text' and experience of schooling are changed", i.e. power relations at the level of schooling are changed, then "students' lives and hence civil society will be changed for the better" (Luke 1992: 27). Critical self-determination will lead to a democratic transformation of schooling and society (ibid.). Thus, in this approach, literacy is a means to transform agency into individual and collective action, ideally towards reaching social justice, democratic relations of power, and an end to individual and collective oppressions (Janks 2014: 36; Luke 2014: 22; Luke 1992: 27).

School institutions are, to various degrees, embedded in the contradiction between instrumental literacy practices and critical pedagogy practices. They are "neither an all-encompassing foothold of domination nor a locus of revolution" (Giroux 2001: 115). The neoliberal logic in which the instrumental literacy practices are caught in will be analyzed in the following part. Critical literacy theorists such as Giroux assume that critical pedagogy is a chance to force school practices towards the creation of what he calls a "new public sphere", in which "men and women from the oppressed classes" would be able to make their own voice heard (ibid.). According to Kreisberg, voice is a metaphor for how "people describe their identity, self-worth, and feeling of isolation from or connection to others" (Kreisberg 1992: 115). Voice is opposed to silence, and, Kreisberg argues, that analyzing how teachers and students cultivate and express their voices is key to understand how relations of 'power with' develop in educational institutions (ibid.). Educational institutions should provide contexts based on values of social justice and democracy for students to be empowered to speak and listen (ibid., 151). Voice can construct a critical discourse that takes into account the oppressed interests and it can structure various counter-public spheres aimed at a democratic praxis, i.e. reflection dialectically combined with action, "exploding reifications, myths and prejudices" (Heller 1976; in Giroux 2001: 116). In other words, the 'new public sphere' is an

institutionalization that arises from counter-hegemonic discourses and practices constructed by voice.

Kreisberg's concept of "field of empowering education" (Kreisberg 1992: 172) makes it possible to grasp the relationship between practices of ideology critique and the creation of a 'new public sphere' in educational contexts. On the one hand, this field consists of "praxis", made up of "two inextricably related but distinct categories" of reflection and action: developing critical awareness and changing or maintaining "existing conditions" (ibid.). On the other hand, this field consists of "content", falling into two broad categories: classroom issues and social issues (ibid.). Critical reflection lays bare the specific interests behind the values that are historically and socially deep-seated in the "construction of knowledge, social relations and material practices" (Giroux 2001: 154), while critical action inside and outside the classroom consists in the development of social relations and modes of knowledge that provide to needs of transforming relations of domination (ibid., 160).

CHAPTER 3
PEDAGOGY AND DISCOURSE

Chapter 3 will focus on the ways pedagogic discourse regulates educational practice on the macro and micro levels. I will discuss Basil Bernstein's (2000) notion of 'recontextualization' in the pedagogic field that consists of a process of selection, organization and transmission of 'thinkable' knowledge, and link it with critical discourse analysis. I will explain how power struggles shape the movement of discourses across different social practices, specifically into pedagogic practices and events. Bernstein's categories of classification and framing will allow for an understanding of the recontextualization of different modalities of power relations and relations of control in pedagogic discourse, and the interests mobilizing the movements. Finally, I will reflect on the specificities of the pedagogical models Bernstein establishes in terms of the legitimate identities combined in these models. The dominant pedagogic model in neo-liberal capitalism is argued to be the 'generic' pedagogical model that articulates identities oriented towards the market (de-centered market). The radical mode, in opposition to the dominant one, allows the formation of re-centering identities. Bernstein's categories will facilitate my analysis of the contradictions arising within the particular LAP practices discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

3.1 Pedagogic Discourse in New Capitalism

The concept of discourse has its equivalent in the sociology of new capitalism in the concept of "*Cité*" or "justificatory regime" (Chiapello and Fairclough 2010, 262). They draw on Boltanski and Chiapello's work (1999) when they argue that justificatory regimes (*Cités*) share a common grammar structure: (1) an equivalency principle (or general standard) against which "greatness" is evaluated, (2) a state of "greatness"/"smallness" based on whether the person embodies the values of the *Cité*, and (3) a "paradigmatic test" which "best reveals a person's greatness" (ibid., 261-262). In new capitalism, the justificatory regime that has become dominant is the so-called "projects-oriented" or "connectionist" *Cité*, which emphasizes the value of flexibility, i.e. "mobility, availability and the variety of one's personal contacts" (ibid.). The equivalency principle of the connectionist *Cité* is "activity", a category that goes beyond wage-labor to encompass all kinds of different work, paid or unpaid: the value of one's life increases with the diversification of one's projects. This leads to an expansion of one's networks as projects are "transitory forms": their succession multiplies connections and increases the number of ties (ibid., 263). Measured against this principle, the "great" person is adaptable,

flexible, generates a feeling of trust and redistributes "connections s/he has secured through networks". The "great" person is embodied by the figure of a project manager who "increases all his/her team-mates' *employability*" (emphasis in the original text, ibid.). The grammar of the connectionist *Cité* consists of dominant managerial "imaginaries" (how things might or could be) that can be inculcated in dominant ways of being like a "great" member, or enacted in dominant ways of acting like a "great" one. Nevertheless, due to the agency of participants, social entities can resist new 'project-oriented' discourses, and a new discourse "may come in an institution without being enacted or inculcated. It may be enacted, yet never be fully inculcated" (ibid., 266-67).

The project-oriented regime intends to provide a justification for production and reproduction of the socio-economical configurations of new capitalism, and an imaginary for its subjects. It controls symbols in the field of 'activity' or 'work'; thus, it can be called a symbolic ruler. According to Basil Bernstein, in the field of pedagogy, symbolic control is materialized by a particular "symbolic ruler" he calls the "pedagogic device" (Bernstein 2000: 201). It is symbolic in the sense that, through its pedagogical modalities, it attempts to shape "particular forms of consciousness, identity and desire" (ibid.), it is ruling in that it enables a particular social group to have power over other social groups' consciousness, identities and desires, and that it evaluates the legitimacy of their realization (ibid., 114). Social groups struggle for the control of the device as the owners of the device are enabled to establish their own "ideological representations" as the 'universal' value (ibid.). This conflict means that the pedagogic device is at stake in contradictory power struggles, for instance, between official and local, macro and micro pedagogical contexts. The grammar (or structure) of the pedagogic device is made up of what Basil Bernstein calls the "three interrelated, hierarchically organized rules" (ibid.). They are the distributive rules, the recontextualizing rules and the evaluative rules.

Distributive rules (Bernstein 2000: 115) function to distribute access to the "unthinkable", the possibility of creation of new knowledge, and access to the "thinkable", which is the official knowledge. In other words, according to Bernstein, distributive rules "specialize access to fields where the production of new knowledge may legitimately take place". Knowledge can be created, however, outside of these legitimate fields but may be incorporated in the official field. Eventually, the logic of the field "will operate as to whether such knowledge is incorporated into the field". Recontextualizing rules construct the "thinkable"; they construct "the what and how" of pedagogic discourse (Bernstein 2000: 115).

Pedagogic discourse appropriates knowledge from the field of its production and subordinates it "to a different principle of organization and relation" (ibid.). Through recontextualization, discourses "are abstracted from their social bases and power relations and are relocated as imaginary practices involving imaginary subjects" in pedagogic discourse. Such subjects are imaginary in the sense that they are represented as "unproblematically real" because the arbitrary division between them, their principle of classification (see below) is "mystified", i.e. the arbitrariness of recontextualization conceals the interests and the power struggles at stake (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 109). The original discourse, for example, the discourse of linguistics, "passes through ideological screens" (Bernstein 2000: 115) in the course of recontextualization and turns into a new form, that is, into pedagogic discourse: in the case of linguistics it may turn into 'language skills'. Evaluative rules transform pedagogic discourse into pedagogic practice and communication through the specialization of meanings into time (age, acquisition) and space (context, transmission) (ibid., 35). Evaluative rules act on how contents are transmitted and distributed "to different groups of pupils in different contexts" (ibid., 115). They "regulate pedagogic practice at the classroom level" as "they define the standards which must be reached" (ibid.).

Lilie Chouliaraki and Norman Fairclough (1999) claim that Bernstein's critical pedagogy and their own critical discourse analysis can be brought together to complement each other. The recontextualizing principle is similar to the CDA category of genre that can be "specified in terms of classification and framing properties" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 118). They argue that Bernstein's "recontextualizing principle is materialized discoursally in the genres characteristic for a particular pedagogy" (ibid.). The CDA categories of intertextuality and interdiscursvity, in turn, allow us to analyze in detail the particular pedagogical interactions. Intertextual analysis and interdiscursive analysis, i.e. an analysis of dialogicity enable the researcher to explore the "contradictions and dilemmas" that can emerge in pedagogic interaction. Thus, dialogical interactions are essential when it comes to bringing about social change, before solidification into "fully fledged social forms" that is called "thinkable knowledge" by Bernstein (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 119). The intertextual dimension of the recontextualization process is the suppression of the meaning of a discourse in the process of re/classification between discourses (see section 3.2 below for the discussion of classification). This way, recontextualization suppresses contradictions between "meaning potentials of different discourses", contradictions that can re-emerge in interaction (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 119). Chouliaraki and Fairclough add that the concept of intertextuality

must be linked with a theory of power to be able to explain how the material basis and the specific social contexts of interactions constrain the possibility of certain intertextual practices over others (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 119).

The work of agents in the recontextualizing field is regulated by the recontextualizing rules. The recontextualizing field means the process of selection and organization of knowledge, and a dialectic between broader social structures and local interaction. The recontextualizing field consists of an official recontextualizing field, which is "created and dominated by the state for the construction and surveillance of state pedagogic discourse" and of a Pedagogic recontextualizing field, "consisting of trainers, teachers, writers of textbooks, curricular guides, specialized media" etc. (Bernstein 2000: 115). Both fields are relatively independent of each other and struggle for the control of what counts as 'thinkable knowledge'; they may form a consensus or may oppose each other (ibid.). Bernstein draws a link between pedagogical discourse and material reality when he claims that principles of recontextualization to be drawn from are diverse and that the selection of a principle among many others "varies according to the dominant principles of a given society" (Bernstein 2003: 184).

Sophia Stavrou's aim is to explain the current French education context with the help of Bernstein's concept of recontextualization. Stavrou emphasizes acknowledges that the principles of recontextualization are historically specific, in accordance to what is "thinkable" in a given society (Stavrou 2008: 172). She argues that the social context has an influence on which knowledge (element) is to be selected, to be linked, to be transmitted, and for what specific purposes. However, because recontextualization logics are plural, a recontextualizing discourse of resistance can be present in the Pedagogic recontextualizing field: the Official recontextualizing field has got resistance integral to it and so the Pedagogic field is never fully determined by it (ibid., 179). Recontextualization unfolds as a process of selection, organization and transmission of 'thinkable' knowledge. Stavrou argues that this process of recontextualization is characterized by what she calls "transversality" (Stavrou 2008: 174), i.e. a certain approach to the association of a diversity of disciplines through "regionalization", which involves the "transformation of singular disciplinary discourses into larger regionalized pedagogic discourses", for instance, "urbanism, communication and management" (ibid.). Stavrou locates the origin of the concept of 'transversality' in the 1960s in fields of knowledge production. Today, the institutionalized form of "disciplinary transversality" in the European context means a "form of regionalization of knowledge elaborated in the present-day sociopolitical context" (ibid.), a form which "operates in the curricula". More specifically,

Stavrou argues that in the French context, higher education was the first educational field to be given "instrumental functions" in the Official recontextualizing field. Indeed, the 1984 Savary law enforces that universities "contribute to the regional and national growth in the framework of economic planning, contribute to economic development and the fulfillment of an employment policy taking into account present-day needs and their foreseeable evolution" (ibid.). This law introduced the practice of internship in public or private companies as part of the educational curricula. The 1989 Jospin law is a milestone in the official attribution of the specific values of "adaptability, creativity, and fast upgradeability" to knowledge. Such values are essential as they will contribute "in fields that are outside education" (ibid.). Stavrou suggests that currently, 'transversality' entails "pluri-disciplinarity" and "professionalization" as the two fundamental elements present in higher, and increasingly in secondary education, with an appeal to the facilitation of student's insertion in the job market, and to making the French educational institutions more 'attractive' in the framework of international competition. The ongoing adaptation of the curricula to the current needs of the economic actors may be resisted at the level of the Pedagogic recontextualizing field (ibid., 179).

3.2 Classification and Framing

In Basil Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse in new capitalism, the categories of classification and framing translate relations of power and relations of control in pedagogical practice and interaction. Power relations "create boundaries, legitimize boundaries, between different categories of groups, gender, race, class, different categories of discourse, different categories of agents" (Bernstein 2000: 5). While power operates between categories and creates relations of order, relations of control socialize agents in the relations of power through establishing what forms of communication are legitimate in the categories: "power constructs relations *between*, and control constructs relations *within* given forms of interaction" (ibid.). Power preserves the "insulation" between categories, and insulation between categories has the effect of suppressing the contradictions and dilemmas that are inherent in the principle at the origin of the classification (ibid., 7).

Classification that organizes a particular discourse can be strong or weak depending on the pedagogical context: strong classification entails that each category has "its unique identity, its unique voice, its own specialized rules of internal relations" (ibid., 7), whereas weak classification results in less specialized voices and identities. Bernstein explains that (Bernstein 2000: 10–11), in the school context, strong classification represents outside, official knowledge

as ‘other’ or ‘uncommon sense’, the school staff relate less to each other and are firmly enclosed in their discipline, and power circulation is hierarchical, even vertical. On the other hand, weak classification entails “permeable boundaries”, in which identities are not created by the organizational structure but by the staff forming a network. The configuration “coheres around knowledge itself”, the power base is an alternative one to the strongly vertical one, it is more complex. To recapitulate, strong classification involves that “things must be kept apart”, while weak classification means that “things must be brought together” (ibid., 11). The relevant question here, according to Bernstein, is “in whose interest is the apartness of things, and in whose interest is the new togetherness and the new integration?” (ibid.). In my analysis, I shall show that contrary to the strong classification permeating the official French educational system, classification in the alternative pedagogical discourse of LAP is predominantly of the weak type. It also differs from ‘traditional’ schools in that it is a self-managed institution, with no headmaster or principal who should represent the ministry and who is in charge of conveying the official orders of discourse to his or her ‘subordinates’. Although LAP still depends on the State for its funding, wages and expenses, I will show that the school staff is empowered, and boundaries between the inside and the outside, or between disciplines, are more permeable.

If classification is the effect of power rendering the emerging categories into particular patters in in interaction, framing is about control and structuring categories within interaction. For Bernstein, classification “establishes voice and framing establishes the message” (Bernstein 2000: 12): classification is about providing voice and its means of recognition, framing is about providing the means of “acquiring the legitimate message” (ibid.). Framing is about the control of relations in interaction, e.g., in an educational context, the teacher/pupil relation. Comparably to classification, framing can be strong or weak. Strong framing in education gives more control to the teacher over “selection, sequence, pacing, criteria and the social base”, whereas weak framing supposedly provides more control to the student over communication (ibid., 13). As a result of contradictions in interaction, there is a room for agency in framing, which can generate change: pedagogical action can reproduce or transform existing classification (Pandraud 2008: 210).

Framing is constituted out of two intertwined sets of rules, “rules of social order and rules of discursive order”, each of them able to have relatively different framing values. Bernstein argues that rules of social order construct the expectations about “conduct, character and manner” in pedagogic interaction. When framing is strong, desirable learners will be labeled from the hierarchical point of view of the instructor “conscientious, attentive,

industrious, careful and receptive" (ibid., 13); on the other hand, when framing is weak, labeling will be the goal of the learner 'from below', who will "struggle to be creative, to be interactive, to attempt to make his or her own mark" (ibid., 13). On the other hand, rules of discursive order refer to the "selection, sequence, pacing, and criteria of knowledge" (ibid.). These two sets of rules make up respectively the "official" and the "instructional discourse". In other words, the regulative discourse creates order, relations and identities, while the instructional discourse presents "specialized competences" (Bernstein 2003: 183).

In the dominant discourse of pedagogy in new capitalism, the regulative discourse is a relatively dominant primary discourse that embeds the instructional discourse to form the pedagogic discourse altogether. Pedagogic discourse creates a specific moral order which is a "condition for the transmission of competences" (ibid., 184). To summarize, strong framing entails a "visible pedagogic practice" in which the rules of instructional and regulative discourse are explicit and rigid, while weak framing generally involves a more invisible pedagogic practice in which the rules of instructional and regulative discourse are implicit and so potentially more flexible, "largely unknown to the acquirer" (Bernstein 2000: 14). The "relative salience" of invisible or visible pedagogies in new capitalism "is linked to shifts in the relationship between the field of pedagogy and the field of [economic] production" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 111). Eric Mangez and Catherine Mangez (Mangez & Mangez 2008: 192) argue that this shift to invisible pedagogies is the result of a will to fight against the reproduction of social inequalities through education. They contend that, in general, invisible pedagogies are not oriented towards emancipation but push towards a transformation of the reproduction of social inequalities. This shift is the result of the specific position of particular fraction of the middle class in the labor market, in which unequal relations of power are more covert, and where ideal identities demonstrate flexibility, creativity, imagination or versatility. Mangez and Mangez claim that this new middle class is positioned as agents of symbolic values, whereas the 'old' middle class is more involved in the circulation of material goods: "where, in the old middle class, social control is realized through impersonal rules, social control in the new middle class is mainly realized through interpersonal communication processes valorizing mutual respect, persuasiveness, individual singularity and mutual listening" (Mangez & Mangez 2008: 192). This new interest, in turn, leads to an "implicit competition", organized by a logic valorizing "contracts" or "personal projects". In fact, this argument is the same as Boltanski and Chiapello's concept of the projects-oriented justificatory regime of new capitalism discussed in section 3.1 above. Pedagogical experiments like the

LAP, created soon after the 1981 electoral victory of François Mitterand and a broad united French left encompassing socialists and communists, can be considered part of a tentative shift towards the implementation of invisible pedagogies in secondary education. Whether the pedagogical practice in LAP contributes to reproduce or fight against social inequalities will be one of the main questions my analysis in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 will attempt to answer.

In the dialectic of transmission and acquisition, classification produces recognition rules, which "regulate what meanings are relevant" and framing produce "realization rules [that] regulate how meanings are to be put together to create legitimate text" (Bernstein 2000: 18). Recognition rules refer to the rules the acquirer makes use of to recognize the "speciality of the context they are in" (Bernstein 2000: 17). Acquiring recognition rules enables the acquirer to take part in "contextually legitimate conversation" while lacking recognition rules makes communication impossible. This is the reason why, Bernstein argues, children from lower classes may be silent at school. Enacting recognition rules that entails recognizing the power relations he or she is (his or her voice is) embedded in at the classroom level, however, is not sufficient to produce a legitimate 'message'. Realization rules are also needed to "speak the expected legitimate text" (ibid.). Realization rules are a product of framing, different values of framing "act selectively on realization rules, and so on the production of different texts" (ibid., 18). Bernstein claims that for children lacking realization rules, "the experience of school is essentially an experience of the classificatory system and their place in it". In other words, "recognition rules regulate what meanings are relevant, and realization rules regulate how meanings are to be put together to create legitimate text" (ibid.).

In the current French context, the legitimate classification of knowledge, that is, the legitimate relations between contexts, agents, and discourses (Bernstein 2000: 17) generates specific recognition rules. These rules dissociate various types of disciplinary knowledge from their discipline to be merged in a common thematic centered on the possibilities of applying disciplinary knowledge in a professional situation. Stavrou (2008, 183) contends that disciplinary knowledge is drawn upon as an introduction, while transversal knowledge reflects the "specialization of the context of transmission"; reflecting the potential value of specialized training on the labor market. The realization rules, putting in relation different forms of legitimate knowledge with one another, are a product of particular framing. Stavrou argues that in present-day education (Stavrou 2008: 183), there is a reinforcement of the hierarchy between knowledge and the field of practice, which implies a strengthening of framing in the communication field, even though framing is weakened in the pedagogical relation, i.e. between

students and teachers but also between now equivalent types of knowledge. The control exerted "by the field of professional practice", which in turn "abolishes classification between disciplines" and allows for "a mutual opening of disciplines" (ibid., 184) reveals the dialectical relationship between classification and framing. Another important question for me to explore in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 is the extent to which the control of the field of professional practice and the logic of the economic value of 'employability' on the labor market are being resisted in pedagogical interaction and the consequences on the classification of legitimate knowledge and on its modalities of transmission and acquisition.

3.3 Pedagogical Models and Identities

Bernstein classifies the various historically distinct pedagogic models into two fundamental types, namely the performance models and the competence models (Bernstein 2000: 41). The differences within the two types result from the differences of the recontextualizing principles in the particular the socio-economical context in which they are embedded.

Competence models are models of sameness as they focus on what is shared by the subjects in the pedagogical interaction: "they are predicated on fundamental 'similar to' relations" (Bernstein 2000: 50). The difference encountered among students are not represented as hierarchical stratifications; they are, instead, represented as "complementary contributions to the actualization of a common potential" (ibid.). Bernstein distinguishes three modes of the competence models: the liberal-progressive model, the populist mode and the radical mode. The "liberal-progressive" mode focuses on "intraindividual potential", that can be "revealed by appropriate pedagogic practice and contexts" (ibid.). It was a reaction to repressive, patriarchal authority in the family and at school, and legitimized a new science of child development and care. The 'similar to' relation finds its ontological base in the assumption of a "common humanity" (ibid., 55). The emergence and institutionalization of this mode depended on the new middle class located in the field of symbolic control. The second mode, which Bernstein calls the "populist" mode (ibid., 51), struggles for the recognition of the validity of competences located in a locally dominated culture, presupposed to be silenced by the official recontextualizing field. The 'similar to' relation in this mode is configured as a "common culture" (ibid., 55). The third mode is called the "radical mode" by Bernstein. It "does not focus upon indigenous competence as does the second mode" "nor upon intraindividual procedures as does the first mode (ibid., 51) but on "inter-class/group" material and symbolic opportunities

to struggle towards emancipation from domination. The 'similar to' dimension in this mode is based on the assumption of a common social position/opposition (ibid., 55). It is a mode specifically promoted by critical literacy, the practice the LAP high school self-identifies with, which emphasizes "the members' own exploration of the source of their imposed powerlessness under conditions of pedagogic renewal" (ibid., 55). Paulo Freire is considered to be the most famous creator of this 'radical mode' of the competence model (Freire 1968). Bernstein notes that all three competence modes work as a form of "invisible pedagogy" but they are in opposition in the pedagogic recontextualizing field.

Performance models are based on "different from" relations rather than on "similar to" relations. In official education, performance models are considered the norm with competence models restricted to "repair sections" (Bernstein 2000, 52). There are three performance modes differentiated: the "singulars" mode, the "regions" mode and the "generic" mode. The "singulars mode" entails distinct subjects of delimited knowledge structure with "a name", "a specialized discourse", "rules of entry", and "examinations" such as physics, chemistry or history. They are characterized by the metaphor "narcissistic", i.e. they are "oriented to their own development, protected by strong boundaries and hierarchies" (ibid.). The 'Regions mode' is constructed through "recontextualizing singulars into larger units which operate both in the intellectual field of disciplines and in the field of external practices", such as "management", "business studies" or "communication and media" (ibid.). Regionalization weakens the classification of discourses and their narcissistic identities "towards a greater external dependency: a change from introjected to projected identities" (ibid.). The "generic" mode is based on an underlying 'similar to' principle necessary "to the performance of a skill, task, practice, or even area of work" (Bernstein 2000: 53). This underlying principle is "competence", which silence the cultural basis of "skills, tasks, practices and areas of work and give rise to a jejune concept of trainability" (ibid.). In other words, the notion of competence has served "to redirect pedagogical practices towards performance" in a narrow sense (Mangez & Mangez 2008: 190). Generic modes are "constructed and distributed outside, and independently of, pedagogic recontextualizing fields", they find their origins in the intention of State ministries to link educational issues with immediate labor-market concerns, for instance in training programs such as the "Youth Training Scheme" in the UK (Bernstein 2000: 53). Thus, "generic modes and the performances to which they give rise are directly linked to

instrumentalities of the market, to the construction of what they are considered to be flexible performances" (ibid., 55).

According to Bernstein, the 1960s and 1970s saw a weakening of performance models and a shift to the competence ones in the United Kingdom. I would argue that this phenomenon also occurred in France at the same time as a consequence of the May 1968 protest movement. 'Empowerment' was the objective of the shift towards competence models: the "liberal-progressive mode was the basis of cognitive empowerment, the populist mode was the basis of cultural empowerment, and the radical mode the basis for political empowerment" (Bernstein 2000: 57). The neoliberal turn embodied by the Thatcher period in the UK saw a reorientation towards performance models, especially towards the 'generic' mode as state control over education got reinforced. New "discourses of assessment and management" (ibid., 58) were translated from the economic sphere to the field of public services like education. Companies and management used competence as a principle to define tasks and evaluate people and their careers (Mangez & Mangez 2008: 193). The notion of competence has been deployed in education and has been justified by a sense of justice (a core of minimal competences that everyone should attain, the importance of the fulfillment of the child), yet its focus on evaluation has also allowed the deployment of a battery of standardized tests (ibid.). The generic mode is still the dominant mode in present-day educational systems in the UK, France, Belgium and the European Union in general (Mangez & Mangez 2008: 193). In other words, various discursive fields were "colonized by" or "appropriated" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 93; Fairclough 2010: 110) market-oriented discourses such as the discourse of 'New Public Management', in which practice is focalized on obtaining measurable results, and which key terms are "performance", "evaluation" and "accountability" (Laval et al. 2011: 30). The 'generic' mode is caught in the flexible and competitive logic of neoliberalism, and the core value that it aims at transmitting is, according to Bernstein, 'trainability', which consists in

> the ability to profit from continuous pedagogic re-formations and so cope with the new requirements of 'work' and life'. These pedagogic reformations will be based on the acquisition of generic modes which it is hoped will realise a flexible transferable potential rather than specific performances. (Bernstein 2000: 58)

Bernstein's pedagogical models are also characterized in terms of the identities, the ideal 'subject' of education legitimized in the different historical contexts. The pedagogical models

allow for the negotiation of specific pedagogic identities, identities that can be combined in the models. These identities, argues Bernstein, are the results of

> embedding a career in a collective base. The career of a student is a knowledge career, a moral career and a locational career. The collective base of that career is provided by the principle of social order expected to be relayed in schools and institutionalized by the state (Bernstein 2000: 66).

Bernstein distinguishes two types of identities that are the results of centering or decentered resources, each differentiated further into two particular variations (Bernstein 2000: 66). The four variations are differentiated in terms of whether they are generated by "resources managed by the state", and foreground the past, in this case they are centering identities, or from local institutions which "have some autonomy over their resources", "focused on the present", in which case they are de-centered identities (Bernstein 2000: 66). "Centering" resources generate retrospective and prospective identities. The focus of retrospective identities is on the content of education rather than on its output, namely a carefully selected past, that is intended to stabilize the future (ibid., 67). Retrospective identities are, for instance, the fundamentalist identities based on the idea of belonging to religious or nationalist myths, or the elitist identities that are constructed around the resource of a culture elevated as 'high culture' (ibid., 74). Collective solidarities are downplayed in the case of the elitist identities. Prospective identities differ from retrospective identities in that they are meant to deal with contemporary cultural or economic change. They are shaped by recontextualizing some "features of the past to defend or raise economic performance" (ibid., 68). While in retrospective identities, it is the collective social base that is foregrounded, in prospective identities, it is the individual economic dimension, i.e. the "career" that is foregrounded (ibid.). Prospective identities differ from retrospective identities in that they are meant to deal with contemporary cultural or economic change. They are shaped by recontextualizing some "features of the past to defend or raise economic performance" (ibid., 68). Centering positions also generate a different kind of prospective identities (ibid., 76), which are based upon narratives that ground the identity in the future rather than in the past. These narratives represent a "becoming", not of an individual but of a collective, "of a social category, e.g. race, gender or region" (ibid.). These prospective identities "create a new basis for social relations, solidarities, for oppositions", thus they can be qualified as "re-centering" prospective identities (ibid.). The group that represents the basis for the development of these types of identities is caught in a struggle of "gatekeepers and licensers" (ibid.) who allow or disallow, authorize or deny the recognition of an 'authentic

identity' of belonging, which is collectively negotiated according to the specific political struggles and solidarities in which the group is involved.

If "centering" resources foreground and recontextualize the past, "de-centering" resources relegate the past in the background and "construct the present" (ibid.). Two forms of identities are constructed by decentering resources that are oriented toward the present: market and therapeutic identities. Market identities are focalized on having an "exchange value" at the market. The pedagogical practice aiming at constructing identities for the market will rely on small autonomous managerial groups whose aim will be to improve the exchange value of their products, i.e. of their students, on the labor market. Management "monitors the effectiveness of local units, groups or departments in satisfying and creating local markets" (ibid., 69). Educational outputs "which optimize exchange value" of students will be rewarded by management, while the educational outputs that do not will be "punished" and their survival will be precluded (ibid., 69). At the level of daily practice, what Bernstein names the "emerging local identity field", the de-centered market position shapes instrumental identities which are "constructed out of market signifiers" and which arise "out of a projection to consumables" (Bernstein 2000: 71). In other terms, education and knowledge assign an exchange value to 'human capital', which, on the labor market, can eventually be exchanged with wages. Such identity "depends upon the facility of projecting discursive organization/practices themselves" driven by and responding to external contingencies; knowledge is considered as money, and any obstacle to its flow is represented as a monopoly (teachers' and students' dedication and commitment) deemed to be dissolved (ibid.). The identity is based in the notion of competence (discussed above) since the focus is on everchanging short term (economically valuable) potential capacities rather than on long(er) term learning to "practice a trade to the perfection" (Maton 2008: 168). Bernstein argues that one of the outcomes of de-centered market identities is 'trainability', i.e. the "capacity to be taught" (Bernstein 2000: 58), which "arises out of a particular social order" that precedes the "ability to respond effectively to concurrent and subsequent training". Students are invited to function like "empty computers", "free from any engagements", waiting for the latest updated software and ready to reprogram themselves when necessary, that is to "adapt to segmented lives" (Maton 2008: 167). Karl Maton exposes the "nefarious social and psychological" consequences of this ideological logic for students (Maton

2008: 167), that leads to their deprivation of knowledge and the reproduction of social inequalities.

Therapeutic identities are much less widespread; the practice of transmission producing this identity is "against specialized categories of discourse and against stratification of groups and "hierarchies are veiled, power is disguised by communication networks and interpersonal relations" (Bernstein 2000: 70). While the market identities generate competitive identities, the therapeutic practice "ideally projects stable, integrated identities with adaptable cooperative practices" (ibid.). Therapeutic identities are characterized by introjection rather than projection: the self is represented as an end in itself, a personal project independent of external resources. (ibid., 73) While the de-centered market identity has an instrumental dimension dependent on the external signifiers of the market, the therapeutic identity depends on the "internal sense making procedures" (ibid.).

Various pedagogic identities come to be institutionalized at the same time in the neo-liberal position. The classification in clearly delimited subjects and 'basic skills' tends to emanate from the retrospective position, while professionalizing insertions, recontextualizing basic educational skills in an economic framework, seem to emanate from prospective positions (Bernstein 2000: 71). The de-centered market position, based on local resources to improve the exchange value of education on the market, is influencing the "managerial structure of educational institution" (ibid.), with increased autonomy in decision making and funding in the framework of a competitive enterprise culture. The effects of this managerial turn involved a transformation of the regulative discourse that has been transformed by the de-centered market position, as competition directly affects its conditions of survival. On the other hand, the instructional discourse is still embedded in the centering resources and narratives controlled by the institutions of the state such as "the segmental, serial ordering of subjects of the curriculum" (ibid.). Neoliberal education, more specifically its 'generic pedagogic mode' consists of a dialectic extrinsic/intrinsic interplay of de-centered market positions, which orients identities towards "satisfying external demands", and retrospective/prospective centering positions orienting "identities towards the intrinsic value of the discourse" (ibid.). An important question that I will explore in my analysis in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 is what kind of pedagogical identities emerging in the practice in LAP will end up being legitimized, stigmatized, or encouraged, by whom and for what purpose, and how this relates to the legitimate identities in the state's official pedagogic discourse.

CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY

In Chapter 4, I will introduce the categories of analysis I am going to use in a critical approach to studying discourse, more specifically Critical Analysis of Discourse as developed by Norman Fairclough (CDA) and critical ethnography for my case study of LAP. I will argue for the relevance of the ethnographic methodology I used in my case study as it enables the exploration of the different trajectories of "texts and associated practices" from within the macro and micro levels involved. In CDA, the categories of intertextuality and identification are to allow for the researcher to explore the construction of and negotiation of making values register with a given group of people as 'common sense' as a result of the analysis of the dialogicity of, and evaluation in text. At the end of the chapter I will also specify the different sets of data resulting from my fieldwork and the rationale for collecting them and the main research questions that inform my analysis.

4.1 The Analysis of Interdiscursivity and Identification

Due to the dialectical relationship perceived between hegemony (hierarchical relations of power) and discourse (an order of social practices), (Fairclough 2010: 129), any textual analysis will be indirectly telling of the particular relations of power that shape them. and discursive practice can either reproduce or challenge hegemony. In so far as discursive practices bring about representations (and identities) that naturalize hierarchical relations of power, they will result in routinely accepted meanings of ideological consequences. Therefore, the analysis is to explore the ideological work achieved by texts. On the other hand, counter-hegemonic practices will denaturalize the existing conventional representations (and identities) and replace them with others oriented to empowerment. Such counter-discourses may emerge from within critical pedagogic practices when they are effects of symmetrical relations of 'power with' in Seth Kreisberg (1992) sense of the term. The change for a non-ideological meaning is integral to the structure of hegemonic relations of power itself because hegemony always involves agency in its process of reproduction. The reproduction of hegemony entails a balance between force and consent to maintain differences of power. The contradictions hegemony needs to suppress to be 'efficient' are in constant evolution; thus, hegemony needs to adapt to this

shifting articulation of power relations. Change emerges from these contradictions when agency denaturalizes unfair power relations and when hegemonic consent is no longer sustainable.

The order of discourse (Fairclough 2011: 122) is defined as the symbolic (textual) aspect of social practices networked in particular institutions making up a given a social order that is structured together by multiple relations of power such as class, race, or gender relations. The social order can be explored through the critical analysis of its semiotic aspects, i.e. through the study of the network of representations. These semiotic practices, argues Fairclough, are of relevance for my analysis because they embody and reproduce knowledge and beliefs, as well as "particular 'positions' for the types of social subjects that may participate in that practice" (ibid., 129) are rendered into specific relationships of entitlements and access to power. In other words, Fairclough sees discourse as a dialectical nexus of semiotic and non-semiotic practices manifested in particular social events and the corresponding texts. The texts are the semiotic elements of social life that are the realizations of the actual discourses, in the sense of ways of representing, genres (ways of acting/interacting) and styles, i.e. ways of being (identities) (ibid., 121). The intersectional nature of texts and their institutional contexts means that the three dimensions of discourse themselves are also in a dialectical relationship with one another. Particular forms of representing can be inculcated in particular ways of being, i.e. in particular identities; and can be enacted in particular ways of interacting socially. Fairclough sees the neoliberal representation of countries and their population in the "global economy" according to a logic in which these countries are rendered into a relationship of "competition" and so are implicated to be acting in "new, more businesslike ways of administering organizations" and performing in "new managerial styles" (ibid., 123). This routine representation of the neoliberal economy, in turn, may reinforce the power of actual managers over their subordinate.

At the same time, because of the dialectical dimension of the hegemonic neoliberal discourse, this representation may generate forms of resistance. Thus, the social order of material practices and its discursive semiotic aspect in a dialectical nexus, partially internalizing each other. Discourse in CDA is imagined to preclude the collapse of the two as well as their absolute hierarchical distinction that would render text into the mere status of evidencing reality (Barát 2013: 221). Doing critical analysis of discourse (CDA) therefore consists in doing a textual analysis that aims at exploring how the different genres (the patterns a particular piece of text is articulated out of), the perspectives from where a given event is represented (the differences across discourses of the 'same' event) and styles (the textual personae, identity constructed) are drawn on. The ultimate aim is to explore what perspectives, genres and

identities are textured together out of a discourse repertoire over other possibilities and with what semantic effects: to explore what ideological work is carried out by the given meanings, which actual hierarchical relations of power should emerge as natural, obvious, inevitable, performing the ideological work of reinforcing the dominant matrix of power relations (Fairclough 2011: 125).

As I argued in Chapter 2 when integrating Foucault's understanding of governance with Gramsci's conceptualizing of hegemonic power relations, any discourse is understood to be articulated out of multiple social practices, each containing a meaning-making activity. Therefore, any analysis of discourse must include an interdiscursive analysis. The interdiscursive analysis is meant to methodologically *situate the analysis itself* between or rather beyond either a micro-level linguistic analysis or a macro level sociological analysis of social structures. Drawing on Fairclough, in the course of analyzing interdiscursivity, the researcher needs to explore the existing range of discourses making up a given text and the choices made out of the available range of genres, representations and styles and the logic that articulates them into a given order of discourse, such as that of secondary education in France, as if an 'obvious' or 'common sense' arrangement (Fairclough 2010: 238).

The analysis, therefore, is to establish the multiple perspectives the same activity or event comes to be represented. An analysis of genres such as school reports or curriculum in education always means the analysis of the representation of a given activity hence the analysis entails the exploration of "the sort of language used to construct some aspect of reality *from a particular perspective*". Regarding the exploration of styles, i.e. the "voices" speaking in a text, or "the sort of language used by a particular category of people" closely linked to the activity they are represented to perform (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 63), such as the 'authoritative educator' writing an 'ironic school report' at the expense of 'the student'. This way, the interdiscursive analysis links the analysis of texts in the data as part of social events to the analysis of social practices, like those of education, in my case. I am going to use the categories of dialogicity between discourses to explore the perspective of a given representation; to study the degree of plurality of structuring a given text into a coherent piece at the different point of the same text, I shall look out for the possible genres used.

The analysis is interdiscursive in the sense that it is to explore the multiplicity organizing any given discourse. The multiple discourses making up any one discourse – in CDA – is understood to be the result of the recontextualization of any discourse (representation) in the

course of other kinds of particular events. This means that texts are heterogenous, "hybridized", pieced together out of multiple representations, genres and styles resulting in discourse sufficiently different from their constituent elements (Fairclough 2010: 290). In any public sphere, such as the educational system, interdiscursivity is ontologically inevitable but what is open to negotiation is the organization of that multiplicity: whether it can foster "real dialogue" where participant 'voices' are in a symmetrical relationship to power (rendered into a relationship with one another according to the logic of 'power with') through winning the consent of the students, to the opposite end, where it fosters a "monologue" (of the classroom teacher or the principal), or even silencing, for instance of all participants of education by the State. According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough, "real dialogue" involves a symmetry of participants in their capacity to be involved in discussion, freedom to articulate the perspectives of everyone involved without stigmatization and an "orientation to alliance and to developing a new shared voice on the issue in question", while leading to action (attempting at reproduction or at transformation) (ibid., 64).

Assumptions, on the other hand, can be 'afforded' by discourses of 'common sense', i.e. discourses emanating from positions exercising the social power to "shape to some significant degree the nature and content of this 'common ground', which makes implicitness and assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology" (ibid., 55). Fairclough distinguishes between three types of assumptions: existential assumptions "about what exists", propositional assumptions "about what is or can be or will be the case" and value assumptions "about what is good or desirable" (ibid.). The hindering or mitigation of intertextuality takes place through the systemic use of assumption, shaping the dialogicity of a text in telling ways. Fairclough argues that the actual degree of dialogicity is the effect of power relations (Fairclough 2003: 41). Dialogicity, i.e. the degree of polyvocality in a text then comes about in the course of the negotiation of a text's orientation to difference in interaction. He differentiates between the following five scenarios concerning dialogicity, while insisting that they can get combined in any actual event, according to the possible configurations of power relations shaping the agency of subjects and the configuration of social structures:

> (a) an openness to, an acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in 'dialogue' in the richest sense of the term; (b) an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meanings, norms, power; (c) an attempt to resolve or overcome difference; (d) a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity; (e) consensus, a normalization and acceptance of

> differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and norms. (Fairclough 2003: 42–43)

Hegemonic assumptions are the result of a consensus and an acceptance of difference of power as expressed by scenario (e), which consists of an absence of dialogicity, taking a particular representation as natural or 'given'. To explain the potential counter-hegemonic practices in the discourse of LAP, my analysis will mainly focus on scenario (b), that is, instances of accentuation of difference, conflict and polemic between discourses, on the opening of meanings of particular assumptions, and the representations, genres and styles it articulates. On the other hand, potential practices of 'power with' across different discourses, the articulation of discourses in such practices focusing on solidarity, will be explained through the interdiscursive configuration represented by scenario (d).

Another issue of concern in interdiscursive analysis regards the identities constructed. We explore the ways the various voices are attributed to a given character and framed within pedagogical activities while being recontextualized: if they are explicitly indicated or assumed and modulated in various ways. So the analysis needs to establish what voices come to be attributed and if overtly or covertly, in modalized, non-modalized or assumed ways (Fairclough 2003: 47). Attribution of a voice can be analyzed through the categories of explicit or more vague forms of reporting: whether it takes the form of direct reporting (quotation) of a voice speaking (thinking) or indirect reporting or summing up the 'gist'. Attribution can take the form of a report of what an identified, recognizable group should "typically say" independently of specific social events (ibid., 51-55), i.e. the analysis of stereotypes.

The ultimate gain of the analysis of interdiscursivity is (1) an understanding of what dominant social groups seek in what ways to universalize or 'naturalize' what particular meanings as if 'common sense' while silencing others, reducing difference even to the point of silencing, in their own interests; and (2) how (much) these meanings are accepted, denied or challenged and if they are transformed through the textually mediated interaction of the participants. Critical literacy practices in schools self-identifying as alternative institutions, such as LAP in my case study, are a location in which the tensions between acceptance of, and resistance to, hegemonic meanings of 'good education' are possible to make visible through a CDA analysis.

The second key dimension of CDA analysis (Fairclough 2003, 159–61) entails exploring the discursive process of identification. It means the analysis of the textual devices

positioning to see what participants are constructed and if they are authorized to act in the represented social events, i.e. see whether the given discourse position allows for the formation of agency that is the condition for social change. Achieving agency is a matter of "being capable of assuming social roles" of class, race, or gender relations in a subversive or transformative way (ibid., 161). Social identity of agency (the emergence of a voice or style of subversive personality), however, is constrained, or limited by the dominant discursive positions as it is embedded, or caught within hegemonic power relations of class, race, gender, etc. that can be difficult to change – even if temporarily. Thus, says Fairclough, the effectivity of agency "depends upon both the nature of the event and its relationship to (other) social practices and social structures, and on the capacity of the agent" (ibid.). Also, the power difference between social agents, their organization in particular "affinity groups" (Ellsworth 1992: 107), and the configurations of individuality and collectivity, all have an influence on what Fairclough calls the ideal of "symmetry" (Fairclough 2003: 162) of standing that should organize the participants' interaction of a democratic 'dialogue'.

To capture the textual production of identification, Fairclough draws on M.A.K. Halliday's (2013) systemic functional grammar linguistic categories of modality and evaluation within the field of relational meaning production. These two categories represent the "commitments which people make in their texts and talk which contribute to identification – commitments to truth, moral obligation, necessity, to values" (ibid., 163). In other words, modality and evaluation analysis allows an understanding of the social actors' commitments "with respect to what is necessary (modality) and with respect to what is desirable or undesirable, good or bad (evaluation)" (ibid., 164). Although in the latter case desirability entails a modal assessment that extends "beyond the core of modality" (Halliday 2013: 183), and while desirability overlaps with modality categories, it is considered by Halliday as an effect of "comment modal adjuncts", restricted to indicative clauses and expressing the "speakers' attitude either to the proposition as a whole or to the particular speech function" (ibid., 190).

Modality is one metafunction out of the three systems of grammar. Mood and modality consist of the "interpersonal" metafunction of language, the clause is an exchange and mood "is the element the speaker makes responsible for the validity of what he is saying" (Halliday 2013: 83). The two other systems are "theme" and "transitivity", respectively the "textual" metafunction of language, the point of departure for the message and the element the speaker selects for 'grounding' what he is going on to say; and the "experiential" metafunction of

language, in which a cause "has meaning as a representation of some process in ongoing human experience" (ibid.). For Halliday, grammar is an interface with what goes on outside language, with the happenings and conditions of the world, and with the social processes we engage in. At the same time, grammar "has to organize the construal of experience, and the enactment of social processes, so that they can be transformed into wording" (ibid., 25). Thus, modality as the interpersonal element of language is the most relevant for my analysis as it will allow me to grasp the process of negotiation and enactment of identities in interaction. According to M.A.K. Halliday, "modality refers to the area of meaning that lies between yes and no" (Halliday 2013: 691). If the function of the clause is to exchange 'information' or knowledge, the linguistic means of mood and modality encode some degree of probability or usuality. If the clause is to establish a relationship between speaker and listener through functioning as an exchange of goods and services, as a kind of an 'imperative', then the linguistic devices of modality encode some degree of inclination or of obligation (ibid.). Probability is referred to as 'epistemic' modality, while obligation is referred to as 'deontic' modality (ibid., 692). Furthermore, probability, usuality, obligation and inclination vary in terms of 'value', which can be "high", "median" or "low"; for example, concerning probability, the 'high', 'median' and 'low' values of modalization construct the clause as, respectively, 'certain', 'probable' and 'possible' (ibid., 694). On the other hand, with regard to obligation, 'high', 'median' and 'low' values construct the clause as, respectively, 'required', 'supposed' and 'allowed' (ibid.). Categories of modality will allow my analysis to explore the interplay between the various configurations of obligation and freedom in the school's pedagogical practices and what identities are negotiated by participants through the use of modalization. For Fairclough (2003, 168), modality can be seen to do with "commitments, attitudes, judgements" and therefore with identification. He represents deontic modality as a speech function associated with activity exchange and working in two directions: as demands and offers of exchange.

Evaluation includes various linguistic means that do the ideological work of "implicit or explicit ways in which authors commit themselves to values" (Fairclough 2003: 171): evaluative statements, deontic modality, affective mental process verbs (e.g. 'I like'), and value assumptions. Evaluative statements including devices of labeling and predication (Bloome et al. 2004: 104), in which case an attribute, such as 'horrible', expresses the evaluation of the carrier of the given attribute as desirable or undesirable, such as indexing desirability explicitly in 'this is wonderful' or more implicitly, like in 'this is useful' (Fairclough 2003: 173). Comment modal adjuncts also serve to convey evaluation in relation to declarative sentences

in text, and they can be, to use Halliday's terms, "asservative", convey meaning about the 'natural', 'obvious' or 'sure' dimension of a proposition ('it is so'); or qualificative, convey meaning about the 'predictability', the 'presumption' (i.e. guess) and the 'desirability' of a proposition ('this is what I think about it')" (Halliday 2013: 192). The qualification of values as desirable can be assumed, in which case they are more deeply embedded in texts (Fairclough 2003, 173). To illustrate such value assumptions, Fairclough uses the example of the verb 'help to' in which case what follows 'help to' is positively evaluated, and the example of discourse-specific values such as 'efficiency and adaptability' which may be shared as positive by the author and the interpreter if they identify with the neoliberal discourse.

The ultimate gain of identification analysis will be a better understanding of the role of agency in the acceptance or the transformation of power relations through the textually mediated interaction of the participants. The social actors' commitments to what is deemed necessary or not, good or bad, differ according to their interest and to the purpose of their interpersonal interaction. In LAP, identification analysis will allow for an understanding of the particular configurations of obligations and evaluations in self-proclaimed critical pedagogical practices, and how much they differ from such configurations across other discourses and social practices. For the summary of the main linguistic categories of my analysis see appendix, Figure 5.

4.2 Discourse and Microethnography in LAP

My case study is a microethnographic research of the pedagogic discourses in the Paris Self-managed High School (Lycée Autogéré de Paris, or LAP). I carried out my fieldwork in LAP between March 2019 and January 2020. I negotiated access to the field with the "commission accueil", i.e. the group consisting of students and a teacher in charge of the relations with the outside world, by email, and my project was later approved in a general assembly. I chose to make use of anonymity for all the participants in this study unless explicitly requested/allowed by a given pariticpant to use his or her name.

The approach I have applied is called *micro*ethnography because it is to observe and explore pedagogical discourses from within the local level of schooling. One way of exploring the relationship between the micro and macro levels, according to Karin Tusting, is investigating how (macro) institutional (national or supranational) texts are "coordinated" in the local language practices of education they intend to govern, or at least constitute (Tusting 2013: 6). This specific type of microethnography is called 'document analysis' (Bowen 2009):

it consists of drawing upon multiple sets of texts to produce detailed descriptions and interpretations of complex events, organizations or phenomena. Document analysis is constructive as a means of triangulation – i.e. 'the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon' (ibid., 28). In line with this logic of microethnography, I decided to choose 'macro-level' texts to be analyzed in this study, i.e. the state documents regulating educational practices in the Île de France region in France, and the particular school texts produced in LAP mediating between state governance and local practices of teaching and learning. According to Glenn A. Bowen (2009, 32), one of this methodology's limits is the potentially biased selectivity regarding the texts to be analyzed since any collection of documents will be partial and important texts will end up discarded. Despite this drawback, document analysis allows for the establishment of a balance between data selection and data collection, which, in turn, can allow for the partial backgrounding of the investigator's presence in the research process (ibid., 31).

Microethnography is of the same epistemology as CDA: it aims to explore the dialectical relationship between broader social-cultural contexts and particular local events and institutions through the analysis of texts mediating that relationship. It claims that interaction at the local level does influence change at the broader level and reversely. My choice of microethnographic analysis of pedagogical discourse has also been motivated by the fact that it has been developed to explore critical literacy practices in both educational and community contexts, as theorized by Brian Street (Street 1995) and David Barton and Mary Hamilton (Barton and Hamilton 2005). Inspired by CDA, these scholars have developed the concept of the literacy event as a discursive site in which literacy practices of education are enacted through socially regulated interaction rather than existing as a static abstract grid or model to be replicated (Bloome et al. 2004, 6). According to Bloome et al., microethnographic discourse analysis conceptualizes an event as an emerging series of actions and reactions rendered into a particular pattern that people accomplish with one another at the level of (face to face) interaction. Such language use oriented ethnographic approaches, to use Karin Tusting's (2013) idea, insist on "the importance of participant observation in contexts", demonstrate "explicit reflexivity around the role of the researcher" and give a "central place to generating understandings of the emic perspectives of the participants" (Tusting 2013: 2). Linguistic ethnographic methods inform the so-called new literacy studies seen as a context-dependent social practice rather than a set of decontextualized individual skills (ibid., 5). It implies that the relevant methodological approach to understanding better how texts and discourses are received and (re)created in literacy events of education

should focus on "contextual-to-textual macro-micro mediation in the analytical process" (Krzyżanowski 2011a: 232). To this aim, ethnographic accounts of local literacy practices should explore the different trajectories of "texts and associated practices" from various macro and micro levels (Tusting 2013: 6).

I carried out my fieldwork in LAP between March 2019 and January 2020. I negotiated access to the school via email with the group responsible of the relations of the school with the outside world, particularly with journalists or researchers who would like to gain access to the school. My request was then discussed in a general assembly and accepted by the community. LAP is one of the two 'democratic pedagogic experiments' founded in 1982 by the ministry of education in the country, at the time directed by the French Socialist Party, the other 'experiment' being the 'Experimental high school of Saint-Nazaire' (*Lycée Expérimental de Saint-Nazaire*). Out of all possible alternative approaches to schooling, the self-management approach is the one I found the most relevant to analyze as it teaches what I consider one of the basic dimensions of democracy: allowing individuals to make decisions in the functioning of a collective that is based on relations of solidarity and equality. The choice of LAP over the Experimental high school of Saint-Nazaire was because I was not familiar at all with the functioning of the Saint-Nazaire school and because access to the field in Saint-Nazaire would have been personally more troublesome for practical reasons. LAP is fully self-managed by its different actors and can welcome 225 students. I had agreed with LAP that I would not use the name of the participants of the events analyzed unless specifically told to mention them. If the names are present in the written texts, I preferred to use them for the sake of clarity. I had full access to the field and could move freely in the school, talk to whoever was available and willing to have a discussion, whether they were students or teachers. Taking photos on the school ground was also allowed.

According to the statistics published by the school (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2014: 27), the school population shows some telling tendencies. It is generally more male than female, which, they say, can be explained by the gender-specific behavior of the parents: "the fear of a certain freedom for the student, stronger among the parents of a girl than of a boy" (ibid., 32). Furthermore, compared to their ratio in the general French population, there are respectively fewer students whose parents are industrial workers or agricultural workers, and more students whose family background is related to the professional sphere of "culture and communication" (ibid., 30). This can be explained by the school's geographical context as, in the Paris region, "the industrial worker population has been replaced by service sector workers" (ibid.). Finally,

the familiarity of students with the cultural and artistic worlds led them to be attracted by the school's artistic disciplines. All in all, the student population of LAP is a relatively older, aged 15-20, predominantly young male students attracted to art-oriented curricula, from a middle class background. The students are sometimes giving up the comfort of going to nearby schools, spending a lot of time commuting by public transport to get to LAP. This population has often experienced schooling elsewhere as a form of 'violence' and moving to LAP expects different relations with adults and their peers (ibid, 31). In short, they find the democratic pedagogy LAP self-identifies with a major attraction.

The set of texts I used for my case study consist of (1) macro-level documents representing education at the level of the governing body of the region and at the level of the school institution and (2) micro-level texts of different genres from local practices. Set (1) is made up of the Academic Project 2017-2020 (French title: *Projet Académique 2017-2020*) (Académie de Paris 2018) which frames the main guidelines and regulations of education in the Paris region for the years 2017 to 2020; set (1) also incorporates the School Project, authored by the staff of the school to recontextualize the state educational policy in their local practice while emphasizing the specificities of the LAP functioning (*Projet d'Etablissement*) (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2014) and a collective book, published by LAP and authored by the staff and the students of the school, entitled *Une Fabrique de Libertés* (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2012). Set (2) encompasses my observation of practices in LAP events such as the 'general assemblies' (assemblées générales, or AG) involving various school actors; semi-structured interviews with teachers and students about their representations of pedagogical and democratic practices in LAP and the relations between the school and the broader institutions governing it; five Radio LAP events I could analyze including one in which I actively participated; and diverse relevant 'non-educational' textual elements found in the school buildings such as posters. I had access to the macro level documents in Data Set (1) on the internet with regard to the Academic project and the School project, on the website of the Paris region academy and the website of LAP, respectively; The book *Une Fabrique de Libertés* was analyzed in its paper version, which I bought a copy of in a bookshop.

My data collection in the fieldwork is informed by the specificities of doing a microethnographic study of discourses worked out by Michal Krzyzanowski (Krzyżanowski 2011b; Krzyżanowski 2016). He presents five basic principles informing a discourse ethnographic analysis that aims to explore the actual ideologies at play (Krzyżanowski 2011b: 285–286). These five points have several implications for the methodology I follow in this

study. First, discourse ethnographic analysis is a "problem-oriented approach" in which the relevance of the data and the relevance of the method are "determined by the objective of understanding the object of study" (ibid., 285). The 'problem' to explore in my study is the ways various ideological discourses of pedagogy are contested in the course of their recontextualization in the institutional and local discourses of the LAP school and the kind of social positionings negotiated with a focus on the possibility of agency. Second, ethnography does not limit itself to gathering data in local contexts. It also entails a macro-level activity, "discovering the nature and constituents of the context which inherently influences the discourses produced" within the particular field. To meet this criterion, the relevant data come from several locations inside and outside the school walls and different kinds of events of LAP. Third, says Krzyżanowski, it is important to study different genres and the multiple sites of their production and reception to discover the context-specific differences and similarities of the genres through the analysis of the instances of interdiscursivity and recontextualization between different spaces/institutional locations and the texts. In my research, I focus on various types of events varying in their forms and purposes, yet with similar concerns related to macro socio-economical dimensions. The fourth principle means that a discourse-ethnographic analysis requires a "diversified use of theory and methodology" to be able to grasp the complexity of the discursive practices taking place in the studied context. Theories from Critical Discourse Studies and Bernstein's pedagogical discourse detailed above will help to analyze the relevant aspects of the interactions and their contexts. And fifth, the local context needs to be situated, contextualized at the macro level to understand the ways macro-historical power relations situated outside the actual walls of the institution in the field shape the local context, and conversely. In my reading, this principle is similar to the second one, but from the perspective of the local events. To meet this criterion, in the course of my eight months long observation in the local pedagogic events of LAP, I could decide and negotiate to interview teachers and students as well as to choose the School Radio activities as actual examples of pedagogical practices for me to participate in. I chose the Radio LAP because the expressed purpose of this event is to recontextualize a wide range of discourses on particular macro socio-economic issues in a discourse itself hybridizing media discourse and pedagogical discourse. The interdisciplinary dimension of the Radio program event, for which the students freely choose

topics according to their particular interests and social positioning in macro- power relations, requires a more explicit expression of agency from the part of its participants.

The two sets of data are necessary within the framework of a microethnographic approach. It cannot be limited to the walls of the classroom as then I would not be able to grasp the power dynamics that emerge in an institution like LAP. What makes LAP a particular pedagogical institution is its aim to collectively create knowledge in their pedagogical practices situated beyond small-scale classroom events and challenge the broader context of neoliberalism. A microethnographic case study of pedagogical practice in a self-managed institution like LAP needs to take into account the broader scope of events in which democratic practices and knowledge are encouraged.

4.3 Reflexivity, Critique and Validity

The discourse-ethnographic approach defines ethnography beyond the dominant way of descriptive fieldwork and method as if a transparent technology of 'collecting data' as defined by Martyn Hammersley (1992), the founding figure of that approach. The discourse-ethnographic approach is critical in the sense of reflexivity and so takes issue with the empiricist understanding of ethnography. According to the latter, fieldwork is an activity of collecting 'evidence' and 'observing' as an outsider from above. Critical Ethnography is defined by John D. Brewer as "reflexive ethnography": "not one particular method of data collection but a style of research that is distinguished by its objectives, which are to understand the social meanings and activities of people in a given 'field' or 'setting' (Brewer 2001: 11), i.e. it is not descriptive but interpretative in nature. Ethnography as an interpretative approach driven by providing an explanation oriented to the question of how, for what reason and with what effects rather than merely assuming an alleged objective stance of giving an account on what has been acquired through the research question of what to find out 'about' the transparent reality of the world (Krzyżanowski 2011a: 232). Its ultimate criterion is, therefore, not 'truth' but validity. Validity of interpretation requires triangulating between different genres "gathered in inter-related social contexts" (ibid.) in multiple discursive sites of production and consumption of those text types making up the data generated in the fieldwork. In short, the researcher is never to take as face value what has been said or provided by an informant but reads it in relation to other texts, not

only from the micro and macro levels of the field but also always embedded within the 'theoretical texts' of the so-called secondary data.

Reflexive ethnography is therefore divided into three methodological steps: (1) to gather sufficient knowledge about the context of the problem to be investigated, i.e. the researcher 'enter' the field with particular assumptions and values based on their familiarity with the literature; (2) negotiating the access to and 'collecting' data inside the institutional context studied, (3), and performing an analysis of the discourses of the different types of textual materials coming from multiple sites allowing for the triangulation across multiple perspectives embodied in the genres and discourses as well as the different types of analysis themselves since the concerns of the analysis are already informed by particular epistemological assumptions of the 'relevant literature' (Krzyżanowski 2011b: 287). A discourse-ethnographic approach in my reading then is reflexive in that it allows to "establish the sort of knowledge that CDA aims to explore but rarely situated in actual fieldwork, that is, to find out about what emerges as knowledge about the different moments of a social practice" while considering the data analyzed as particular discursive formations "that are assembled together to construct a particular perspective on the social world" instead of being "faithful descriptions of the external world" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 62).

The importance of the production of a critical perspective in data analysis should be emphasized here as that is the major aim of CDA. Teun Van Dijk (1996), for instance, defines the critical position in Critical Discourse Studies as describing and explaining "how power abuse is enacted, reproduced and legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions" (Van Dijk 1996: 84). Lilie Chouliaraki and Norman Fairclough (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 67) also argue for a dialectical approach to social critique which aims at analyzing texts to identify locations of antagonism between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' perspectives and see if their antagonism results in the emergence of counter-hegemonic discourses, i.e to explore how ideologies are produced and if they can be contested and how much. A "systematic understanding of the functioning of discourse in [State] institutions and institutional change" entails, according to Fairclough (Fairclough 2003: 51), the discussion of the relationship of the institution analyzed with other institutions in the social formation through textual chains of recontextualization. The ultimate objective of a critical ethnographic analysis of the pedagogic discourses then is, to explore the order of discourses of the educational institution researched, with a focus on [the ideological] investments of the meaning of the given categories in the making. Critique, then, is an explicit assumption of a political standpoint in

the name of self-reflexivity – i.e. to be able to provide an explanation (Macgilchrist 2016: 269). Thus, the researcher produces a critique, an engaged, positioned and power-sensitive interpretation of the event. The validity of critical knowledge is related to the particular standpoint from which it emerges; it is a relational practice oriented towards answering whether the findings are useful, or surprising for the participants and whether the research facilitates collective action for forging a counter-hegemonic discourse (Macgilchrist 2016: 271).

4.4 Research Questions and Contribution

The ultimate research questions I will answer in my analysis in the subsequent Chapters are (1) whether pedagogical practices in LAP contribute to reproduce or subvert social inequalities, in other words, to what extent the logic of neoliberalism is resisted in the pedagogical interactions and; (2) what kind of identities emerge in pedagogical practices in LAP and are legitimized, stigmatized or encouraged, by whom and for what purposes, in other words, to see if and how much the pedagogical discourse challenges the dominant identities in the state official pedagogic discourse. Through the analysis of dialogicity with a focus on interdiscursivity and identification (detailed in Section 4.1), and through Bernstein's theory of pedagogical models, instances of dialogical interaction with hegemonic meanings of discourse in LAP practices will be explored, to show whether these meanings are assumed or confronted. Does LAP succeed, in line with the pedagogical values it self-identifies with, to build empowering and critical, 'thinkable' knowledge to struggle against various forms of oppression? Determining which pedagogical mode is dominant in specific educational practices will allow me to analyze the particular pedagogic identities negotiated. I want to see to what extent the school gets caught in reproducing decentered identities such as the individualistic instrumental-oriented market identities of neoliberal education, and to what extent it reconfigures the dominant ideal as re-centering identities, that is identities negotiated in relation to a collective social base rather than an individual one. In short: Do LAP events, particularly the Radio activities, allow for the development of pedagogical practices based on relations of 'power with'?.

My approach to microethnographic discourse analysis may make a difference to the dominant microethnographic approach in that it will avoid reifying knowledge. The tendency in microethnography is that it abstracts knowledge from its macro- socio-historical context of production and that it considers the resolution of contradictions emerging in micro-interaction as a condition for a so-called 'efficient' learning. In such instances, the assumed purpose of

schooling is a silencing of conflicts inherent to pedagogical practices in the name of 'efficient' transmission of 'knowledge', two concepts generally reified and taken for granted. Microethnography is expected to provide a remedy to the conflicts arising in the pedagogical processes during which the appropriateness of a particular 'culture' or 'individual personality' is denied, through a detailed analysis of local pedagogical interaction and the identification of the power dynamics of such moments. Instead, my microethnographic approach is concerned with how the dialogical dimension of pedagogical interactions enables the production of particular forms of knowledge emerging from an opening, an embracing and an explanation of the contradictions arising in pedagogical interactions. Rather than taking for granted the 'thinkable' knowledge to be transmitted in educational practice, my approach to microethnography intends to question what is considered to be 'thinkable', 'hegemonic' or 'common sense' knowledge at the specific the micro- and the macro- levels. In other words, my microethnographic analysis intends to "make the comfortable and familiar seem strange and disconcerting" rather than to make "the strange and exotic seem accessible and familiar" (Dippo 1994: 203) through exposing how, in the pedagogical practices of LAP, knowledge does not preexist leaning, but is constructed through learning; and that knowledge is shaped by the various interests involved in negotiating the contradictions and the relations of difference and solidarity in the learning process.

The result of the analysis can contribute to the existing critical studies of pedagogical discourses as ethnographic studies of self-identifying democratic educational institutions are rare (Ashcraft 2012; Medina & Costa 2013; Ioannidou 2015), mostly because of the fact that such institutions are marginal. The scope of the critical literacy approach of Catherine Ashcraft's (2012) is restricted to the relationship between language, power, and sexuality in a sex-education educational program. The critical literacy approach of C.L. Medina and M.d.R. Costa (2013) made power relations embedded in the dominant telenovelas genre visible to students but was, according to its authors, limited to "playing with media" and did not provide solutions to the student's broader material problems ensuing from globalized media. Elena Ioannidou (2015) studied how the shift to critical literacy as the dominant state policy in Cyprus materialized in the teacher/student interaction and metalanguage in classroom events. My study of pedagogical practices in LAP encompasses the immediate community context and the broader socio-economic context, in which the ideology of "banking" education is hegemonic. My ethnographic approach to pedagogical discourse understood in Bernstein's terms is not limited to micro-level classroom interaction and agency but also takes into account the

embeddedness of educational practices in macro-level relations of hegemony. The peculiarity of LAP is the wide range of critical practices taking place in the institution. Their analysis is a potential source of knowledge about the possibilities and the difficulties that a self-defined alternative institution like LAP encounters in its pedagogical practices on a daily basis.

CHAPTER 5
ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL REGIONAL AND ALTERNATIVE LOCAL PEDAGOGIC DISCOURSES

The analysis unfolding in Chapter 5 covers the analysis of the French official discourse on education as articulated in the so-called Academic Project 2017-2020, issued by the regional governing body on education called Académie de Paris. The analysis will explore the main commonsense understanding about the role of education and its different actors in the official discourse. Further on, I will analyze the local discourse in texts issued by the LAP school, namely their so-called 'pedagogic project', in French *Projet d'Etablissement 2014-2019* which functions in fact as the local curriculum; a requirement to produce by the State. The analysis of these two texts will make possible the interpretation of how the school institution articulates its educational practices with regard to the expectations mediated in the Academic Project 2017-2020 on the macro-level of State institutions and the outsiders in general.

5.1 Official Discourses on Education

In France, the Ministries of Education (Ministère de l'Education Nationale) and of Higher Education (Ministère de l'Enseigement Supérieur, de la Recherche et de l'Innovation) and their regional institutions, the Academies, govern the educational practices in secondary schools and universities. The responsibility of middle schools is delegated by the state to the *Départements* territorial units while primary schools are the responsibility of municipal authorities. Therefore, the Academic Project 2017-2020 (Académie de Paris 2018) is the relevant official document of guidelines for my analysis, the regional curriculum published by the Paris Academy, the region where LAP belongs. The curriculum document frames the purposes and functioning of education in secondary schools at the level of the Paris Region, it has been introduced as a result of the 1989 law on education (Jospin law) which delegated the responsibility of "defining the particular modalities of application of the national curriculum" to regional authorities, and required schools to publish pedagogic projects in accordance to these guidelines (Le Cor 2012: 179). The Academic project belongs in the field dominated state pedagogic discourse. In order to show what the principles of recontextualization of the (neoliberal) material reality are, the analysis of the dominant pedagogic discourse will focus on the articulation of modality and identification in the text. The ultimate aim of the analysis is to

explore the formation of de-centered market subject positions are formed, and what identities end up encoded as desirable in its discourse.

The Academic Project is a 32-page long document hierarchically divided in three main units, each called "*ambitions*", claiming to recontextualize "ministerial orientations" at the "local level" of the given region. The authors call this aim "learning city" (*notre ville apprenante*) (Académie de Paris 2018: 2). The notion 'learning city' indexes an "economistic" neoliberal approach to knowledge production. It is neoliberal in the sense that it is oriented towards improving "the competitiveness of urban contexts in the global knowledge economy" (Plumb et al. 2007: 37), imagined to happen through maximizing "the willingness and ability of individual citizens to connect up to the flows of knowledge in the global economy" (ibid., 45). The three "ambitions" focus on the modalities of the 'pedagogical success' in terms of 'inclusion', the 'administrative management' in terms of 'evaluation' and the 'opening up of schools' towards 'innovation'. Inclusion, evaluation and innovation are thus represented as the main goals of the secondary educational system with regard to its adaptation to the so-called global 'knowledge economy'.

The three 'ambitions' are subdivided into "*axes*" and further into more specific "objectives" (*objectifs*). The principle of organization is hierarchical, representing the "objectives" as subordinated to the "axes", themselves subordinated to the "ambitions" of the Paris Academy. The three major units of ambitions include a list of one hundred and fifteen guidelines for education altogether, with each item starting with a verb in its infinitive form to attract the attention of the reader to some activity. The genre of governance of the document and especially its structuring into 'ambitions' and 'objectives' are characteristic of managerial texts and PowerPoint slides (Frommer 2012). According to Chiapello and Fairclough, the building up of meaning through additive lists, like the 115 objectives (Chiapello & Fairclough 2010: 270) "is inimical to complexity, analysis, and argumentation". This 'listing' has the effect of rendering the government's decisions as self-evident facts that are beyond discussion only to be 'ticked' like on a check-list. The combination of the paratactic format of listing and their introduction by the infinitive verbal forms suggests that every element of the list is equivalent and equally desirable, in other words, that the text is a kind of 'to-do list' oriented towards what 'ought' to be the educational practice in the region supervised by the Paris Academy. To give

an example from each of the three ‘ambitions’, read Quotes 1-3 below (all the translations are by the author and the original material is available upon request):

(1) To build a fair and ambitious school for all
(2) To adapt the organization and the operating modes in order to better support the actors and the personnel
(3) To reinforce and to valorize the openness of the school

As an institution representing state power, the Academy of Paris has a prescriptive function which aims at inculcating ‘proper’ ways of being and interacting, which, according to the key metaphor in the current document, is anchored in the broader instrumental representation of the city of Paris as a ‘learning city’ embedded in the ‘global knowledge economy’. The reference to the ‘global’ context implicates a network of ‘learning cities’ across national borders that indirectly blurs the institutional boundary of schools as the sites of learning.

The various evaluations from the documents encompass the following categories: what the desirable and appropriate ways of being and (inter)acting are for the Academy of Paris, the producer of the document, for the school (i.e. school administration, or management at the individual schools’ level), and for the actual teachers, the faculty in in schools, and finally, for the students – rendered in that hierarchy by the logic of the document. In the introduction of the document, the authors tend to conceal their identity: ‘the Academy’ is blurred behind the notion of ‘our project’, inviting the readers, i.e. the school managements in the Region as ‘one of us’. This apparently collectively authored documents then gives way to a naturalized hierarchy between ‘us’, the authors and the ‘employees’, sidestepping the hierarchy between the Regional authority and the school managements. The actor in many sentences of the check list tends to be ‘our project’ over the faculty and staff, such as “our project calls upon all the educational staff to […] reinforce social inclusion by providing a solid basis to the future learnings […] underlining the equal dignity of all types of training” (Académie de Paris 2018: 2), representing the educators, ironically, as a homogenous group of executors ‘delivering’ diverse types of programs that, unlike the workers, are assumed to have a dignity.

As this sentence demonstrates, the authors of the document in the Academy represent education as a de-skilling technical activity to be implemented from above, in a corporate manner. This activity positions the educational workers as if on an equal footing with the various types of education provided by schools in France. The value of the program’s dignity is to hide the lack of dignity of the educators regarding their involvement in the formation of

the Project. Furthermore, the 'dignity' is also underscored only to promote the vocational approach, i.e. the approach to education as a means to gain skills of immediate relevance on the labor market, as legitimate. The vocational and general curricula will reinforce 'inclusion' because it is considered as a solution to mass unemployment. The idea that vocational training facilitates 'inclusion' is based on the instrumental economic assumption that 'society' is, to a certain extent, reduced to the labor market. This assumption is reiterated further on, this time framing the idea of inclusion in the context of the favorable ideas of "modernization" and "progress" required by a "constantly changing world" – while, in fact reinforcing the ever more top-down instruction of the school management.

The 'project' represents education as in need of guidance from the regional Academy:

> The project seeks to modernize and include schools in a continually changing world, to encourage autonomy of the actors [of education] […] and reaffirms the necessity to guide the progress of the staff, as well as reinforcing the quality of service provided to the users of education (ibid., 3)

To convince the readers of the validity of their arguments, the ideologies of 'innovation' and 'progress' are drawn upon by the authors of the project document. They argue, in a tautological fashion, that "every innovative project needs to develop a new work method", a new work method which consists of "discovering innovative experiments" (ibid.). The repetition of items from the lexical field of innovation and novelty seems to suffice to assert the validity of the argument, to the detriment of specifying what is concretely 'new' or 'innovative' in their approach. A hint of what is 'new' can be inferred from one of their objectives, which is laid out on page 20: "to adapt the continuous training [of school administration] to the new needs and to promote new modalities of training" (ibid., 20). Yet, the "new needs" are not specified, nor is specified whose needs they are.

The fact that throughout the document, the particular objectives are framed by verbal forms of action, enacting an identity of active agents committed to transforming the world. The Paris Academy represents its role as the ultimate authority whose manager role involves: "to improve the [educational] system's performance through a digital-technological based modernization" (ibid., 15); "build a solid and efficient organization" (ibid., 17); "modernize communication tools" (ibid.); "develop working in networks and projects" (ibid.); "elaborate a

medium-term plan of action" (ibid., 18); "building guides and tools" (ibid., 3); "develop a new work method" (ibid., 3); "encourage the elaboration of collective projects".

The Paris Academy, as articulated in/by the above quotes, integrates the role of 'creator' or 'project builder' in a specific managerial practice labelled New Public Management, a "shorthand name for the set of broadly similar administrative doctrines which dominated the bureaucratic reform agenda in many of the OECD group of countries from the late 1970s" (Hood 1991: 3), which collapses the ways to run public and private institution in a single approach. Laval et al. explain the particularities of this managerial practice in the French educational system. They argue that the New Public Management is a managerial practice put in place in the public sector that entails a transformation of social relations with a focus on weakening the autonomy and the power of public sector workers (Laval et al. 2011: 36). The New Public Management of the neoliberal political economy, argues Laval et al., entails a two-fold transformation. First, it replaces the specific values of the public sector by a standardized managerial culture based on some "fetishized formulae" such as "cost/benefit ratios" and "uniformized techniques of control" (ibid.). In the case of the Project Document it is the fetishization of 'innovation' and 'projects'. Second, the technology of New Public Management transforms power relations between the public institutions and their workers and users by increasing the power of "managers" and "directors" of the economically 'autonomous' public institutions (Laval et al. 2011: 36). As a result of the transformation, the school leaders are positioned as 'managers' and their subordinated employees, the faculty are more strictly separated: the 'manager' is now entitled to force the change of the "archaic customs" of the educators to "modernity" through submission to "individualizing techniques of evaluation" (ibid., 37). Desirable ways of interacting between the state authorities and the educational institutions are thus centered on the evaluation of schools by the Academy of Paris through the new 'evaluation system' of individual school workers. The following list of technical

procedures of managerial ‘individual appraisal’ based on the new evaluation system represents an enactment of a particular disciplinary approach by the Academy over the schools:

(1) “encourage good practices” (Académie de Paris 2018: 17);
(2) “lead the staff in their appropriation of new procedures” (ibid.);
(3) “facilitate the exchange of good practices” (ibid., 18);
(4) “develop the visits of education officers to valorize successes” (ibid., 19);
(5) “strengthen the training of managers in conducting change and confident management to better lead the staff” (ibid.);
(6) “better lead headmasters on the basis of protocols”,

Evaluation to be performed by the Academy of Paris is represented in the document as a desirable process based on top-down managerial protocols, so-called “good practices” designed allegedly to bring ‘success’, particularly ‘economic success’ for the ‘learning city’ as clearly stated in the objective of bringing ‘surplus value’: “evaluate and increase the value of innovation, develop digital practices and the surplus value (*plus value*) they can provide” (ibid., 26).

The relationship between the development of ‘digital tools’ defined as a desirable tool of education and the creation of ‘surplus value’ may not directly be linked; the production of ‘surplus value’ is rather implicated to be achieved through a cost reduction. It is another question then to ask: How is the digitization imagined to achieve the surplus-value? I can see two possible answers to it: the commodification of ‘innovative’ digital skills acquired by students or sold as privatized patents will give a competitive advantage to the ‘learning city’ in the global ‘knowledge economy’; and digitization will allow for the reduction of the necessity of the school workers’ physical presence at school thus allowing a reduction of public spending. Indeed, reducing spending in the public sector and in education is one of the main values expected of the New Public Management approach achieve by new state funding policies. It has been one of the main principles of the French state’s economic policies for the past three decades, and its importance has been increasing since the financial crisis in 2008 (Laval et al. 2011: 43).

If the Academy of Paris presents itself as a managerial authority whose responsibility is to build a ‘new’ educational system in accordance with the ‘new’ ways of the world, it defines the school institutions as places in which “excellence and democratization have to go hand in hand” (Académie de Paris 2018: 3). The objectives of the school, according to the document, are diverse. The schools should “fight inequalities” (ibid., 9) and “avoid the deepening of inequalities (ibid., 7)” by “pursuing equity” and “leading to success”. For the Academy of Paris,

the opposite of inequality is 'equity' (*équité*) rather than 'equality' (*égalité*). 'Equity' is a term that signals an intention, in French public policy, "to find a balance between equality and inequality" instead of actually levelling out inequalities (Burgi-Golub 1996: 76). Equity entails a configuration of inequalities that are considered fair and elevated to a social norm (ibid., 75). The 'fair' configuration of inequalities, that is, the equity principle the Academy of Paris applies to schools, consists in allowing students, albeit unequally equipped for the demands of the school system, to 'succeed' in their 'insertion' in their future professional lives. Schools will "encourage turning to partnerships to finance grants" (Académie de Paris 2018: 9); "increase the standing of the vocational curricula through promoting job training" (ibid., 13); "support [students] changing their career (*changements d'orientation*)" (ibid.); "to rely on relevant partnerships (National Education Citizens Reserve (*RCEn*) and Civic Service) and enhance the status of the partnerships in the surroundings of the school" (ibid., 21); "set down projects helping to develop the synergy between the content of the curriculum and partnerships" (ibid., 28); "develop mobilities to improve possibilities of professional insertion" (ibid., 29) and "distribute the linguistic offer based on the possibilities of professional mobility" (ibid., 30). Thus, to achieve equity, schools will have to promote vocational training and define projects of 'professional insertions' while relying on 'partnerships' with their surrounding potential partners, public or private.

In addition to this clearly defined orientation towards the market, there is also a strong moral orientation, or to use Bernstein's categories, an appeal to retrospective/prospective centering of identities along with the appeal to de-centered market identities. Two examples of 'partnerships' promoted in the document are the ones with the RCEn and with the Civic Service. The RCEn, (The National Education Citizens Reserve, *Réserve Citoyenne de l'Education Nationale*) is a mechanism created in 2015 by the Ministry of Education inspired by the military reserve, after the Charlie Hebdo attack for which responsibility was claimed by the 'Islamic State'. It intends to promote the ideas of "republican values" and "secularism" in schools (La « réserve citoyenne » remise au goût du jour ? 2016). The Civic Service (*Service Civique*) is a mechanism based on a voluntary commitment to work for a particular state-certified company or NGO, to "serve the general interest" and "republican values" (« Le service civique est un moment-clé de l'orientation professionnelle » 2019). The Civic Service has been criticized by sociologists and left-leaning journalists for being a constrained choice for many recently graduated students who cannot find a job and thus forming a pool of underpaid workers, increasing the lack of job security (Le service civique, "choix contraint" de jeunes diplômés

2013). More explicitly, the authors of the document demand from the schools that they "strengthen the collective feeling of justice, security, belonging and cohesion" (Académie de Paris 2018: 16) – but never explicitly saying against what social ills threatening. Instead, they are expected to turn their students' gaze towards the 'glorious past' and "explain the importance of historical commemorations (*travail de mémoire*) through school competitions" (ibid., 29); Ironically, it is the management technique of 'competition' that is meant to resonate with the ideal of 'innovation' of the 'learning city' while the actual knowledge is that of the last century's national history and cultural tradition through the technique of "develop[ing] partnerships as a tool to participate in historical commemorations and great unifying events" (ibid.). The other value of 'project' based education is implicated in the promotion of "support[ing] working on commemorative places from the immediate surroundings of the students (memorial plaques, statues, monuments). The Academy of Paris instructs schools to develop a student identity of telling hybridity: one that is based on teaching and glorifying a carefully selected past that serves to reinforce, in the present and among the students, a 'feeling of belonging' to a 'republican' community of the 'learning city', making use of digital tools legitimized by a neoconservative nationalist ideology. The ideological aspect of the 'republican' term in educational settings resides in the underlying undertaking to develop a "culture of silence" of "conformism" among students instead of critical thinking (Biberfeld & Chambat 2019: 161–162). The other element of this nationalism is racism. The glorification of the past in fact entails the glorification of a colonial past in French history curricula, according to Laurance Bieberfeld and Gregory Chambat. What the official emphasis of "republican" values evoke is the association of the meaning 'dangerous' and 'de-secularized' with parts of the country's population which thus need to be "civilized" rather than "educated". Consequently, the 'dignity' of their kind of training they may need is never to surface on the horizon of 'guidance'. The logic of the academy is caught in a utilitarian economic logic of budgetary authority, as the legitimation of underpaid jobs, the Civic Service, 'partnerships' and of 'glorious' local 'monuments' as part of educational practice can be understood as a dimension of cost-reduction policies. Indeed, costs are either externalized (partnerships) or suppressed (studying a statue rather than, for example, increasing the school budget for trips to the cinema).

The appropriate ways of being and acting of teachers and the faculty are situated at the intersection of a sort of mediation between the Academy and the students. Explicit deontic modalization is used in some objectives concerning teachers: teachers "have to develop all forms of ambitions" (Académie de Paris 2018: 7); "are called to cooperate with partners"

(ibid.); “It is a necessity […] that they are able to adapt to new challenges” (ibid., 19); “their training must include the necessary changes of their profession” (ibid.); “renewing pedagogical practices seems like a necessity” in “a world in which the relation to knowledge and learning changed drastically” (ibid., 23). The instruction articulated for teachers by the Academy is to change, to ‘adapt’ to the ‘challenges’ of the world in which knowledge and learning are changing anyway. The ‘cooperation’ with relevant ‘partners’ (“the local authorities, associations, professional and economical actors” (ibid.,7)) is imagined to help the teachers to adapt and at the same time, to “fight against inequalities” (ibid.). However, they are never positioned as actors cooperating with their students. They are to ‘receive’ from above as much as their educators are receiving in a similar top-down manner from the Academy’s document – the ideal ‘faculty’ is imagined to accept their subordination at the expense of their ‘student”. However, their activity of teaching is presented as an act of ‘coaching’: teachers should “allow students to acquire school codes” (ibid., 12); “advocate strategies to develop the expression of talents” (ibid.)”; “popularize technological professions with girls” (ibid.); “help students to strengthen their motivation to choose his future career actively” (ibid.); “increase [students’] ambitions at school” (ibid.) and “foster the feeling of belonging through explaining the principle of secularism” (ibid., 21). The teachers’ role is formulated as a type of ‘pedagogical manager’ who will lead students towards professional success and towards a ‘feeling’ of belonging in a secular nation. At the same time, in terms of racist ideology, the conflation of ‘belonging’ with a patriotic act of ‘defense’ of secularism against ‘threats’ aims at the suppression of religious differences especially targeting the Islamic faith which is associated with post-colonial subjects (Delphy 2015). However, as long as teachers are explicitly called upon to “incite project-based cooperative practices among students” (ibid., 10); “favor the project approach in learning” (ibid., 23); “favor innovative experiments in project-based approaches through involving students in developing their own social skills” (ibid., 26), the representation of pedagogical practice in the document naturalizes the unconditioned orientation to ‘whiteness’ and promotes the of colonization of pedagogical discourse by managerial discourse. The relevance of the managerial category of ‘project-based’ approaches in pedagogical practices while tending to reduce the role of the teacher to an adaptable ‘manager’ located in between the Academy and the students is indirectly desirable for the faculty as well as long as the ‘teachers-managers’ can see themselves as ‘innovators’ saved from the threat of precarity of the political economy and that of the ‘Islamic’ non-civilized colonial subjects. The document, therefore, can work together managerial discourse of ‘knowledge economy’, with a neoconservative French nationalist and racist discourse of Islamophobia serving the aim of rebuilding the educational system as the

site for the formation of a national community instead of a venue dealing on projects of actual social relevance.

The expected ways of acting and being of students suffer from a telling lack of clarity in the text compared to the desirable ways of acting and being at the administration and teacher levels. This can be due to the genre of the text itself, emanating from state authority to instruct workers directly subordinated to it. Yet, students are "asked to develop new skills of collaboration, autonomy, creativity, communication, digital skills, learning to learn […] to be able to adapt to a world in constant evolution" (Académie de Paris 2018: 25); should "participate to historical commemorations and competitions in order to honor the values (sic)". In the name of knowledge, students are expected to learn a specific set of skills without any difficulty that will apparently facilitate their adaptation to a world in a natural motion of change. The skills listed are said to be easily applicable to the professional sphere and the workplace, or. In terms of interdiscursivity, the very definition of knowledge as a set of skills of practical reason implicate them recontextualized in the pedagogic discourse from the professional sphere of management, positioning students of this digital communication as 'technopreneurs'. The apparent contradiction between skills and autonomy reflects the ideological configuration of the project-based 'new capitalism', in which autonomy comes to mean, for the agent, an 'autonomous' realization of specific tasks attributed to them in given 'projects', on which, ironically, they do not have the 'autonomous' power of decision. The "values" implied are 'flexibility' and 'autonomy' framed within the celebration of digital culture in itself, they resonate with the 'republican' and secular values alluded to in the rest of the document. The discourse of the Academy forecloses dialogicity: its discourse is consensual, hegemonic and silences alternatives. The main hegemonic assumptions it naturalizes are the existence of a 'knowledge economy' in which the appropriate way of acting is through competition, it also naturalizes the French republic as made of 'non-Muslim', 'white' subjects to reinforce the representation of the 'good' students as a homogenous group free from contradictions. Students are expected to be competing for skills, for access to higher education; and to identify as part of a national community free from religious divides. A community they will have to help maintain the rank of in a world whose "constant evolution" is a natural process. The Paris Academy enacts an interpersonal identity of an 'authorized' agent, capable to 'manage' teachers, whose agency is limited. The high degree of modalization expresses a strong

commitment to truth from the Academy, and a strong commitment to what the desirable and necessary ways of acting and being are in the educational system of the Paris Region..

The appeal to other discourses than the 'project-oriented' managerial discourse in the text is because, as Eric and Catherine Mangez (Mangez & Mangez 2008: 193) argue, the managerial logic of the corporate world, the "project-oriented Cité" or the discourse of digital capitalism as defined by Jodi Dean (2005), cannot translate into the educational sphere in the desired seamless manner. Indeed, the notion of competence which is at the center of the evaluation processes of efficiency in the managerial discourse is associated with more diverse justificatory principles in the school system than it is in the corporate world: in the project document, the reference to 'republican values' and the 'struggle against inequalities' involve a justification according to different principles than the "project-oriented" discourse: justifying the existing educational system through the prism of suppressing inequalities to allow for the 'success of all' belongs to the Civic justificatory regime, in which the 'collective will' is given highest importance (Mangez & Mangez 2008: 193). A combination of discourses also intends to make the Academic project more consensual through appealing to the various ethical and political sympathies of the actors involved in the educational system. Indeed, the need to justify the educational system as a device aimed at reducing inequalities is a hegemonic attempt to resolve or overcome difference with, to find common ground with, and forestall the "social critique" that can emerge from the agency of the actors in the educational system. The critique of these actors may foreground a representation of education as a collective good rather than as an instrumental responsibility for the individual, which is acknowledged by the Paris Academy in its particular dialogization of the discourse of 'social inequalities'.

5.2 The Alternative Pedagogical Discourse in LAP

In this section, I will analyze a text produced by the different actors of the LAP school. I shall focus on how they represent the institution, its goals, and its functioning. The text in question is the curriculum document called Projet d'Etablissement (School Project), authored by the staff of the school (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2014). Publishing a 'school project', i.e. the local curriculum, is a requirement for every school according to French law, and it is required to define "the modalities of the implementation of the national curriculum" and to specify the

pedagogic activities that will allow students to "succeed" at school (*Code de l'éducation - Article L401-1*).

I will focus on two aspects of the two texts in my analysis. I will explore how the text indexes the school's position as a self-managed alternative institution of democratic organization and how its actors represent the educational process in the school. The analysis of interdiscursivity, through the category of dialogicity will explore the voices that are drawn upon by the local school actors and through the category of assumption will trace down the pedagogical neoliberal discourse. The analysis of evaluation may explore what identities the local actors are negotiating for themselves, the students, parents and government administrators when defining the institution and its pedagogical objectives.

The LAP school was founded in 1982 as a self-managed secondary school in which all staff members and students have an equal say in the decisions taken. It does not have a hierarchical division of labor as it has no headmaster, no cleaning personnel, nor kitchen personnel. Instead, al the tasks are the responsibility of the students and the teachers. The school community is made up of around 250 people at the time of my fieldwork. The common decisions are taken in small groups (GB, *groupes de base* or basic groups), who shape the agenda of the bigger AG (*assemblée générale* or general assembly) on a weekly basis. The evaluation policy of the school consists of an absence of grading, with an alternative system of UV (*unités de valeur* or value units) attributed to students according to their participation in the various tasks required for the proper functioning of the school (e.g. classes, groupes de base, general assembly). Because the school is funded by the State, it is required to follow the *baccalauréat,* or high school leaving exam, curriculum. It also has to publish a pedagogic project to detail their particular curriculum. The LAP school is independent when it comes to the selection of its students, who can come from anywhere in the Paris region or from the country in general.

The local curriculum, i.e. the school project published in 2014 index and institution that sets itself up against what the see an education of 'banking' articulated in the state and regional policy documents. The authors of the School Project document argue that life in LAP is as "'real' as anywhere else" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2014: 3). In the text, the 'reality' of life in LAP "places into the background the search for efficiency and productivity which is often put into the spotlight in the professional world and in society in general" (ibid.). LAP dialogizes and accentuates a difference with the stereotypical assumed meaning of "real" in what is

attributed to be the neoliberal state discourse of education, or at least to an ideological claim that an alternative approach education to the neoliberal instrumental one is 'not real'. Attention is drawn by LAP to the fact that the meaning of "reality" is not limited to adapting to the imperatives of economic production as the dominant value of neoliberal education, rather, "reality" can also mean questioning the dominant productivist ideology and foreground alternative values in the educational system.

Regarding the kind of social subject the education system is expected to produce, the concepts of citizenship and discipline are polemicized in the School Project document. The student as a citizen of the official policy documents in their understanding is seen as: "the enthusiasts of strict definitions, heirs of a Jacobin doctrine on society" reduce the meaning of citizen to "citizen only in relation to the State", whose freedom only consists in "individual freedom" (p. 4). The metaphor "Jacobin" implies that in such representations, inherited from the French Revolution, the French society consists of a sum of individuals whose distinct individual freedoms and interests are embodied by a common and indivisible nation-state consisting of institutions of delegated and centralized power. Against this meaning, the authors propose a different definition of the citizen, one that is a politically empowered individual who forms part of a democratic collective. This is judged more appropriate in the context of their self-managed school. The authors argue that "it is possible to say that a student is a citizen" in the sense that "he or she can *participate in* the 'political' choices of the [local] institution. […] This represents a step on the steep path leading to democracy" (p. 4, italics added). This is the core of the idea of self-managed education, which "aims at creating citizens who think critically" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2012: 12) and in which the "institutional dimension prevails over the pedagogic dimension in its narrow meaning" (ibid., p. 9). Therefore, educational practice in their understanding "is a political matter", that "horrifies the kind souls who sustain the myth of neutrality in education" (ibid.).

The school, as a public entity, is not only caught in the instrumental logic described above but at the same time suffers the managerial policies decided by the state. In the School Project document, the authors report the ministry's instructions they represent as "the system" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2014: 75): "now, we would have to continue our alternative project while applying the rules of the system (calculating the number of students per teacher, choosing optional subjects), a system admitting a will to fight its own failures!". Further, they argue that "it is a mystery for no one that a lot of 'young' people leave school 'with nothing' (according to their ready-made phrases)" (ibid.). The common sense dimension of the ministry's discourse,

qualified as a set of "ready-made phrases", is rendered by "it is a mystery for no one". The authors want to point out the contradiction between the aim of "the system", which is to "fight its own failures", i.e. leaving "young people" with no positive outcome from schooling since they "leave school with nothing", and the austerity politics that impose a mathematical and managerial logic to presumably make education more 'efficient', thus allowing cost-reductions. Managerial discourse is reported further on: "it is said that we could do the same thing (or even better things) with less: it means that useless activities have to be done away with". This utilitarian logic oriented towards cost-reduction is then polemicized by the authors who propose a broader representation of education freed from its managerial constraints:

> This logic silences elements that are not measurable in this manner, for example, to reconcile students with learning and with adults, to leave students time to think about their orientation, to allow students to find their way without being judged, to become self-confident and to access some kind of 'cultural diversity'. (ibid.)

The position of LAP in the educational system is evaluated positively in the school project, as the school is argued to prefer "integrating" rather than the negatively connoted "excluding" students (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2014: 8). To empower the students to "overcome" their fear of the scientific subjects like mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology, often seen as more difficult, is seen as a desirable objective albeit rarely achieved. The 'scientific' course is one of the three courses available in general secondary schools in France. It has the reputation of being the "perfect course" (*filière royale*) (ibid., 27) because receiving the scientific *Baccalauréat* is supposed to open the way to most higher education institutions, and the texts do not polemicize this assumption. This evaluation positively appraises the instrumental reason considering secondary education as a gateway to higher education. This appraisal may be because the School project text is aimed at an institutional readership.

The membership of LAP in the Innovative State Schooling Institutions Federation (*FESPI*) is also valued in the School Project, because FESPI is argued to be a "place of exchange and reflection on our practices", "a way to emerge from institutional isolation", that allows "to pool our demands, to be supported by and to support educational teams if needed" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2014: 66). The authors assess that LAP and other FESPI members have the following values in common: they are fighting against school dropout, they have the willingness to "expand innovative practices", they can "assert their specificities" (ibid.). In contrast, the authors argue that LAP and other FESPI "innovative institutional" members "suffer" from the same disadvantages, i.e. a lack of security concerning their status and the

durability of the funding for their functioning. Aside from the FESPI, the LAP institution also participates in the "Self-management Fair" (Foire à l'Autogestion) organized by the Self-management Association (Association Autogestion), which aims at "promoting reflection and popular education on the set of themes around self-management" (Qui sommes-nous ?). Participating in the Self-management Fair is positively valued as it "allows making progress on transversal questions raised during the practice of self-management" and allows "to have general discussions" on the theme (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2014: 68). The "transversal questions" positively valued yet differ from the 'transversal skills' from the 'traditional' educational discourse. Examples of transversal questions are "general assemblies in self-managed cooperatives", "how to solve conflicts in a self-managed group", "internal power relations", "self-management and group sizes", "division and repartition of tasks", "self-management of struggles" or "popular education tools to discuss and decide collectively" (ibid.). The emphasis of these transversal questions is rather on empowering collectives through self-management than on transmitting individual skills as is generally the case in the dominant educational practices. In other words, authors of the School project positively evaluate the fact of being part of networks whose purpose is collective democracy and empowerment instead of competition, the latter being the ultimate goal of networks in the managerial ideology.

The actual everyday practice of education is explained in the School Project document mostly through linguistic categories of evaluations conveying desirability and undesirability in educational practices, while interdiscursive hybridity is scarcely drawn upon. This is probably the case because the authors see their pedagogical practice other than that of the official one. Their approach can be best explained in terms of Bernstein's (1999) critique of traditional pedagogical discourse. The authors of the local curriculum document claim that their pedagogical practice embodies a weak classificatory principle when they say that "instead of an architectonic of disciplines and compartmentalized subjects, which knowledge structure can be pyramidal, we see the emergence of another model" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2012: 50). The pedagogic model they set forth consists of "an archipelago in which the competencies are islands communicating in networks" and replaces the "classical discursive rationality" by "a flow of knowledge coming from various places, and the "verticality of piled up knowledge" by "free horizontal circulation of knowledge" (ibid.). The way knowledge is selected, and to which ends, is not explained here. Horizontal organization is assumed to be a good thing in itself, although Bernstein warns that the selection of knowledge to be transmitted, albeit in an invisible pedagogic process, and the process of its recontextualization, all have a social basis and the

acquirer is expected to learn a "gaze", a way of reading, evaluating and creating texts (Bernstein 1999: 163). In other words, horizontality can be progressive but also conservative when it is limited to instrumental market-oriented goals, such as the myth of participation through internet technology when fetishized as the ultimate solution for success in the job market, but in actual fact foreclosing any political consideration of that myth – as discussed by Jodi Dean (Dean 2005). Furthermore, the use of the term "competencies", abstracted from power relations, to describe a form of basic unit of knowledge in the LAP's document goes in the direction of Bernstein's 'generic' performance mode, which logic corresponds to the neoliberal requirements, as I have exposed above.

The School Project document details the specificities of the regulative pedagogical discourse in LAP in terms of the order it creates, the relations and identities produced as specified Bernstein (2000, 32). In LAP, the school practices are argued to "oblige" participants to put knowledge into practice by way of "working in teams and democratically conducting diverse meetings", such as the weekly decision-making 'basic group' and 'general assembly' meetings, in which the desirable ways of interacting are "to know how to listen, to know how to answer promptly while keeping a benevolent attitude and avoiding giving way to ones' frustrations" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2014: 34). However, working in teams and conducting meetings are desirable practices in the 'banking pedagogy model' of the Regional document as well. What makes these practices different in LAP is the will to apply democratic principles in them. Trust is argued to be the ultimate intimation of all activities an all participants (teachers, staff and students) aiming "to get rid of the mistrust they often have towards adults from the world of education". In the local curriculum, 'trusting' the others serves to create a space where we can disagree, voice out differences and be open to the emergence of unforeseeable outcomes (Barát, forthcoming in 2020). Trust in adults enables students to learn "*savoir-exister*". The French expression translates into 'knowledge of good living manners' in English.

The School Project document also formulates the requirement for students and teachers meet to meet individually mid-year in February. These half term meetings "allow" everyone to realize "what has been done, what has to be changed, what has to be improved or what has to be questioned (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2014: 57). Students who "do not manage" to "blossom in the school" are told that "coming back at the beginning of the next academic year would not be good for them" (p. 57). Otherwise, students can take advantage of this "opportunity" to "redynamize his or her attendance at school", or to "establish a new life, educational or professional project" with the "help of his or her tutor and the Orientation Commission" (ibid.).

Every student has a dedicated teacher, a ‘tutor’ who is supposed to be his or her referent during his or her schoolyears in LAP. The ‘orientation commission’ consists of two LAP teachers and of one guidance counselor who is not a permanent LAP member but is assigned by the State to visit the school if required by LAP. From this passage, we can conclude that, according to the authors of the document, tutoring is an “opportunity” for students and that ‘establishing projects’ with tutors and with a counselor is a good thing to do as it is hoped to help reorient the ’lost’ student. The positive value of ‘projects’ seems to be assumed here as the ultimate means for regaining the student with no further discussion provided about the process and the project itself

There educational practices in LAP are also regulated in the local curriculum with regard to teachers’ and tutors’ responsibilities in relation to students. Teachers are the “guarantors” of the livability of the “democratic aspect” of the school environment, which consist of “ethical, philosophical and practical” principles allowing for its institutionalization of a “democratic regime” of education (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2014: 3). Three teachers are elected among their peers to form a “council” that will be in charge of relations with the Paris Academy, and this election is beyond reach for students (p. 10). Teachers “have to explain to new students” the specificities of the functioning of LAP during the first meetings at the beginning of the first year, for instance, the fact that the different domains of functioning of the school require the involvement of students to work properly, such as the cleaning, the restaurant or the basic groups. One aspect of it being positive evaluation in the form of ‘Value Units’ or *‘UV’*. These units represent the basic division of pedagogic time, they are given based on the criterion of participation in school activities and they have to be distributed across a broad range of such activities to be valid. Every activity a student follows in the school year allows him or her to obtain a *UV*.

The polemic dialogicity in the LAP document reframes the purpose of education according to critical pedagogy: critical pedagogy is as real as ‘banking’ pedagogy, and it embeds the individual agent of education in a broader collective, going beyond his or her individual interests. The managerial approach to the ‘efficiency’ of education characteristic of a market-oriented pedagogical model such as the generic model, is rejected by LAP. However, some aspects of the generic model are left unquestioned, such as the desirability of the reified notions of ‘competencies’ and ‘projects’; and whether this is an instance of reappropriation of ‘generic’ categories in a more ‘radical’ way is uncertain.

CHAPTER 6
ACTUAL PRACTICES IN THE LYCÉE AUTOGÉRÉ DE PARIS

In this chapter, I will analyze the various data sets collected in my fieldwork inside the school institution, such as my field notes from three 'general assemblies', classroom interaction in an English class, the posters and notes I noticed on the school grounds, a comic strip published by the school to represent an event of struggle between LAP and the State authorities, and half-hour long semi-structured interviews with different actors. With the aim of triangulating my data, I will also analyze the promotional book published by LAP, *Une Fabrique de Libertés* (*A Freedom Factory*), published by the school in 2012 to explain and promote its central values and functioning to the general public, the potential and actual parents considering the enrollment of their children in LAP and the prospective students. I will name the participants by nickname unless they specifically requested not to do so. Frédéric was the teacher who had been present for the longest time as part of the LAP staff, and was responsible, with ten other students, of the commission in charge of relation with outsiders.

6.1 Everyday Practices in LAP

The texts in relation to particular events analyzed in this section will be distributed into two main categories, broadly divided according to a macro/micro axis this time within LAP. The macro events will consist of practices concerning the broader functioning of the school: the internal practices of decision-making and of institutionalization in the event of general assemblies, and the outward-looking practices of participating in struggles in the more or less immediate environment of the school in political events such as demonstrations. The micro-practices will consist of the question of the struggles between the democratic school and the Paris Academy that will be tackled through an analysis of their recent conflict concerning the durability of current democratic practices in the context of austerity measures in the educational system. The data set that will be analyzed to such purpose is a transcription of an audio meeting between the Paris Academy clerks, a comic strip published on the school's blog and a press release published by LAP to inform the general public about the issue. Interviews and observations will allow me to also analyze an instance of drug-related internal conflict, classroom events, everyday interactions and details of the internal school environment.

General assemblies take place once a week in LAP, usually on Tuesday afternoons. They take place in a specific room designed for that purpose. They are the events in which most issues and orientations of the school are discussed by the whole community: this is the event

where the self-managed aspect of the institution is the most salient. The general assembly is the main body of decision, and there is no other body that can administrate the school. Once a year, an 'information' or 'introductory' assembly is organized where potential future students are introduced to the functioning of the school. There is no relationship between the parents and the school unless the school community notices an immediate danger that would need contacting parents. The general assembly allows for "collective participation of school members in the process of decision-making" based on the rule of "one person equals one vote" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2012: 22). The smaller scale decision-making events involving a teacher and a smaller group of students are the "*Groupes de base*" ('*GB'* or 'basic groups'), and they are to submit issues on the agenda and discussed in the general assembly on a weekly basis. Teachers alone cannot bypass the 'basic group' structure to impose their own issues on the agenda. A 'basic group' event will also be discussed in this chapter to illustrate the dialectical aspect of direct democracy in the school, i.e. how the general assembly and the 'groupes de base' are mutually influencing each other without being structured in a vertical, hierarchical manner. I will also focus on the issues of freedom and free attendance ('*libre frequentation*') as experienced by the students themselves through an analysis of an introductory general assembly of the school to an outsider audience, interviews, and as explained by LAP in their collective promotional book *Une Fabrique de Libertés* (*A Freedom Factory*).

I have taken part in three general assemblies, and I made audio recordings that I later transcribed. A frequently arising matter in general assemblies during my fieldwork was and always is the participation of the LAP community in social struggles outside the school walls such as strikes and demonstrations organized by unions or other collectives, in order to defend the school's immediate interests or more remote ones. At an assembly during my stay on Tuesday 9th of April 2019 at 2 pm, they discussed what strategy of the struggle the LAP should pursue against the new "Blanquer Law" (from the name of the Minister of Education, Jean-Michel Blanquer) on the functioning of the *Baccalauréat* – the high school leaving exam. The law entails a reconfiguration of the available subjects of the exam and their modalities of evaluation: one of the main issues is that evaluation will be mainly based on continuous testing and grading rather than on a final test at the end of the last year of high school. In the assembly, almost all teachers and students of the school were present, even if only a few students spoke up.

One of the teachers, Pierre, presented a report that a call to a renewable strike had been launched, without specifying by whom exactly, against the new law. He added that this call had

been "partially followed" by the LAP community and by educational workers in general. This partial presence of LAP raises the question of a stronger following, implying that calls from unions have to be followed by as many people as possible if they are to achieve their goals. He goes on to announce newer calls from the trade unions for the current week and their usual days, Tuesday and Thursday and the venues for gathering. Emphasizing the regular and planned aspect of organizing demonstrations on specific days could be a reminder for the LAP community present that they should already know and could plan their commitments routinely around these days to secure participation. He specifies that

> "Today [Tuesday] there is a demonstration called by the 'AG Île de France' [the General Assembly of the SUD Education Union for the Paris Region, including all actors of education, faculty, staff and students] leaving from Nation square at 3pm towards République square; on Thursday there are many. I have heard about many meeting places, one in the morning in front of the education authority HQ (*rectorat*) and one in the afternoon yet to be defined as I haven't yet seen the exact place…". (General assembly, 9th of April 2019)

The recontextualization of the Union calls in the assembly meeting about the demonstration invites a debate about what should the appropriate reaction be. Two students, one sitting as a participant and the other acting as the moderator in the assembly, react by asking "Shall we leave together for the demonstration?". The moderator takes up the question to ask all the participants whether the assembly should organize the school taking off to the demonstration. This is not a call to vote but opens the floor for arguments for and against. The teacher who introduced the union calls responds that the assembly should act as a collective body rather than as a sum of individuals, using the collective dimension to add authority to his suggestions: "We should try to manage this thing in a more collective way than asking individuals to decide whether they would go or not?". He then puts in perspective the difference between the two options by pointing out that the school has 230 people altogether, and that it's not with the participation of just ten of them in a demonstration that it will change things. He goes on to suggest a strategy to secure a minimal presence at the week's demonstration and organize themselves, thinking up ways to increase LAP's presence in the meantime.

The emerging discussion involves three more teachers. Another teacher, Emma, replies that there is already a plan to go every Saturday to join the demonstration of the education-yellow vests. Here she refers to the demonstrations of the Yellow Vests which were organized every Saturday, and to the call to combine the struggle of the Yellow Vests with the struggles of the educational workers. Her argument implicates a disagreement that can be inferred from

her argument voicing a financial concern. The participation in the potentially ongoing series of demonstrations against the new law may be beyond their financial means implicating that they overlap with their working hours: "It is expensive to demonstrate during our working hours", which means loss of salary for the participants. A third teacher, Joséphine, joins the debate pointing out the relevance demonstrations, arguing that she would not go to a small scale demonstration: "I felt that the call to demonstrate does not catch on, the message doesn't pass". The usefulness of going to the demonstration is weighed up against the usefulness of being present at school. However, she argues that she is against only the one on the day of the assembly, but the one on Thursday would be different because the demonstration would be followed by a general meeting. Although she is convinced that they should "stop going to insignificant demonstrations" this time they should go and join forces "in front of the education offices and have a real group there". In other words, she also provides arguments and considers the location of the Thursday event, the education offices of the Paris Academy (*rectorat*) more of a public appeal. She also comes up with what LAP participants could do in the name of organizing, preparing themselves for the Thursday event – indirectly continuing her colleague's suggestion to organize a more prominent presence for Thursday: "We could discuss the texts we will write; we could also sing, we have this song we wrote, we could sing it". Although she does not specify the song but relies on her students' understanding of the reference to it, the presence of an already written song to use during demonstrations indexes the institutionalization of the demonstration routine in LAP practices. Thus, she discards demonstrations perceived to lack a clear call and message, like the one on Tuesday, the day of the assembly, and contrasts them with demonstrations with symbolic location (like the *rectorat*) and with more time and space for organizing.

The discussion is continued with another teacher, Michèle, lamenting on the fact that the protest against the new law involves only a few teachers and students, and they should think of strategies to make people feel involved. She suggests that the strategies could be elaborated in the coming weekly smaller committee meetings between teachers and students (*Groupes de base*), which are the venues for grassroots organizing in LAP. Her contribution reinforces the trajectory evolving about investing their energies in the Thursday event. The discussion is concluded by two students from the assembly, relaying two more calls to demonstrate, both on

Friday. One against police violence and the other organized by the Youth For Climate Paris and Désobéissance Ecolo Paris (*Ecological Disobedience Paris*).

These two calls are not discussed further in the assembly as the participants have indirectly agreed on one demonstration for the week. The topic is reoriented towards the 'Blanquer law' itself by Pierre, the teacher who started the discussion in the first place about the two union's calls for the week. He complains about what he sees as the lack of commitment of the students to defend their school against that law and addresses them directly:

> "I do not know if everyone realizes that if the reform is deployed […], next year it will be too late to act, we will already be in the belly of the crocodile". (General Assembly, 9th of April 2019)

Pierre further explains the various ways the reform is going to coerce the school into practices such as regular evaluation in grades and to limit its pedagogical liberties:

> "We will have to evaluate you on many aspects, we will have to cram almost all the time, we will have less pedagogical freedom". (General Assembly, 9th of April 2019)

The reform is represented as "a threat" for "us in LAP", a "crocodile" about to eat up the school with authoritarian methods, reducing the pedagogical freedom to freedom to adapt to the new law's criteria and reducing activities considerably to preparing "you", the students, for the Baccalauréat exam through an increase in evaluation. This is a loss in comparison with the system before the change, only requiring evaluation during the final exam and not as a continuous practice. It is telling that the students remain silent in response to these accusations. This is a moment of hierarchical communication and not a moment of 'power with' as the teachers ('us'), are argued to be more informed than the students ('you'), who do not understand what has to be understood according to the teachers.

This debate about demonstrations revealed that there is a significant difference in interests along the teacher/student divide about the desirable attitude in relation to social mobilizations. The union's calls about significant changes in the school-leaving exam and the changes they entail coming from above at the macro-level (national, regional) are recontextualized and are discussed in the local event, practically between teachers only. More interestingly, some of the teachers may have participated in some way in formulating the calls, as they are all union members I learned. The students seemed hardly concerned about the union's calls—the two students who moderated the assembly mostly structured the argument

without providing additional elements. The two students from the audience, that is, not the two moderators, who participated in the debate are shifted the attention towards different calls, more of concern to them than with the education reform of the State: police violence and ecopolitics.

However, as a consequence of the resolution of the assembly meeting on the 9th of April 2019, a thematic 'Groupe de base' discussion was suggested concerning the 'Blanquer law' for coming up with strategies of countering the reform and questions to be discussed by the broader collective in a subsequent assembly. Thus, the details of the 'Blanquer law' on transforming the *Baccalauréat* were the topic of another discussion that took place in a general assembly on the 7th of May 2019, to which I also went along. The fact that the 'Blanquer law' debate benefits from a continuation in the subsequent assemblies and not the demonstration concerning police violence and ecopolitics is telling in the sense that these latter interests seem to be backgrounded for the sake of the immediate struggle about the survival of the school. Students may seem more disconnected from the educational struggle as secondary school represents only three years of their life, whereas teachers are professionally committed to the survival of LAP and by extension to their material and ethical interests.

At the next assembly meeting, there were further moments telling of a conflictual understanding of 'trust'. In agreement with the previous week's meeting, the concern about the proposed new law is introduced in a question by a student, Xavier:

> "since they are asking for a continuous assessment, will it be obligatory to give grades in a completely honest way and to put in place evaluation methods like in traditional schools?" (General Assembly, 7th of May 2019)

Béa, a teacher, is surprised by the use of the word "honest" in the question and observes that "LAP cannot see to favor its students [in the evaluation of their performance at the baccalauréat]. The student's wording assumes that the evaluation methods in 'traditional' schools are 'honest' which sets up the future (sic) evaluation in LAP in contrast, i.e. implicating it as 'dishonest' but in favor of the students, as a possible option to limit the effects of the reform. If Béa is surprised by this assumption, Pierre recognizes the legitimacy of the question

and argues that the "question of grading, we will have to answer… but we would prefer not to have it asked at all".

A third teacher, Benoit, gives voice to his stance indirectly through assuming the voice of the students and, in a heavily modalized way that conveys uncertainty about his actual stance regarding grading:

> "Some students may think that since teachers will give grades, they may be a bit laxer than others, some students may feel like resting on this comfort, and I find it understandable". (General Assembly, 7th of May 2019)

More interestingly, he reframes the assumption in the opening student question as an act of "defend[ing] the teacher's kindness, as if we are Santa Claus"? This is an ironic stance that entails not only distance between students and teachers but a critical stance from above by him. His argument, therefore, substantiates not only the logic of his argument but, indirectly, that of the legitimacy of his ironic stance: the initial pedagogical project of LAP and the different learning experience are about "doing things together". In this understanding, the act of grading is a problem that concerns the broader functioning of the school, and that teachers and students can resolve only if they act as a collective that would go against the very disciplinary nature of grading in traditional education. The paradox of ironic dismissal in the name of figuring out a collective way of grading is left unattended.

When a further date to discuss the reform in details outside of the general assembly in a special commission is discussed, the student acting as the moderator suggests an either/or option: "Who is going to join the discussions about the reform instead of going to the commissions on Thursday at 11 am?". Commissions are basic groups created for specific purposes, hence the creation of this temporary emergency commission concerning the struggle against the new law that will be held in parallel to the others. Seeing the hands raised by teachers only, Pierre reacts in a surprised yet weary manner "There are only teachers…". A seemingly relieved student counters the teacher's words in an annoyed manner, counting the hands, that "There are actually three students… there are ten students, it is fine. Eleven students". This conflictual situation tends to demonstrate that some students seem to disagree with their easy top-down labeling by some teachers as lacking interest for the struggle, and want to demonstrate this is not the case.

Difficulties to take collective decisions between teachers and students involving the issue of trust was further exemplified during a debate concerning the creation of a new *'groupe*

de base' focusing on the issue of drugs took place during the of the general assemblies of LAP on the 7th of May 2019. The concerned students, Mickael and Diane introduced their proposition and intended to convince the audience of the desirability of such a drug-related *'groupe de base'.* One student involved emphasizes the necessity of such a 'groupe de base' and its self-managed dimension. Mickael argues that they need a "really permanent thing" so that they could "manage this issue themselves" as "many of us have contacts with several organizations with whom we could work" and because "there is a need for this kind of group in the school". Another student confirms that "there is a real need for it because […] we were asking who had been smoking at the park up the street and everyone said they did, there was not a single person who…", before being interrupted by a teacher, Joséphine "this is not what I put into question, what I think I understand is that the group is about welcoming users of different products" which she contrasts with "the issue of prevention, limited to the reducing of risks". Mickael, the student, explains that if "there are so many people concerned it would be really good to have a permanent group with more time because if we limit ourselves to a workshop, it means it will not be something permanent". What is at stake here is the definition of the idea of prevention vis-à-vis drugs, especially marijuana, and the appropriate ways of dealing with the problem. For the students, prevention has to take into account the fact that the majority of students consume marihuana and that this situation requires more means to address the issue. For, Joséphine, the teacher who answered them, prevention means reducing risks at a general level and does not include, maybe for legal reasons, deliberately organizing meetings with students who are known to be drug consumers.

Another teacher, Pierre, recognizes the 'reality' of this discrepancy between the two representations of prevention: "I believe that we are pointing to two problems […] is prevention limited to risk-reduction or is there something else? This is a real question that has been underlying in our school for a long time". The uneasiness expressed by this teacher is due to the way the external world may end up representing the school if the question of drug prevention is not answered, and what it involves for "the survival of the school": "if we are represented like a school in which there is a tolerance vis-à-vis drugs, we really are in trouble". To illustrate this, he recounts that "today at noon a student has been arrested by the police, they accuse him of smoking at the park, and unfortunately I think they are right. I believe that unfortunately there are many students who smoke at school". Thus, he explicitly addresses the legal aspect that had been lightly touched upon by the previous teacher, leading him to define a difference between drug prevention and drug tolerance at school, out of fear of legal sanctions. Following

this discussion, the creation of the new prevention-themed *'groupe de base'* is enacted by the assembly.

I also want to include a 'general assembly' on the 16th of May 2019 in which three students, Ben, Kévin and Nina and one teacher, Frederic, all from a basic group committee in charge of the relations between the school and the outside world (*Groupe de Base Accueil*) presented their school to an audience potential future students and the persons who accompanied them. Their major objective was to explain how the actors of LAP represent and act the idea of 'freedom' in school practices. This time, exceptionally, the participants at the assembly were mostly non-school members and its objective was not concerned with organizing life at school and making decisions but in introducing the specificities of the school to an 'outsider' audience. The students were invited as they pre-registered on the school's website to be able to attend school at LAP from the following year.

The presentation was organized around the specificities of LAP's functioning and around the procedure to enroll. One of the main themes in the discussion was the kind of (inter)actions students are allowed to do in the specific context of LAP. In the students' presentation of the school, the absence of authoritarian practices of obligation that would limit freedom in the school is emphasized through the use of a low degree of deontic modality, that is called the "modal system of duty" by Derrin Pinto (Pinto 2004: 658). The notion of 'freedom of attendance' is used to illustrate the way 'freedom' is contrasted with a particular idea of 'obligation' manifest in more 'traditional' educational practices. Freedom of attendance is defined by the presenting teacher Frédéric as a practice that "really enables students to decide what they want to do at school". The three students elaborate that they can go to a class other than the one assigned on their timetable if they want to; they can change levels of education across three levels, *seconde, première* or *terminale*. In the French education system, secondary schools are 'chronologically' divided into three age-groups: *seconde*, *première* and *terminale*. As a combined effect of these options, students may really schedule their own timetable. This freedom of choice is argued to enable students to make progress: "If someone is good at English, and he is in a class of *seconde*, he can very well go to attend a class of *première* or *terminale*". The presentation also points out the democratization effect of freedom of attendance on student and teachers relationships: "if you do not have any affinity with your teacher, which may happen, you can also switch classes" on the same level. Students want to reassure the audience that the particular educational practice in LAP they are explaining does not put into risk the ongoing activities organized in 'classes': "we are a secondary school, we have classes, don't

worry". (General Assembly, 16th of May 2019) The meaning of 'class' in LAP is not the same as the assumed meaning in 'banking education', consisting of an asymmetrical relation between teachers and students, the former possessing knowledge to transmit to the latter. Instead, the pedagogical discourse in the classes of LAP questions the traditional division rules in terms of time (age) and the authoritarian relationship between students and teacher in space: "we do not have a teacher writing on a blackboard with students sitting down in line, the teacher can sit anywhere, and the student can also sit anywhere".

The students from the *accueil* group also warn the audience of potential future students that 'freedom of attendance' is at the same time one of the main difficulties of the educational practice in LAP because it requires maturity and one can easily fall for the idea of freedom of attendance and not go to school on a regular basis. Also, the daily tasks that the collective has to take on such as cleaning, do the dishes, prepare lunch can be deterring because it may not be a habit for new students to be involved in this particular division of labor in a school. Yet it is an obligation upon which depends the conviviality of the school atmosphere: "we are in a collective so we have to do it if we want to live in a more or less clean environment". In other words, the main difficulty is that schooling in LAP is not about passively learning subjects, like in the common practice in 'banking' education. Learning in LAP involves more diverse responsibilities

The other specificity of their school the group present is the participation in the self-management of the institution. Self-management is the basic principle of the school, and according to Frédéric, it depends on the majority at school, i.e. the students: "if people don't get involved, it doesn't work, out of two-hundred seventy people present at school there are two-hundred forty students, thus if students don't get involved, inevitably, the school doesn't function". He gives examples of self-management practices that would not function if students were not involved in them: "if there are no students in the *accueil group* like today, teachers can't do it by themselves, that's against the principle of self-management; same thing for the cleaning, for the kitchen, for plenty of other things". Being a student part of the school collective requires, according to Frédéric, "an important involvement […], it requires involvement based on one's individual educational goal, if it is to obtain the baccalauréat then it demands an implication in [traditional] school work", and on top of that "it requires an involvement in all

the other aspects of the life in LAP, in the projects, in the workshops, but also in the political management of the school, moments without which the school does not exist".

The students give details about the functioning of particular courses organized in the school, the "workshops" and the "projects". If workshops "can be switched during the year", and "can be created with or without a teacher", projects "are something that you have to keep along the year", which involves "defining a goal" which "we have to reach by the end of the year". If the term "project" seems to represent an instance of colonization of managerial discourse in the local practice of LAP to designate particular long-term courses, its appropriation by the students as something emanating from them rather than imposed from above mitigates its managerial dimension. Students also explain what the requirements to pass to the next grade amount to: "Value units are what allows us to pass to a higher grade, if we have twenty-four at the end of the year, we are obligatorily re-enrolled in the school". The only requirement about value units, according to Frédéric, is that "they have to be distributed in all school activities" for instance "they can be obtained in classes, but also in workshops, projects and self-management", and that "if a student obtains fifty units from classes only, that is, if only classes are what interest this student", then it does not mean that the requirements are met. Indeed, a self-managed high school requires a different kind of involvement, which means that "if the student does not want to participate in the self-management, maybe he or she would be better off in a 'traditional' school in which students are better supervised when it comes to attending classes".

The obligation to graduate is also challenged and a possibility to not graduate is promoted: "we are a secondary school, we prepare for taking the *baccalauréat* exam, but if you do not want to take it, there is a class called *alternatibac*". However, the students presenting it do not wholly identify with this part of their school: "the timetable is totally different than ours", and while "they can do whatever they want", "we prepare them to do whatever they feel like doing without necessarily graduating" and one "can even participate in a first aid training". The 'us/them' opposition between the instrumental approach of those who wish to graduate and the approach of those who do not or cannot, although framed as a desirable possibility, is still represented in an instrumental, job-market oriented fashion. Indeed, "there are job-seeking

workshops, training courses seeking, learning to fill out a CV, preparing for the *BAFA* (youth worker qualification) … so it's pretty cool".

The discussion of the issue of graduation leads to a presentation of the potential ways the new reform of the *baccalauréat* may affect the functioning of the school from the following year. Frédéric introduces the school's opinion on the new law by referring to the reform in general and modalized terms as "a plan" that could have been accepted since it had a good potential, however, he ends up polemicizing with the government's text and explains that in spite of its "interesting" potential, it is eventually deeply caught up in the austerity politics the State: "at the beginning, there may have been ideas in the reform plan that would have seemed interesting to us". He adds that the school staff realized that the reform was a negative thing as it contains "many things that go against our way of functioning" and as it is "above all aimed at the reduction of the school's workforce". The "interesting" ideas are not spelt out by Frédéric, who chooses to focus on the conflicting perspectives of the State's reform and that of the interests of the school. In Frédéric's representation, one of the main issues with the reform is that it goes against the schools' principle of not giving grades to students and of keeping an atmosphere free from competition, since the final grade for the *baccalauréat* exam and future affectations in higher education will rely in its majority on continuous assessing taking place during the whole academic year and on student rankings. According to Frédéric, there had been ways of resisting until then: "what we categorically reject, and it worked until now, is to rank students, we just put everyone as 'first', and it works". However, the obligation of continuous assessing will be less possible to avoid as it will be a core requirement to the *baccalauréat*, repositioning teachers as examiners instead of "pedagogues".

The other problem the representation singles out with the reform is that it will oblige students to select three specializations out of twelve, whereas in the current situation, there is no such choice. The school will "have to make choices" about which of the twelve specializations to offer to students according to the 'resources' available to the institution. Frédéric closes on the possibility of contestation: although the school seems to have no choice, there is a hope that the reform can be adapted. The discussion of the *baccalauréat* reform this way takes the form of what Fairclough calls a polemic dialogization of the State plan by the

school. However, it is telling to see that it is only the teacher of the presenting group who can voice this 'hope' – drawing on some authority that is not available apparently for the students.

Finally, regarding the power dynamics, it is also important to reflect on the fact that the invited people could ask questions during the ninety minutes of the presentation but did not really have any, except at the end concerning the process of enrollment as such. The genre of this assembly was more of a one-sided lecture from the part of the presenters, the audience having the 'instrumental' expectation that by the end of it, they will be able to pre-enroll in the school.

The general assembly ends with the *accueil* group giving information to the audience on how to apply to the school. Frédéric highlights the fact that a test, a motivation letter and a CV are required in the application process so that the staff in LAP knows basic and relevant information about the students. The practices of selecting on the basis of a 'motivation' letter and a 'CV' are ironically managerial practices recontextualized in educational practices. The meaning of such practices in LAP, however, does not seem to entail a selection on the basis of labor-market oriented 'skills', rather, they seem to have an informative purpose for the teachers who will then make a final decision by themselves on which students are more likely to 'fit' in LAP.

6.2 Interviews with students

Pedagogical practices in LAP were also represented by students in the interviews, for example, a student called Antoine pointed out how the pedagogical practice in LAP was empowering when I asked him a question about his general assessment of his time in LAP. Relating his trajectory from 'traditional' education towards the self-managed high school, he emphasizes that attending school at LAP enabled him to do things that were impossible for him in mainstream education: "LAP gave me back my original curiosity, my confidence in life". He lists what LAP allowed him to do in the following way: "I was able to link my understanding of the world with an understanding of how I could intervene in it"; "I was able to realize that my actions had an influence on others and that there is a direct relation between what one brings [as an individual] and what can be achieved as a collective"; "I was able, thanks to LAP, to breathe in a society so overfocused on individualism, conformism and competition that it became suffocating"; "I was able to take the time to understand who I wanted to become, away from the sole demands of the labor market, free from the obligation to know what one wants to do 'later' and to constantly prove for what one is 'useful' or 'valuable'. Antoine's trajectory

reads like a journey from what he represents as a 'suffocating', disheartening and discouraging educational system and society towards a place that puts the collective power, 'power with' in the foreground. Antoine relates that "LAP conveyed another image of myself" than the labels of "dunce" or "misfit" he got in 'traditional' educational discourse. He recontextualizes and rejects the norms of the "traditional school system" as "completely oriented towards productivity and the forceful integration of social norms". He specifies that these norms "require profitability and the respect for hierarchy" and that they are common to "schools, workplaces, psychiatric hospitals" or "juvenile welfare homes". These norms are not in the interests of students as they produce identities "sick of learning, of creating and of living", they "are in the interest of a few people" who can benefit from them. The discourse of History as a discipline in traditional education is given as an example of a pedagogical discourse that does not take into account the interests of the students, whereas History in LAP can end up being empowering: "I started to drop out of History classes when we were learning about the Kings of France, and I began again to hang out to these classes in LAP when I could learn about the history of the Spanish Civil War, of the Paris Commune… these historical attempts to end domination in society fascinated me".

Educational practice in LAP as part of a journey from 'traditional' education to self-managed education is also salient in Céline's representations, specifically in terms of the identities she projects for herself as a student. In an interview, she relates the kind of difficulties that arose for her when she started to attend school in LAP: "on the very first day of the year teachers couldn't stop telling us about strikes, demonstrations, social movements and pension reform; and honestly, I did not feel these militant speeches were a concern to me". Meanwhile, she argues that the content of the classes did not correspond to her expectations, since her goal was "to catch up on my schooling". Attending school in LAP "turned out to be a bad idea" and "seemed to be a mistake" at the beginning because the educational practice did not have the appearance of what she imagined to be appropriate: "classes never started on time" and the pedagogical activities of the first year "looked as if they were coming straight out of a holiday resort". Originally, she qualified the LAP as "a parody of a high school". With time however, she realized that her lack of involvement in the school practices, what she calls her "passivity", was her problem, and that getting more involved made her realize the educational dimension of practices in the school: "I couldn't prevent the demonstrations from happening, and as long as I would consider them as a necessary suffering, I would have trouble coping with school… however as soon as I started to get involved and understand the issues at stake, it [the

demonstrations] wasn't a waste of time anymore… quite to the contrary, it did bring me a lot [of positive things]". Céline observes that educational practice in LAP may seem like a waste of time for the students whose sole aim at school is passing the *baccalauréat*, in other words for those who can only think of 'banking education' pedagogical practices as 'real' pedagogical practices, yet she emphasizes that practices occurring to prepare protests are pedagogical in a different way, through an articulation of the appropriate student's identity in LAP, i.e. being a student involved in all dimensions of school life, such as organizing protests, with the instrumental identity of obtaining the high school leaving exam: "don't we do educational things to prepare a protest? Doesn't it involve, to quite some extent, the curricula on 'argumentation'? Isn't it related to the technique to correctly write an essay for the *baccalauréat*?".

6.3 Everyday Interactions Inside and Outside the Institution

In May 2020, the Paris Self-managed High School got into a conflict with the Paris Academy concerning a plan of the Academy to decrease the resources available to the school. The cut into funding would entail a reduction in the number of taught hours in school. In turn, this would mean the withdrawal of a half teacher position in LAP. I analyze the press release by LAP related to this plan (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2020d), a reappropriation of a comic strip in 5 parts, based on a comic book entitled *Le Retour à la Terre* (*Back to Earth*) by Jean-Yves Ferri and Manu Larcenet (2005) in which the text was rewritten by LAP members to illustrate the week-to-week unfolding of the conflict; and a transcription of the recording of an audio conference involving staff from LAP and their 'superiors' from the Paris Academy.

The audio meeting was between three teachers in charge of the relations with the Academy, and a civil servant from the Academy. It took place in May 2020 and was an audio appointment organized due to the impossibility to have a physical meeting because of the COVID-19 pandemic. In the audio meeting, the representation of the new development by the LAP teacher's is polemicized by the Paris Academy representative, that is, the LAP represents it as a reduction of the means available to the school, involving a reduction of teacher presence. Instead, the Paris Academy rejects the LAP's representation as something they are not allowed to say, and pushes forward its own representation of it as an 'evolution' resulting of a 'mechanical' process imposed by a legitimate authority, beyond any discussion: "you cannot speak of an elimination [of working hours], it is a mechanical evolution caused by the new law". Furthermore, the importance of the effects of this 'evolution' is downplayed, implying

that LAP already benefits from a surplus of teaching hours compared to other schools. The LAP staff responds to the polemic that this kind of calculation is irrelevant to understand the self-managed specificity of their school and that "eleven hours represent half of the working hours of a teacher, that is half of his/her work and half of his/her presence". The Paris Academy argues in a moderately modalized way that the school is allowed to continue functioning as before on the condition that it adapts to the 'reality' of the resource reduction: "you can carry on working with twenty-five teachers, just by adapting your way of working". The staff understands the condition as a request to partly work for free, as it would entail less resources but the same amount of work.

The Paris Academy argues, with a high deontic modality, that the school is obliged to come up with a clear plan ("clarification will be needed") on what specializations they will offer to students in the classes of *Première* and *Terminale*, according to the new law. Answering that, the LAP staff reports a quote attributed to the authoritative discourse the Ministry used to justify the law in order to point out that they conformed to the directives by wanting to offer a large number of specializations to students: "We have decided to offer a wide range of specializations to allow for 'students to choose their school career according to their preferences and ambitions'". The Academy implies that such a wide offer is too costly and that the LAP school would be privileged vis-à-vis other high schools if it were to keep offering that many specializations to students. They also tell the school staff that the Academy is in a position of authority, allowing it to order the school adapt to the new requirements of the law: "Many secondary schools cannot afford such a wide offer of specializations, and I am an official vested with the minister's authority". The economic logic of the Academy is interpreted by the school teachers as a "bookkeeper" logic that does not take into account the actual needs of education nor society in general, that they do not specify here: "you are saying that the new *baccalauréat* allows for cost-cutting, you remain caught in a bookkeeper's logic while never thinking about the reality of the population's essential needs for education". At the end of the allowed forty-five minutes of the meeting, the teachers close the conversation with "goodbye and see you soon, as we are not going to give up", a sentence interpreted as a threat by the Paris Academy, whose last sentence is "your threats do not have any effect on us".

This debate is based on a dialogization of the material consequences of an aspect of the new *baccalauréat* reform. The Paris Academy intends to resolve difference with the school so that they accept the requirements to adapt to the law, naturalizing the law as an 'evolution' in order to reach a consensus and close the dialogue. However, the meeting was called by the

school to contest the law, to shift the dialogue towards a conflicting difference to have a say in the top-down approach of the Paris Academy in relation to the material enactment of the law which is evaluated by the school as a threat rather than as a simple 'evolution'. Although State authority is called upon by the Academy to impose a top-down consensus, no consensus is reached in this particular struggle between LAP and the Academy over the representation and the material consequences of the law.

This conversation and further meetings with the Academy were recounted in a 5-parts comic strip. It was written by school members who participated in the audio negotiations with the Academy. The comic was addressed to the broader school community and to whoever was willing to support them in their struggle to keep the number of teaching hours unchanged for the following year. It was published on a blog specifically designed by LAP to keep a broader audience informed about this particular struggle against the Academy. The comic strip was published online in three separate blog articles, on the 6th, 8th and 10th of May 2020 (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2020a; Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2020b; Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2020c) (lutteslap.blogspot.com) (See Appendix, Fig. 3). I will only focus on the textual aspect of the comic strip. The focus on my analysis is the exploration of the interdiscursivity between the voice of the LAP as embodied by the teachers and the attributed voice of the Paris Academy. Compared to the audio meeting, the voices of LAP and the Academy are recontextualized as a fictive comic, in order to promote the struggle of the school and to render the voice of the Academy as a specifically antagonistic voice.

The first trip is an introduction that situates the current struggle in the history of the previous conflicts with the Academy. The character representing the school is named "Mme Self-management"; she defines the us/them polemical dialogicity between LAP and the Academy: "It is not the first time that they take away teaching hours from us, in 2011 they took away five full time working positions… five! That they gave us back eventually. But you will see, they are quite hard of hearing. Let's go!". The second and third strips relate the meeting with the Academy, in which Mme Self-management asks the two clerks at the Academy the following question, representing the decrease of teaching hours as an 'omission': "What is this thing with the forgotten hours?". The negotiation of the appropriate way to qualify these hours in the discourse of the Academy is rendered in the strip as "Well, one cannot say that it is an omission… I do not know whether you realize the difficult situation we are in…". Immediately, Mme Self-management's voice removes the clerks' voice in the background, becomes the only voice present in the strip as if it were interpreting the Academy's discourse in a synchronized

way, in order to dismiss it altogether as ‘bamboozlement’: “They do not seem to know what they are talking about […] they do not know anything about self-management that’s for sure […] I can see that clearly […] they all seem to be agreeing on bamboozling us”.

The two last strips, four and five, picture the reflections of Mme Self-management on the meeting that just happened. The representation of educational practices by the Academy is interpreted by the school as influenced by a certain managerial approach typical of the corporate field that entails cutting costs; also, the meaning of the term ‘evolution’ is polemicized and is argued to mean attributing more resources to education rather than taking them away: “they manage our schools like companies, they want to take away a half-teacher position, and they call it an evolution […] They should support us and give us more resources, not hamper us! […] An ‘evolution’? It is a covered draining of resources instead […]. The identification of Mme Self-management with a particular group of participants in the school, that is, with the teachers rather than with the students, is revealed in the last sentences of the strip, which finishes on a call to ‘revolution’ against the Academy’s particular idea of ‘evolution’: “Moreover, they ask us to give up our extra hours, this means withholding part of our salaries to pay a colleague. Do they speak about ‘evolution’? no way! [let’s have] a revolution!”. The identification of the main character of the comic strip with the teachers’ community, yet as a spokesperson of the school’s voice, can be interpreted as the result of the fact that it is the teachers (the adults) who are responsible of negotiating with their superiors from the Academy, i.e. it is teachers who have access to that specific official field.

The choice of the comic strip genre illustrates a wish from its authors, the teachers, to speak to the students. Based on the analysis of the general assembly above where the reform was discussed and where some teachers were trying to convince the students to feel more concerned by the new law, the comic strip can be considered as an attempt to reach out to the students through other means. In the strip, the allegorization of self-management as a grumpy old woman translating the Academy’s discourse on the reform to younger characters, and its identification to a wider group of ‘colleagues’, may illustrate a top-down patronizing approach from the self-proclaimed ‘experimented’ teachers, who, vested with an authority unavailable to students, do the work of ‘negotiation’, towards the students who have no choice but to rely on the teachers in such matters.

On the 12th of May 2020, following the audio meeting and the publication of the comic strip, a general assembly met online in order to issue a one-page press release to be sent to local

media such as Le Parisien newspaper and to be published on LAP's blog (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2020d). It situates the current struggle with the Academy as a result of the "principle of autonomy of school institution announced by the government in 2019" which entails "making difficult choices to share the resources in teaching hours among schools". The calculation of the available number of teaching hours per school, according to the authors of the release, "only corresponds to a 'bookkeeper's' logic", that is "the hour reductions are imposed in an authoritarian way based on the accounting spreadsheets [of the Academy] rather than based on the particular needs of the schools". That the Academy is attempting to make the LAP look like "a privileged school" in the eyes of the other schools to divide the struggles against the new reform is interpreted by the authors of the press release as "a refusal to understand the specific functioning of our high school", which illustrates an hypocrisy since even "two high-ranking officials in the Academy admitted that there is a need for full-time teachers in LAP".

Conflicts also occur inside the school walls, and the analysis of the resolution of a particular conflict by the 'justice' commission, consisting of elected teachers and students, is going to be telling about how justice and disciplinary measures are negotiated in the practice of LAP, and how (much) relationship of trust are involved in the resolution of conflicts. In the assemblies, the issue of gaining trust between the teachers and the students is problematic as there is a tendency for teacher to approach this trust issue in a top-down manner. This particular conflict concerned transactions involving drugs in the school, and its story was told by a teacher, Béa, in an interview. She explains that a specific group of students decided to get elected to the 'justice' group by their peers, so that "teachers do not make use of their influence to solve conflicts". She qualifies this behavior as wanting to "gain some power, to achieve a 'subversive role'", and that "some of them were not really aware of the rule that forbids possessing, selling or consuming drugs inside the school". When one of the students of the school, Paul, was caught selling cannabis in the school for the same time, Béa argues that she found it "interesting that the 'justice' group did not give any sanction" and that despite the school functioning based on dialogue, "students remained distrustful with adults" and that for students to admit that Paul is "known as a dealer at school" is not an appropriate behavior as it is "equivalent to be a 'snitch'".

The second time Paul was caught, however, the 'justice' commission decided to meet to pass a harsher sanction. Béa claims that when teachers argue against some students' accounts banalizing the consumption of cannabis, asserting that it does not prevent them from participating in school activities, students accuse the teachers of speaking like "old people". However, when during this second 'justice' group meeting, Clément, a student member of the

justice group, argued that there was indeed a "contradiction between daily drug consumption and being actively participating in the school practices", students listened to him in a different way as his approach was not perceived as a moralizing nor patronizing discourse by the students. The initial perception by some teachers of students participating in justice decisions as part of a play to acquire more scarce 'power' resource can thus evolve through practices of 'power with', in which students and teachers realize how, as a collective, they can think up more just solutions to conflicts. The dialogue between the teachers and the students evolved through the reduction of difference and the building of solidarity to achieve justice in this particular situation. Dealing drugs at school "endangers the community" according to the 'justice' group, who decided the exclusion of P, with a possibility of renegotiating the sentence at the end of the academic year. In her account, Béa qualified as 'subversion' the fact that students wanted to get involved in giving justice at school and show some 'tolerance' some drug-related behavior deemed unacceptable by her. Identifying the students' attitude as subversion disqualifies it and assumes the existence of an authority that has been subverted, an authority that comes to be associated with herself and the teachers' community. Eventually, when in her account, the students proved that they were able to manage the justice commission and resolve conflicts in a way that corresponded to what was deemed appropriate by the teachers, that is, when their behavior was not considered 'subversive' anymore, Béa considers that 'trust' has been restored.

Relationships of trust between students and teachers were more salient during the English (as a foreign language) classroom practices analyzed than at the broader level of the school, such as in the assemblies. I have chosen to analyze how classroom practices unfold in LAP and what kind of knowledge and interactions are legitimized in them. I went to observe English classes on two occasions. One of the most striking features of the interaction was the use of deontic modality by the teacher in order to sustain the pace of the classes, which can be qualified as a strong framing of pedagogical discourse. 'High' value deontic modality consisted of imperatives. It was mostly used by the teacher to delimit sequences in the classes in terms of space and time, such as "Now let's go to the computer room"; "this has to be done in three minutes"; "Let's discuss this orally, let's listen to each other"; "let's have a look at the different hypotheses". In other occurrences, deontic modality was used by the teacher but also by the students to keep a particular classroom atmosphere for teaching and learning, an atmosphere in which English is used instead of French whenever possible, in which students listen to each other and in which the pedagogical tasks given by the teacher are achieved: "Do this exercise";

“try to do the homework, it’s [a requirement] not just a decoration”; “you had to work on this documentary, now we will put subtitles it will be fine”; “you just have to remember the grammatical rule”; “you will have to look on your phones”; “in English please” said by a student to another student who started to answer in French; or the teacher’s requirement when ambient noise became too strong in the classroom “Calm down, it is really irritating now”. The use of high deontic modality was more common in classes where students were tired, for instance, after lunchtime or on Friday afternoons. The teacher once argued that the students were “crazy on Friday afternoon after lunch; they are ‘better’ in the morning”.

Lower degrees of deontic modality were also used by the teacher, expressing what people are ‘supposed’ or ‘allowed’ to do rather than ‘required’. In this case, deontic modality seemed to have served to reassure the students by allowing for the possibility of not achieving all the ‘expected’ performances, thereby implying that the ‘expected’ performances consisted of, for instance, doing one’s homework, taking notes, trying to understand or to express oneself in English: “Maybe we should agree that if there is homework you should try to do it […], it allows you to make some progress”; “it would be nice if, for next week, you could find a painting by Francis Bacon that you could explain to the class”; “you could try taking notes, anything, even words, so that you can get into it a bit more, it only lasts five minutes, it’s not that long”; “I heard an interesting sentence, could you tell it to me in English? We should maybe write it down”; “Do you understand the sentence or do you want to translate it [to French]? Should we translate it?”.

Outside the classrooms and general assemblies, the school environment itself is decorated by a wide range of material, such as decorative posters, in common places such as the entrance hall or the cafeteria, where most students gather at one point or another of their school day. These materials illustrate the type of issues that their student authors would like to be more of concern in the school. In the entrance hall of the school, on pinned on a board, an A4-format comic strip (See Appendix, Figure 1) explains transgender identity through giving voice to a ‘non-transgender character’s’ introducing himself in the following way: “Hi my name is Léo, and the sex assigned at my birth is the same as my gender, so we can say that I am a cis-man”. To what the transgender character on the comic book replies: “I am a man too, but the sex assigned at my birth is different than my gender, so I am a trans man!”. A particular discourse deemed hurtful and inappropriate (so-called ‘war triggers’) to interact with transgender people is recontextualized in a panel of the strip, named “War trigger: transphobia”, and examples of inappropriate questions are given: “Are you trans, like in transsexual? Do you

have a di**?", "Are you a real boy?", "Are you sure?", "how do you do to…?". Transphobic discourse is also recontextualized in a balloon, in which the character enumerates "a few things to avoid doing" when interacting with a transgender person: "Asking somebody's 'dead name'", "questioning people's identity: a trans person does not necessarily have dysphoria nor does necessarily wants passing or transition, he/she is nevertheless legitimate" and "asking indiscreet questions about his/her body or sexuality". After listing these few examples of transphobic behavior, the character requests the reader to respect the identity of transgender people, in a specific 'youth' slang to convey solidarity: "so, use my pronoun(s) and my name!! 'Heart on you'". This comic strip's intention is to avoid any kind of bullying or discrimination against transgender students who attend the school. It delegitimizes particular behaviors and interactional patterns by exposing their stigmatizing and hurtful dimension for people self-identifying as transgender.

In another busy space of the school, the cafeteria, two big size hand-drawn posters (See Appendix, Figure 2) were displayed, one explaining the word *tafiole* (faggot) as "a combination between *tapette* (fag) and *folle* (queen), vulgar way to define a homosexual male", in order to make readers realize why it is part of homophobic hate speech, thus why its usage is inappropriate in the school and in society in general. A second poster instructs the reader to take the wasted food or would-be wasted food from supermarkets such as Auchan and Carrefour (the two biggest supermarket chains in France) whose logos are placed in the top of the placard: "Supermarkets waste twenty-three million tons of food per year. Go, help yourself!". The poster aims to make the reader realize the outrageous amount of food destroyed per year by supermarkets and question their right to ownership over the food that is wasted or going to be wasted. According to French law, taking the food in the garbage containers of the supermarket precincts is not an illegal act (Récupérer de la nourriture dans la poubelle d'un supermarché n'est pas un délit 2018). However, supermarket owners may threaten to sue people who do it, as it often entails breaking-in.

The discussion of these different sets of data foregrounded the issue of trust between students and teachers. Because of their position in the educational system, teachers are the ones empowered to take part in the negotiations with the State authorities. In the particular conflict with the Paris academy, teachers considered themselves as the agents embodying the school and the students as a group of people to whom they have to explain what is in their best interest. The asymmetrical relation of 'power against' between the teachers and the students in this particular case was illustrated by the comic book, which could be interpreted as a patronizing

device vis-a-vis the students who could not be included in the negotiations. The unequal power relation between teachers and students is also illustrated by the attribute 'subversive', given by some teachers to the students whose way of acting in the decision-making processes of the school is deemed inappropriate. The discussion determined that, similarly to the general assemblies, the passivity of students is taken for granted in most decision-making processes, which leads students to express themselves more freely in other spaces of the school, such as the common areas, or in specific pedagogical activities like classes.

6.4 Voices in *A Freedom Factory*, a promotional publication by LAP

The voices forming the promotional book Une Fabrique de Libertés, published by the LAP community in 2012, encompass voices current and former students and teachers. The authors explore the particular interplay between freedom and obligations in LAP, and the relationship between the pedagogical practices in LAP and the State institutional logic they are caught in, mostly exemplified by the baccalauréat. The analysis of the voices in this promotional book will allow for triangulation with the issues identified in the analysis of actual practices above.

As it is part of the State educational system, one of the official objectives of LAP is to prepare their students for taking the *baccalauréat,* or *'bac'* the French school-leaving exam. In practice, this means that the official curriculum required to pass the baccalauréat will have to be taught in LAP. That is, no matter how alternative the school is, this means that by the end of their education, their activities will be measured by the national standards. Students are expected to pass the preliminary examinations in French at the end of their second year, and all the other subjects at the end of their third year, that is, at the end of their career in secondary school. The *baccalauréat* is, according to the (teachers) authors of *Une Fabrique de Libertés*, reported to be one of the main instrumental purposes of the students when they imagine going to high school: "Students arriving in the class of *seconde* (the first year of high school) are often in great difficulty, and yet consider this first year as 'useless'", according to these students, "real learning would only start the year after, when preparing for the first part of the *baccalauréat* exam" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2012: 42). The authors criticize this understanding arguing that this "attitude" has to be fought against because it "pushes back in time the moment when students will start learning" and may lead to their "failure" at the exam. Instead, the document argues that the first year of high school, the so-called *seconde* year

requires students to learn regularly and give value to their activities. To this end, they propose a school-made "diploma allowing a positive and concrete self-evaluation".

Further, Eric, a teacher in LAP, reports that he understands the justifications by students who claim that "there is not just the 'bac'" as "coherent justifications" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2012: 224). He shows how, although he initially disagreed with such an approach, he developed solidarity with the student's voice the further he got involved in LAP. Although the diploma was a "stupid" thing and although he "was trapped with this goal", Eric saw his role as facilitating the students to obtain it to avoid being handicapped in their future in case they lack it. His opinion has changed, and he argues that "today, it is sometimes the opposite, I believe I am relieved to hear from a student that he or she doesn't have the baccalauréat as a goal anymore" (ibid.). Leaving this "normative race towards a certain failure" enable students having other goals to blossom at school (ibid.). If it does not only consist in the instrumental purpose of obtaining the *baccalauréat*, "what is the purpose of LAP then?" asks Eric. Identifying with the voice of LAP, he opens the meaning possibilities of secondary education away from the instrumental diploma:

> The purpose is everything else! To be at school at the same age as one's friends, to be integrated into one's friends group, to have a status in one's family, to have a student card, to grow up as a teenager or young adult, to meet academic knowledge in class, to live in cultural places, to exchange, to work in groups, to learn to use arguments, to get involved in workshops, projects, to participate in a self-managed adventure, to take decisions and to live the limits and the success of this collective project (ibid.)

Apart from being free to choose whether they want to organize their time in LAP around the baccalauréat, students are also free students to attend school. In the book, this 'freedom of attendance', exemplifies political freedom, against which many criticisms are generally raised by the upholders of narrow definitions of pedagogical practice and of authoritarian ideologies. Students will be able to, as a result of their 'freedom of attendance', decide what kind of pedagogical practices make sense to them, according to their interests. They will be able to explore a broader range of interests involving different responsibilities than an imposed instrumentality of adaptation to the needs of the labor market. According to the authors, such critics are "manifold" and often distrust or mock at the freedom to attend school, qualifying it as "being too soft with the students", "being unable to get students to respect teachers", or "fostering an anarchist hotbed" (ibid., 10). In these terms, the idea of discipline comes to be contested and focuses on the rights and obligations between the individual and the collective.

The authors disidentify with the dominant practice of "rules of procedure" that resembles a "penal code". In contrast, in LAP, they gave the institution of "agreement" (*engagement*), that students are obliged to read and sign as a condition for them to begin their school year. The agreement is a declaration of "rights and obligations", elaborated by the whole LAP community, aiming to "resembling the principles that are at the base of life in a society". LAP's assumption of what "life in society" means is thus implied to deny the appropriateness of authoritarian measures of rules and punishments; instead, life in society is about respecting collectively built rights and obligations. The freedom of attendance is positively evaluated, as it represents one of the crucial dimensions of the school. Students "will be able to develop and affirm their personality", "will avoid suffering from schooling" as they "will know how to emancipate themselves from constraints". The modal auxiliaries "will be able to" and "will know how to" evaluate the empowering potential of the practice in LAP.

Constraints to freedom of attendance are associated with the requirement of "pursuing the baccalauréat" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2012: 61). Although it is not an obligation, passing the baccalauréat may end up defining, indirectly, the different forms that freedom of attendance can take. For students whose aim is to obtain the certificate, freedom of attendance will be limited to whatever lies 'outside' of the content of the final exam, while subjects required to pass the exam will be chosen by default. Democratic participation in the school functioning leaves the baccalauréat issue, which is the condition of survival of the school, beyond democratic reach. Allowing the choice in what to learn and what for, freedom of attendance will also make students accountable for their learning practices. Freedom of attendance allows the students to ask questions, and to be part of a collective; it is not reduced to liberating the individual only (ibid.). Education as an individual constraint is negatively evaluated here, as opposed to education as a practice of collective freedom. Freedom of attendance reinforces the link between the teachers and the students, focusing on help rather than on authority, i.e. on the "weapon of punishment" (ibid., 22). Freedom of attendance doesn't mean "liberty to do nothing", and while absenteeism in class "will always be the object of a discussion" (ibid., 61), repeated absenteeism in collective duties is evaluated as relatively more undesirable. It may end up being equated with "not belonging to the school anymore" (ibid., 136) and it may result, in extreme cases, in an actual punishment: the "deregistration" from the school (ibid.).

For the authors of the book, the development of freedom is allowed by democratic practices, that is by the "collective participation of school members to the process of decision-making" based on the rule of "one person equals one vote" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2012: 22).

Self-management allows learning citizenship in a small collective. The practices of self-management and citizenship are linked because the citizen, according to LAP, is only a citizen in relation to a collective body in which he or she can take common decision based on the recognition of the particular interests of the group. Self-management "contributes" to build interpersonal relations, to "build networks of obligation, exchange and solidarity" (ibid.). In other words, the authors of the document see practices of citizenship building practices based on "power with". Such practices allow for a democratic form of government since everyone in the school is equal before, and can participate in, decision making processes on any area of school life.

Self-management and democratic participation of all the actors involved in the school are the distinctive features of LAP. Freedom of decision for all the students is "beneficial" to the quality of all the activities offered in LAP. The authors of the promotional book formulate their goals in the form of questions:

> After so many years, the questions remain the same. How do the teachers succeed in managing the place collectively? How are students associated [with teachers] in the management of the school? How to offer them time to stabilize themselves, to find their way and to be able to make their own choices? How to learn while creating freedom for each student and all of them at the same time? (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2012: 18)

These questions reveal the desirable relationship between the individual and the collective and between teachers and students. Teachers are expected to manage the place on an equal footing with students, associated as a collective, and to be teaching the students how to do so. At the same time, teachers are there for students to be able to be free to make their own choices, to develop their personality but also find their place in a democratic collective through which they participate in pedagogical practices allowing them to learn the interrelation between individual freedom and collective freedom. For Paulo Freire (Freire 2014: Ch. 4), finding the balance between individual freedom and collective freedom, and between freedom and authority, is one of the main goals of critical pedagogy.

The particular obligations in LAP, its regulative pedagogic discourse, are encoded by means of deontic modality. In the book *Une Fabrique de Libertés*, teachers argue that "every person who becomes a LAP member has to know that he or she will have to actively participate in the 'democratic' life of the school" (Lycée Autogéré de Paris 2012: 193), and that "there is a 'moral' obligation to think, to discuss, to deliberate, to put all the knowledge, belonging to any group, in common" (ibid.). The emphasis on supporting students to encourage their self-

confidence is also illustrated in Anne-Marie's assertion about her photography workshop: "We have to support students who believe all their pictures are bad and who do not want to show any" by "selecting a few engaging pictures we believe deserve to be exhibited" (ibid., 101). Supporting "self-confidence and confidence in others" is desirable in an instrumental perspective as it "helps students to overcome the fear of other situations, for example, to take the *baccalauréat*" (ibid., 102).

The instrumental purpose of the baccalauréat is represented in the book as the main goal of students in LAP, even if for some students, going to secondary school is not about obtaining the diploma. This instrumental purpose is limiting the educational freedom in LAP, not only because preparing for the baccalauréat is one of the conditions for the material survival of the school but also because the scope of freedom of attendance can be limited by an instrumental approach to education. Authority is argued to be collective: the injunction to respect rights and obligations that are the outcome of collective processes of decision making. However, if the voices articulated in the promotional book emphasize LAP practices as 'a Freedom Factory', the description of self-management practices by its authors of the silence the particular configurations of the student/teacher divide in these demonstrated above, and the implications in terms of trust and 'power with'/'power against' relations.

CHAPTER 7
‘RADIO LAP’, A TRANSDISCIPLINARY PEDAGOGIC EVENT

Radio LAP is a 90-minute long radio program broadcast on *Radio Libertaire*, the self-managed radio of the French Anarchist Federation going on air at 6 pm every two weeks on Thursday. Radio Libertaire is broadcast on the local FM band, on the 89.4 MHz frequency and it is also available through online streaming in the whole world since 2004. The radio program came about in September 2011, as part of the available projects in LAP. This program's creation is a transdisciplinary activity in which students from any age group can voluntarily enroll in for the whole school year. The topics dealt with in the show are issues of concern for the students, who also share news about their daily educational practices in LAP. The topics of the programs are decided every three months during a discussion involving the students. Every broadcast consists of a live debate and live presentations by students, punctuated by musical breaks and recordings to be commented during the debates. The Radio LAP group consists of around ten students, and for every broadcast, two students volunteer to be in the control room. The teacher who created the Radio project and who is still in charge, Perrine, is the one responsible of the access to the studio as she is the one who is given its key by the broader radio community.

The discussion of this activity is relevant for my understanding of the recontextualization of different discourses in a potentially critical media discourse. It is recognized by LAP as a pedagogical event as it is one of the available ‘projects’ for the students (taking place every Thursday afternoon). In short, participation in running the radio is seen as a pedagogical event that allows students to make full use of their creativity and freedom in the production and organization of the weekly programs. I chose to divide my analysis into main thematic areas attended to in the Radio shows produced and aired I could observe during the first semester of the 2019/2020 academic year: on the 26th of September, 10th of October, 14th of November, 28th of November, 12th of December 2019. The total length of the programs analyzed amounts to eight hours. I participated actively in the program that took place on the 14th of November, in which my topic of concern the topic was education and economy. I introduced the participants and the audience some basic discourse analysis categories to make sense of the governmental discourse on the Baccalauréat reform, based on one of my publications (Galiere 2019). This part of my thesis gives me the opportunity to produce the most involved part of the case study and enact a form of self-reflexivity on how recontextualization works in these particular critical pedagogy events. First, I will analyze

discourses related to the new education policies and their economic context; second, I will focus on discourses around LGBTQI+ matters, and finally, the topics of nuclear energy and migration.

7.1 Situating of Education Policies in the Neoliberal Economy

Education policies and neoliberalism were the main topics of the radio events that took place on the 14th of November and on the 12th of December 2019. The November program dealt with education in general while the December program focused on the struggles taking place in universities. I transcribed the full programs thanks to the audio recording of the program made available as a podcast and, since not every interaction was broadcasted on air, also thanks to my fieldnotes. One of the issues discussed in the November 14th program is the dramatic incident of the self-immolation, of a student named Anas K. in protest against student poverty in the city of Lyon (Chrisafis 2018; Willsher 2019).

In the analysis of the transcribed data, I will seek to discern the different actors' commitments to education and their views presented on its economic context pushed to the center of their attention by the shocking student protest in Lyon through an analysis of the participants' evaluative statements made as the radio event was unfolding. The choice of the analytical categories, as I have established in Chapter 5, are adopted from Fairclough (2003), who argues "what people commit themselves to in texts is an important part of how they identify themselves, the texturing of identities" (Fairclough 2003, 164). He sees modality and evaluation analysis as a way to grasp the value commitments of the speakers with "respect to what is necessary (modality) and with respect to what is desirable or undesirable, good or bad (evaluation)" (ibid.) in their view.

The discussion of the event is bound to recontextualize the 'institutional' or 'official' discourse of the French government and higher education institutions in the program. The policies discussed were focused on the issue of the new baccalauréat reform and its relation with the broader inequalities in education. Sam, a student, in the above quote using free indirect speech, reports the actual educational policies of funding that will bring in the hegemonic discourse of the State: "one does not hire tenure teachers anymore because it is too expensive according to the start-up nation". Here, the "start-up nation" refers to the current representation of society held by the government of Emmanuel Macron, who claimed in the early days of his presidency that the French society is composed of "individual entrepreneurs" forming a "start-up nation" (Emmanuel Macron veut faire de la France la « nation des start-up » 2017). In this

quote, indirectly attributed to Emmanuel Macron and its government ('according to the start-up nation'), through the grammatical means of free indirect speech, the governmental voice is implicated to evaluate negatively the practice of hiring public servants as a costly measure for the state, a truth that Sam challenges. He explicitly voices his critique when considering it "problematic", since in his evaluation the cut on public spending means that, the state increasingly resorts to "massively hiring temporary teachers" who will give "more classes than they should", which in turn creates more "money issues and insecurities" – though not directly for the government but for students and teachers.

Perrine, the teacher, follows by reporting the student demonstrations that were taking place around the time of airing through the verbatim reporting of the voice of the students demonstrating in front of the regional centres of student social services: "What is going on, you have to stop!". However, the very activities that need to be stopped, i.e. the government's austerity measures are not named. Sam's response highlights the effects of the government's overall austerity politics for students' life through proposing an actual solution for students instead of the Government's program: "in the student demands; we could have the idea of a student salary". Sam identifies with the students' voice "we" and commits himself in the collective of this 'we' to demand a "student salary" as a desirable objective that is at the same time modalized "we could have", indicating that this is in fact not a demand but a proposal for discussion.

What I have shown through the analysis of the exchange between Sam and Perrine is the working of interdiscursivity through the systemic use of different forms of reporting that at the same time also implicates different forms of speaker positioning in relation to the actors represented in the sentences. These linguistic devices work together to do the textual work of "accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, and power" (Fairclough 2003: 42) between the distanced representation of the government's voice and the radio show participants' critical stance of what they see as austerity measures imposed upon the already dispossessed in the name of an alleged 'solution' and by extension between a neoliberal representation of the role of the state in the political economy in relation to public spending, and a radical democratic representation in the student voice that is in explicit conflict with such a representation, arguing for more targeted public spending but in a modalized statement, keeping the space open to debate a solution represented from the position of the

dispossessed already struck by social problems facing higher education, such as generalized insecurity (Barot 2010).

The modalization is made more visible in the face of the actual Lyon event. The suicide by self-immolation of Anas K. in Lyon has pushed the polemic dimension of the situation to an extreme. He left a letter on Facebook to explain his gesture. A part of this letter, representing the level of precarity is directly reported by Laurent, a student, in the radio event:

> "this year is my third attempt to validate my second BA year, I did not receive a grant. Before that, when I had a grant, it was 450 euros a month. Is that enough to live?" (See Appendix, Figure 4)

Direct reporting of this part of the letter over indirect reporting of its gist produces the effect of acknowledging the heroism of Anas K.'s action as well as its validity in the face of the government's killing austerity measures. Anas K's voice therefore indirectly comes to be recognized as more authoritative than the government's voice in representing the effects of austerity in public spending – this way working as the ultimate authority supporting the suggestion of introducing a student wage. Seen from this perspective, the use of modalization in "We could have a student wage" is not functioning to reduce the seriousness of students demands, including Anas K's public sacrifice, but can be seen as an invitation addressed to the sympathetic listener of the program, inviting them to come up with other options.

Other instances of conflicting discourses emerge and accentuate explicitly the tensions between representations of the subject of education as an isolated individual, which is the material realities of education in France, and representations of the subject of education as part of a broader collective uniting their power to challenge that individualized figure of the student, which is inherently a depoliticized and depoliticizing act on behalf of the neoliberal management of social conflicts. The hegemonic discourse of individual responsibility is reported by Sam: "a lot of people say that you have to find the required resources to succeed". In this sentence, "you have to" is an instance of deontic modality: it is a strong obligation, a requirement implicating the imposition of this victimization that blames the individual for their fate on the subject by the eternal world (a lot of people in agreement with the government) – while 'must' would indicate the speaker's identification with and internalization of the obligation (Fairclough 2003: 170).

Sam continues then to counter this imposition of obligation explicitly entering into an imaginary debate with the 'lot of people' by exposing the imposition's contradictory nature:

“try to work while studying for a degree and try to finish your studies properly”. At the same time, the reality of this contradiction is mitigated by the use of a low degree of epistemic modality of the expression that is meant to support the validity of the student’s position: instead of providing actual statistical figures, he simply appeals to an expected shared experience of the listeners when saying his claim stands “in the majority of cases”. But if we understand this specific radio program to be contextualized in many other programs, discussing the effects of the austerity measures, the “majority of cases” can be seen as an indirect reference to them, positing the listener as a ‘regular audience member’ of the weekly LAP programs. In fact, in a radio event in my data I recorded on December 12th, Patricia, another LAP student, reports a comparable event informed by the hegemonic neoliberal discourse of individual responsibility and obligation: “I feel that society is telling me that as a student, you have to go find a student job; otherwise you will never learn to manage your own life”. And adds that “it is clearly impossible to live in Paris while only earning 450 euros per month”. Exposing the detrimental effects of the lack of public funding in education.

The contribution of Perrine, the teacher, is to reinforce the validity of the student’s generalization (in the majority of cases) by exposing the class ideology at work performed by the strategic individualization. In that same program, she reports the general aspects of the individualizing discourse by direct reporting that is to discredit the actors named: “they talk about success, about the ability to motivate oneself, to be creative” but it works only for a particular social group of society:

> You have to belong to the right social group, when you speak about success, about being able to be motivated, to be creative, it’s not given to everyone, it conceals inequalities that exist and that are reinforced, even more than before… it reminds me of the ‘free choice’ curriculum, that is what we do in LAP but in our case it is very different it can mean not taking the baccalauréat, look at Clem he will create his permaculture structure for instance…

According to Perrine, the individualization in fact universalizes the privileges of a particular social group, hiding existing inequalities, and she argues that individualizing discourse has hijacked the idea of ‘free choice’ in which she identifies a democratic potential when applied in LAP. She chooses to modalize “free choice” as allowing for different meanings since it can mean choosing not to take the baccalauréat exam, or to strive towards any life goal as it can also mean being free to choose to set up a permaculture structure. Conversely, individualizing discourse reduces freedom of choice to choose how to achieve better the consensual yet class-specific norm of “individual success”. For PG, freedom of choice turns

into an obligation to choose “already before you enter high school [at the age of 15] you will have to think about what to do after the baccalauréat exam”. Facing this obligation, not everyone is positioned equally: those “whose family will grasp all this” will be rewarded with “success”, i.e. able to meet the new measures of graduation from high school. In contrast, for the “others” this obligation will turn into a different one, a matter of economic survival tht gets in the way of their school performance: “they will have to go to work” instead.

In the specific radio event of Radio LAP aired on the 14th of November 2019, I analyzed how the democratic practice of free choice in the LAP education comes to be recontextualized as an act of opening a dialogue about how to understand the social issue discussed, i.e. student austerity and its impact on self-governing educational institutions like LAP. At the same time, the hegemonic discourse of neoliberal precarity is seen as suppressing “differences of meaning and norms” to reach a “consensus” that will normalize asymmetries of power (Fairclough 2003: 42). I argue that, drawing on Perrine’s reflections, that this logic also results in naturalizing the commodification of ‘educational success’, the classist effect of austerity measures. The debate in the radio program has underscored a connection between the neoliberal ideology of equality of opportunity and the reproduction of social inequalities in education policies: the ideological meaning of ‘freedom of choice’ is very different from that of the LAP practices enabling the students in the radio program to expose that ideology at work in the new measures of the French government. Their legitimization functions as a way of representing the inequalities in the socio-economic situations of individuals as a result of their responsibility for making the choices as if unconditionally available, that will yield the best “return of investment” when the opportunities arise (Brown 2015: 178).

In addition to a selective use of reporting speech and modality, I could also identify the extensive use of irony in the radio programs, especially when Patricia was on air. It is another effective linguistic device to produce conflicting dialogizations of the neoliberal discourse on education. In the program aired on November 14th, Patricia ironizes “Come on, you have to be transversal”, “You did not validate your transversal skill, your flexibility isn’t the best”. These are instances where she intends to mimic the constraining dimension of the dominant discourse. “You have to be” associated with the attribute “transversal”, which seems bizarre here as it is generally used in the phrase ‘transversal skills’ in the dominant discourse (Laval et al. 2011: 96) rather than to qualify human beings. In the second sentence, the disciplinary aspect of the dominant discourse is mimicked, and although “transversal” is used in its conventional form as an attribute of skill, the ironic dimension resides in the potentially polysemic meaning of

"flexible" when qualifying a human being. At another point, P designs a sentence illustrating an ideal rationalization of subjectivity according to the neoliberal logic: "My personal project is to get motivated to make money, and if I manage then it will be a success". The irony resides in the bizarre lining up of the managerial terms "personal project", "motivation", "money-making" and "success" in one single sentence. In "I am in favor of failing", the positive evaluation of "failure", an extremely negative term in the neoliberal discourse, does not only intends to expose the potentially ideological meaning of the word but also of its antonym "success".

Eddy, a student, positions herself in the debate a someone in total disagreement with the new baccalauréat reform: "I am totally against new baccalauréat reform". In Eddy's opinion, the so-called reform is in fact a political act of foreclosing an "egalitarian education". Education is implicitly evaluated as desirable if it is egalitarian. The "baccalauréat" exam, whether new or old, is generally evaluated as undesirable, the "new" and "old baccalauréat" being two evils: "people who are generally against the baccalauréat are forced to fight for the old baccalauréat, to choose the lesser evil". He further adds that he doesn't "feel like fighting alongside reactionaries against the reform", foregrounding the positive evaluation of this 'non-reactionary' identity, since being identified as a reactionary is undesirable. The fact that the baccalauréat reform coincides with other new laws he represents as "attacks", and as such, they are evaluated as "dangerous" because they are seen to "weaken the strength" of the social movement by accentuating the divisions amongst students who should form a collective of solidarity. The desirability of unity in the struggles against government policies and for social justice is recurrent in the Radio LAP events. For instance, Patricia, in the radio program aired on December 12th, produces a positive evaluation of the unity she has witnessed in the ongoing strikes against the pension reforms that is produced by her choice of an affective mental process verb: "I *liked* that the strikes were not only centered on the pensions issues but centered on both education AND pensions".

Patricia, in comparison with the other participants in the programs, is a student who uses a more informal way of conveying evaluations as part of her identity. Its effect is to break the media discourse norm of formality, attract more attention to her words or reduce the social distance between herself and the potential listeners and her classmates. She argues that higher education is "a shitty system" that is "screwed up" (*il y a des petites couilles)* because of "private journals", "privatized research", "buying information" and making researchers "pay to be able to do research"), in which the state doesn't do much apart from creating "shitty jobs".

She makes an association between precariousness, the commodification and the privatization of education to reject it in the next sentence as "a catastrophe". S, another student, is concerned by the substitution of "public interests" by "private interests" at the level of higher education. He claims that "making money with research" is a "big problem" causing "great worries" about the transformation of the French system into an "Americanized" one. "*A l'Américaine*" indirectly refers to the economic dimension of higher education in the United States, an implicit negative marker that remains without a detailed explanation.

In this Section, I have shown that the voice of the government is brought into a polemic dialogue by the students in the programs of Radio LAP. Several hegemonic discourses on education and its economic context were dialogized for critique during the Radio LAP event concerning the developments of the struggles in higher education against the latest governmental reforms. The main issues that are polemicized are neoliberal austerity policies and the individualization of students in the education system that only reproduces social inequalities. The various linguistic means of dialogicity, that is, the accentuation of difference and the focus on solidarity, are used to articulate a counter-hegemonic stance aiming at responding to the suppression of social differences as if non-existent. Polemicizing the hegemonic discourse in education by exposing some of its absurdities was also shown to be achieved through the use of irony. Identities of the speakers were negotiated through evaluations and modalizations while collective knowledge and action were framed as desirable. In contrast, the implications of governmental reforms were framed as undesirable represented as ideological tools to naturalize and make privatization in education a desirable means for 'success'.

7.2 Gender and LGBTQI+ Issues

Gender and LGBTQI+ matters are raised in my data of the Radio LAP programs on September 26th and November 14th 2019. On September 26th, the actual event discussed was concerned with the *Pride Banlieue* (Suburban Pride) that had taken place on June 9th 2019 in the Paris suburb of Saint-Denis (Marche des fiertés à Saint-Denis : "La banlieue aussi a une vie queer" 2019). In the other program aired on November 14th , Eddy, a student, defining her identity as a transgender girl, made a presentation about the ExistransInter, a march for the defense of Trans and Intersex rights (Cinq choses à savoir sur "ExisTransInter", la marche des personnes trans et intersexes ce week-end 2019). Some students from LAP had taken part in the Pride Banlieue and the ExistransInter marches. Other topics concerning gender were the

question of gender-based violence such as rape, femicides and the #metoo movement, discussed during the program aired on September 26th.

Ahmed, one of the LAP students who participated in the pride banlieue, reports the voice of "ordinary people" to link the commonsense representation that about the suburbs with to the mainstream media representations of these areas, constructing a belief among "ordinary people" that "we cannot be queer in the suburbs". This representation is polemicized in the Radio LAP event: "When we were talking about the Pride Banlieue in the media, we ended up talking about Islam or theology […] the main fear people had about the pride was to see hordes of jihadists armed with Kalashnikovs, guns, burning everybody down", says Ahmed. He attributes to the mainstream media the ideology representing French suburbs as a hotbed of Islam and Islamic extremism, in which intolerance against gays can lead to terrorist attacks. This is an ideology of de-nationalization of violence that has the effect of representing Islam as foreign to French identity (Delphy 2015: "Extraordinary Violence"), silencing the fact that homophobic violence is independent of race and is found across the whole French society. Ahmed was "surprised" that "this fear came up to be represented as well-founded" and that in the end, "obviously", "nothing like that happened". Ahmed then foregrounds the hegemonic discourse of the "legitimate national identity" without attributing to anyone in particular, and adds "homosexual norms have been integrated to [it]". He polemicizes the homosexual identity elevated to a norm by this discourse is a "Parisian, white, male, rich and now married, gay person", and that according to her, this translates into the "stigmatization" of homosexuals who do not fit in this norm, "that is to say, Muslims". According to this, the hegemonic discourse on national identity tends towards the extreme right and turns into a justification of xenophobic agendas: Ahmed reports that "we hear European extreme-right leaders say" that "we should be stopping immigration immediately", because "Muslims do not like homosexuals" and "we like homosexuals"; to what Ahmed answers, exposing the ideological implication of extreme-right discourse: "as if immigration only concerned Muslims", a suggestion she calls "grotesque". The Pride Banlieue is an action that can challenge the hegemonic discourse in which tolerance with a certain kind of people serves as a justification to the oppression of others, by connecting the struggles in an intersectional way. The teacher present in the event, Perrine, reports the voice of the Pride Banlieue participants and organizers she read in an article: "you are denouncing police violence, or more all-encompassing issues like housing problems", that leads her to conclude that "you do not create a hierarchy among the different struggles", "therefore it allows you to be able to fight on many different grounds at the same time", which is all

evaluated in “I think this all is pretty positive”. She contrasts this intersectional discourse a discourse generally attributed to leftist movements thus framed negatively, which fetishizes and empties the notion of “revolution” of its meaning: “we often say okay, we have to think about all this, but we will see after the revolution”. In the same way, Eddy, a student, generally reports what Prides “revendicated in history”, and often do not in the present: “communist, anarchist, alter-globalist and often antiracist revendications”, whereas now they end with a “speech from the mayor” and her “ultra-dangerous liberal discourse” on “personal identities when it is actually a collective struggle”. She sees the Pride Banlieue as the legitimate heir of the historical Prides. In another program that was aired on November 14th, Eddy also sees the ExistransInter march as an heir of the politicized Prides, directly quoting the march’s motto: “mutilated, deported, assassinated”, written in “gender-neutral language” [*Mutilé·es, expulsé·es, assassiné·es*] as a way to encompass different categories of oppressed trans people, for instance, migrant trans people “often deported” and “racialized”, “ending up being the first victims of transphobic aggressions or assassinations”. Dialogicity the Pride Banlieue and the ExistransInter focuses on “commonality” and “solidarity” (Fairclough 2003: 42) with their demands.

Aside from the dialogized voices that are either evaluated negatively or positively through polemic or solidarity, several other instances of evaluation occurred during the event. I will show what the participants framed as desirable and undesirable through evaluative statements. For example, “Prides” without a “political dimension” are “incoherent” according to Ahmed, for whom the “systemic racism” via the “fetishization of racial identity” in the “LGBTQI+ community in Paris” representing racialized (Arab) homosexuals as “’Scheherazade’ out for a good time” is also something “that cannot be let happen anymore”. Eddy, taking the identity of the invisible (“me, as a trans woman, who did not feel represented”), adds that in “traditional Prides” in “trans and intersex causes” are “invisible”, bringing about a negative evaluation of mainstream “Prides” as exclusionary. Ahmed draws a parallel between white masculinity and violence against oppressed minorities through a reference to the institution of the police: “In the bus [back from the pride] we were the victims of police violence, we had this moment of display of masculinity that we enjoy so much, what’s more of white masculinity (laughs)”. Ahmed rejects verbal violence as well when he calls the use of the term “hermaphrodite” to depict intersexual people as one to “be avoided”. Concerning the Pride Banlieue, the solidarity demonstrated by non-queer immigrants “because they just wanted to see something change positively in their suburb” is welcomed by Ahmed who qualifies that of

"really cool". In contrast, criticism from "white gays" of "caucus spaces for women" and of a "women-only procession" leading to the cancellation of the latter is evaluated through the mental process, expressed in local slang, "it disgusted me" (*ça m'a fané*). Caroline values positively the intersectionality of the Pride Banlieue: "it did me so much good" to hear that there is a "Pride that we have been waiting for so long", which is "politicized, intersectional and representative", that incorporates "current matters like undocumented migration, police violence", and that "this incredible Pride […] takes place […] and is organized in the suburbs". Eddy relates the ExistransInter march to its legislative context: the amendments presented to the bioethics law that was voted in the same period were rejected. These "affect the lives of intersexual persons": "one amendment was about forbidding surgeries on intersexual people at birth, without their consent" which entails the act of "forcing people into boxes at birth, which is medically unnecessary". Another amendment "aimed at extending the right to assisted reproductive technologies to transgender people", a domain in which "France is late, even compared to her immediate neighbors", while one more amendment proposed "the deletion of the notion of gender in the civil status, which would solve quite a lot of problems" because "it is absolutely useless to do so". Thus, forcing the removal of intersexual people at birth, denying reproductive rights to transgender people and forcing people in gendered boxes are framed as oppressive, undesirable actions. The rejection of the amendments makes Eddy ask the question of the influence some right-wings may have on the government: "We can see that the government gives in to transphobic and reactionary movements" for example "La Manif pour Tous" [*Demonstrating is for Everyone*, an anti-same-sex marriage organization] and "Marchons Enfants" [*Let's go Children*, an offspring of the Manif pour Tous specifically concerned about the struggle against assisted reproductive technologies] (La Manif pour tous 2020). Another student, Laurent, emphasizes that "there were a lot of fascist groups in the Manif pour Tous march, such as Génération Identitaire [Identitarians] or Cocarde Etudiante", drawing a parallel link between intolerant right-wing groups and government policy.

The desirability of the Prides' intersectional aspects is also encoded through the use of modality. Ahmed argues that "sexual, environmental, migratory or whatever matters should not be excluded" by the Pride. Moreover, the prevalence of individualizing approaches to LGBTQI+ matters "should not happen". The Pride "should be anticapitalistic, feminist and ecologist". Eddy adds that people whose voices are excluded from the media "should be" on the foreground instead of the Mayor of Paris when it comes to speaking about LGBTQI+ questions. She also uses modality to encode the undesirability of individualizing approaches to

gendered violence, more specifically femicides, and to push for a broader analysis of its social conditions: “the lexical field used [in the dominant discourse] to qualify these assassinations might seem innocent, but femicides by a partner or ex-partner are a social fact that must be considered as a whole as a symptom of the patriarchal system”. Arguing that “the whole system has to be indicted”, Eddy calls for the desirability of what she considers part of a solution: “denouncing” the system as a whole, and of “funding” to better “avoid dangerous situations”. Also, the government’s responsibility “should be exposed” and a “restless, ruthless mobilization should be organized”.

The issue of gender relations and gendered violence was also an important theme recurring in the Radio LAP programs. In the particular program that I singled out for my analysis was aired on September 26th, voices of victims of gendered violence are introduced by Perrine, the teacher, and Yoann, a student, as “accounts on social networks” of “people who said, this happened to me”, for instance, “a Nigerian actress who spoke up to denounce a sexual aggression from Harvey Weinstein”, or “the American actress Alyssa Milano who asked women to tell what they suffered through the #metoo hashtag”. Dialogicity focuses on solidarity with the voices of these victims: Yoann argues that it is “very important” that it happened, it had “a positive effect on the consciousness of the population about these facts”, “unfortunately not much more than moral postures”; while Perrine understands that “it is extremely difficult to put words on rape and even more to report to the police, as not much is done to help rape victims”, implicitly valuing the courage that it takes to speak up. Fabien, a student, recognizes that the definition of “rape” has been opened up thanks to the victims’ testimonies: “it is not anymore about backstreet rapes, it opened the question of consent […] which proves this moment has been of importance”. According to the participants in the event, the mainstream media are conveying hegemonic representations of gendered violence, and they dedicated the following part of the event criticizing these. Eddy criticizes the discourse of the mainstream media on gendered violence, indirectly quoting the discourse of a feminist collective: “these militants criticize the traditional media who do not communicate much on the problem or misrepresent it. They denounce the use of terms such as ‘crimes of passion’ or ‘family drama’ [by the media] and fight for the use of the word ‘femicide’”. These “should be” represented not as “trivial events”, “result of the individual passions”, but as systemic social facts. For that purpose, the feminist collective wants to use the phrase “patriarchal terrorism”. Eddy argues that this expression is justified as religious terrorism is overrepresented in the media relative to the victims it generates: “it is a more deadly phenomenon than religious terrorism, but the media

won't just speak about it because it does not create as much hype". The dialogical aspects of solidarity with the feminist collective and critique of institutional discourse is emphasized by Eddy: "The collective denounce governmental inaction and calls everyone to call out to the President of the Republic on social networks so that the government acts". The personification of governmental power in France by the President of the Republic is taken for granted here, social networks are seen as a potential facilitator of a direct dialogue between citizens and the President/government.

Eddy polemicizes the government discourse he typically sees as "pretending" to care about "men/women equality" through "mediatic brainwashing", while when it comes to concrete actions, it prioritizes austerity politics, giving "a thousand fewer times the amount of money that the feminist associations are legitimately asking for in to fight against gendered violence". The government also answers by "improving the police service", which Eddy qualifies of "ironic", arguing that the police is one of the institutions of the state in which the "sexist attitudes" are the most prevalent. Another instance of Eddy quoting what the government typically says when it comes to funding a public response to gendered violence is "there is no money". Eddy denies the truth of this argument by comparing the derisory sum of money required by feminist groups to the amount of money given to "antiterrorist policies" and to "making the rich even richer", in total amounting to "dozens of billions of euros". Later in the event, during her presentation of a women's march in the financial district of Johannesburg, South Africa (Francke 2019), a student named Caroline quotes "the demands of the women": "two per cent of all the profits of the stock exchange should go to organizations fighting against gendered violence and fund gendered violence victim support centers", "that all the workers be able to report gendered violence at their workplace to a qualified person", "to have specific public transportation for women working at night" or "programs to help victims of gendered violence". The solidarity Caroline demonstrates in her dialogue with the demands of the South African feminist organization is a way to emphasize that independently of the country, the feminist struggle is international. Moreover, the emphasis on the stock exchange taxation exposes the fact that sufficient wealth is created, and that the issue lays in its just repartition.

The voice of "antifeminists" is also polemicized and rejected during the event by Yoann, asserting in the name of all the participants: "when we hear antifeminists, people we do not like at all [laughs], say that 'well I have compassion for the rapists or the frotteurs from the metro because they must be in sexual or mental distress'". The "antifeminists" representation of gendered violence as individual responsibility is rejected, rather, Yoann highlights the

systematic aspect of such violence: “I think that these cases aren’t the majority, I rather think that this is linked to a feeling of powerfulness, as it is not punished, or very little”.

Regarding the question of gendered violence, Eddy qualifies as an “improvement” yet “not a perfect situation” the Spanish way of protecting women from gendered violence, which consists in “the government giving two hundred million euros to this cause, and setting up special courts for women who are the victim of gendered violence, in which it is not the victim but the state who registers a complaint against the perpetrator”. Another student, Mickaël, acknowledges that on the one hand, the Spanish authorities positively use money as it “is used to help” the people concerned by gendered violence, and “do prevention”, which is by association evaluated as another desirable action. On the other hand, he contrasts it with a “lack of visibility of this issue” in France. Caroline’s opinion concurs with the identified visibility problem, and finds it “important” to foreground the fact that gendered violence also happens in other countries and to “give information about the different forms they can take”. She negatively evaluates that “there is no information about South Africa in the traditional media”. She finds it desirable, “important”, “to tell about the lives of women and gender minorities in South Africa” (see the subchapter on intertextuality above). A book on the topic of rape in an activist community is then presented by Perrine, the teacher, who understands the effort of its authors as “trying not to be too psychologizing” and “Trying to make the problem understood as a structural one rather than as an individual one”. Explaining structural problems as caused by the individuals’ psychology is framed as undesirable by the authors of the book, and Perrine expresses that she “finds this quite positive”. The authors’ will to create “intersectional struggles” instead of “prioritizing some struggles over others” through “women-only popular education” is positively evaluated and contrasted with the “male resistance”, “strategies to undermine their credibility (*décrédibilisation*)”, and the “defamation” that the authors’ actions had to face.

The intertextuality analysis of LGBTQI+ and gender-related issues in the events showed that a wide range of intertwined racist, sexist, homophobic and neoliberal hegemonic discourses came to be polemicized. Discourses identified as coming from oppressed sections of society are dialogized with an emphasis on solidarity, such as the ones produced by the Pride Banlieue, ExistransInter, feminist watchdogs or rape victims. Intersectionality in struggles emerged as a desirable value, as well as the representation of the oppressed gendered minorities by themselves. Comparably to the discussion of education analyzed above, strong political will aiming at increasing public funding and redistributing wealth to confront unfair social situations

is framed as desirable by the participants. In contrast, the influence of right-wing political groups is represented as hindering any progress in a socially fairer direction.

7.3 Migrations, Nuclear Energy and Strikes

The three main themes that were also discussed at length in my data of Radio LAP programs were the issues of migrations, discussed on the 28th of November 2019; the issue of nuclear energy discussed on the 10th of October 2019 and the issue of organizing strikes in the context of the struggles around the educational system, on the 12th of December 2019. The issue of migration and refugees has been a key social problem in France since the 19th century (Noiriel 2014), with an increased presence in the mediatic field in the past decade. So the choice of the topic in Radio LAP in itself opens up a space for critical reflections. The program aired on the 28th of November, with the participation of the students Lorène, Yoann, Eddy and their teacher Perrine, therefore, allows me to explore how critical voices and identities on the topic of migrations come to be articulated in a critical pedagogic event. The program deals with the theme of migration as a matter of the daily life of the refugees in the Porte de la Chapelle refugee camp in Paris. It is situated within a broader explanation of the socio-economic contexts of migration in France. The choice of the topic of nuclear energy also shows a critical sensitivity of the volunteers running the Radio LAP program. Nuclear energy as a topic was aired because some LAP students, in agreement with the democratic and radical principle of the school, participated in the *Vent de Bure* (Bure's wind) on the 28th and 29th of September 2019 in Nancy, a city in eastern France. The event is called that way because it consists of demonstrations protesting against CIGEO, the Meuse/Haute Marne Underground Research Laboratory, which is responsible for planning the repository of radioactive waste in underground tunnels in Bure, a village near Nancy (Meuse/Haute Marne Underground Research Laboratory 2019). In the case of a nuclear accent, the 'wind' from Bure would carry dangerous radioactive material until the city of Nancy. As I have shown in Section 6.1, when exploring the basic values of LAP in the analysis of the actual assembly meeting, political organizing and planning participation in demonstrations and strikes are integral to everyday school life at LAP; hence it is also an essential matter in Radio LAP to address those events and contribute to the ongoing debates about their relevance for LAP.

The program discussing migration and refugees was aired on the 28th of September 2019, the topic of migration and refugees. The dominant approach to migration in France is

inextricably linked to the colonial history of the country, the general stance on it represents it either as an 'invasion' or as a way to generate 'economic wealth'. In general, the main group of 'migrants' in every era had been victim of various forms of discriminations in the French society (Noiriel 2014), which is particularly true in the case of the so-called 'post-colonial' immigration, settling in France from the former colonies, from the 'end' of the French colonial empire after World War II up until today (Silverstein 2018). The rejection of this particular type of migration is associated today to a broader rejection of the Islamic religion, since a majority of the subjects of the French colonial empire were Muslims (Delphy 2015).

In the Radio LAP event, the general French ideology on the current migration issue is dialogized to be exposed as xenophobic and repressive. Lorène is a student who was volunteering for an association giving free breakfast to "up to 700" refugees living in the Porte de la Chapelle camp in Paris. She claims that "despite the language barrier, they want to tell you their stories by all possible means", to which Perrine, the teacher answers that "your experience contrasts with the official voice", with "what can be heard in the media" and with "the xenophobic discourses that can be heard from all sides of the political spectrum". Perrine indirectly associates "xenophobic discourses" to the "official voice" and "the media" without giving specific details of their content, apart from the fact that Lorène's experience with refugees, emphasizing their human dimension, is seen to be in contradiction with these discourses. Further, Perrine reports an official term in an ironic way "Libya cooperates with European countries to dissuade migrants from crossing the Mediterranean".

The polemic dimension of irony comes from the fact that "cooperation", a positively connoted term in everyday discourse, also encompasses several cases of human rights abuse that were reported by NGOs in Libyan detention camps for refugees, for instance enslaving (Graham-Harrison 2017). Yoann reports media discourse as well: "in the media, they sometimes say 'there were operations carried out to prevent human trafficking'", to which he grants some truthfulness "it exists" but still opposes since he doesn't consider criminalizing smugglers as "a solution to the root of the problem", which he doesn't explain in details. Subsequently, Yoann reports dominant media discourse on the left/right divide in politics (see Rimbert & Halimi, 2018) in a general way through the existential assumption "there is not anymore the left versus right division [in politics] but the liberals versus nationalists one", and invites other participants to discuss the truth of the assumption: "is there a real difference in how extreme-right approaches like Salvini's and extreme-liberal approaches like Macron's in how migrants are treated?". Although Lorène does not want to claim any knowledge about the

truth of the assumption “I do not know although there is, I think, a difference”, Perrine argues that she “can assure you” the situation is “worse now”, i.e. under ‘liberal’ Emmanuel Macron than it was under “rightist hardliners like [Nicolas] Sarkozy”, thus denying the truthfulness of the “liberals versus nationalists” division. Eddy approves Perrine’s argument and adds that “liberal ideology tends to become an extreme-right ideology in some aspects”. These aspects identified with the extreme right are the national symbols and patriotic values: “when one looks at the Macronist youth movement (*JAM, Jeunes avec Macron*), they identify with patriotic values, the French flag, the European flag…”.

The discussion of migration led the Radio LAP teacher, Perrine, to evaluate using epistemic modality, i.e. modalizing the truth commitment of her evaluation, that “maybe”, the “criminalization of humanitarian organizations” hence the “non-respect of international law by the EU” is undesirable as it gives “more room for human traffickers”, and that “if the EU respected international law, there wouldn’t be all these people” who “make money on the back of refugees, I can imagine”. Further on, Yoann also mitigates the truth commitment of his evaluation “I have the feeling that we spend so much money to prevent migrants from coming in” and that “with all that money used to build walls, we could save a lot of people and have a normal situation”. Here, preventing “migrants” from entering the country and spending money on border reinforcement is seen by Yoann as a situation that is not “normal”. Lorène, who is working for a humanitarian NGO, argues that the existence of humanitarian NGOs is undesirable, through deontic modality “what we do in Paris is called humanitarian action, we deal with 3000 people, it’s not so much, but there should not be humanitarian [structures] in France. In 2019, 3000 people represent the size of a traditional high school in Paris”. In addition to the evaluation of humanitarian action, being able to help three thousand persons is “not much” compared to the actual needs. Eddy adds that “it is the State who should implement solidarity mechanisms to help people” and that “it is crazy for a government to claim that it is the humanitarian NGO’s task to help migrants, rather than the public authority. Eddy argues that the state policy to deport migrants is “purely racist” as it is “free or even expensive to expel them”. Deportation is not only undesirable from an antiracist ethical point of view, but also from an economical one, as it is implied that it is not “expensive” nor “free” to keep migrants, i.e. it could be profitable since there are “studies that show that welcoming migrants in a country generates a boost in the economy”.

The Radio LAP participants in the program also expose the ideological dimension of the law-and-order discourse used by the police during the closing of the Porte de la Chapelle

refugee camp. L reports official discourses from the Paris police chief and from the city mayor, the first claiming that "there will not be any more refugee camps in Paris by the end of the year" while the latter arguing that "we are putting them [the refugees] in a safe place where they will be kept warm". L brings to light that although "the police headquarters argue that they did not break up the refugee camp but only did customary street work to shelter the refugees", the police operation ended with "two to three hundred refugees sheltered", which "associations expose as 'underproportioned' since only twenty to thirty per cent of the people were sheltered", while "hundred sixty people were arrested and placed in detention centers".

The program aired on the 10th of October 2019 recontextualizes several anti-nuclear demands coming from several activist social movements and organizations like *Vent de Bure* or the Collective Against the Atomic Order (*Collectif Contre l'Ordre Atomique*). Anne-Marie, a member of the Collective Against the Atomic Order, was invited by the Radio LAP participants to participate in the debate. The general arguments attributed to anti-nuclear activists movements are indirectly reported by Eddy: "In anti-nuclear movements, we can find the main demand which is the consulting of citizens, […] in Vent de Bure I heard 'nuclear energy everywhere, democracy nowhere'", and somewhat more directly by Perrine, who has "looked at the leaflet [of the Collective Against the Atomic Order] and… the democracy issue is very important, there has been a lot of silence and propaganda [from the state], while they [the Collective] are trying to provide us with information". Eddy and Perrine consider the democratic dimension of the anti-nuclear demands as the most important one. According to Anne-Marie, the state recuperates the democratic demands while dispossessing the citizens of knowledge and their power of decision, since "they will organize a consultation but decisions are taken somewhere else" and that "consultations are useless unless if citizens have something to say and can participate in the decision-making process". The demands of anti-nuclear movements, specifically Vent de Bure, are argued to be silenced by the mainstream media and to be repressed by the police: Eddy claims that "their method is similar to what was used when they treated the Yellow Vests movement, as a few days before the demonstration a press release [from the police] appears alerting that 'rioters are coming', causing the closure of entire parts of the city". The media, therefore, focuses "on potential violence rather than on the demands of the movement" while the police are deployed in "exceptional proportions". This repressive context leads the anti-nuclear movement to also "demand the right to demonstrate".

The ideological discourse of the nuclear corporations and of the state that supports them is also brought into dialogue in the event: Anne-Marie brings up the early justification of the

nuclear industry in "civilian nuclear power has been introduced as a peaceful nuclear power as opposed to the construction of the atomic bomb, which was for the independence of France, right?". She exposes that nuclear power is never peaceful nor solely 'French' because of its context of production that exploits societies and the environment: "for the production of civilian nuclear power, we extract uranium in mines in Niger, Kazakhstan, and Canada, which generates extreme pollution". Anne-Marie more directly quotes the nuclear industry discourse to refute the ideology of development used to justify uranium mining: "in these countries, they were told that mines are 'bringing work, development, etc. it is fantastic'", however, she criticizes this argument because the "dangers for the surrounding cities are not explained" and "there are almost no financial spinoffs for the local populations". The State Nuclear Safety Authority's (ASN, *Agence de Sûreté du Nucléaire*) discourse is dialogized by Anne-Marie, who emphasizes the commonality with their present discourse while polemicizing what she claims was their discourse in the past "the ASN says that the risk of a nuclear accident is probable" and although they previously "said it was improbable, impossible", "there were three severe accidents".

The program in which nuclear power is discussed is organized by a logic of critical reflection. The perspective of the representation of the demonstration against, and that of the government's plan about the depository of nuclear waste in Bure, is produced by the presenters' claims to the lack of democracy and the lack of information for citizens and these lacks are framed as undesirable by evaluative markers in phrases such as "they are creating citizen consultations that are organized so well that they will never know anything more, such consultations are useless" (Anne-Marie), Eddy brings a negative evaluation of the repressive approach to anti-nuclear demonstrations in "the repression level is alarming", "the police chiefs are lying" and "the police dispositive is absurd". The Vent de Bure demonstration and demonstrators are framed positively by Eddy, who was one of the participants, in the following phrases "it was a lively and radical demonstration", "the demonstration draws a bridge between the antinuclear struggle and the ecological, social and political emergencies" while "not letting repression prevail, nor discourage them". Removed out of democratic reach, the embeddedness of nuclear energy in the logic of privatization and profit-making is evaluated by Eddy in "we were speaking about subcontracting, there is something very alarming, that the subcontracting level is increasing because EDF is less and less profitable. This is extremely dangerous". EDF (Electricité de France), the former state-owned electricity company to which the nuclear infrastructure inside the French borders belongs, is partially privatized since 2004, henceforth functions in a profit-oriented way; this "alarming" for Eddy, given the dangerousness of nuclear

power. Modalized sentences are less present in the event dealing with nuclear energy, the only occurrences of deontic modality are emphasizing Radio LAP participants' duty to provide information and foster action: "what we should know is that if there is a weak link in the steel structure of a reactor, it explodes" (Anne-Marie), "we have to go verify [the amount of workers exposed to dangerous radiations in the nuclear industry] as EDF is subcontracting on a large scale" (Anne-Marie), or in a question formulated by Eddy: "how should we fight against the lack of transparency in society when it comes to nuclear energy?", in which fighting for transparency is taken for granted as a desirable strategy.

The issue of social mobilization, demonstrations, and strikes on its own rights is discussed in the program aired on the 12th of December 2019, with Perrine, Sam and Patricia as participants. Like during the debate around *Vent de Bure,* the program also functioned as a space for debate and assessed the desirable and undesirable ways to organize, which they themselves and their student peers could make use of at future assembly or basic group meetings. Patricia, a student participant, evaluates with the mental processes "it scares me a lot" that, at a university, she can see "so many posters advertising events" like parties, "that seem rather useless compared to what happens at demonstrations and in the world". The depoliticization of university campuses and the focalization of student life on festive events, specifically at the UPEM (Université Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée), revealed by the "students who, instead of being concerned with their situation are always partying" is "unfortunately a weakness", according to Sam. Patricia qualifies the university direction's strategy of organizing festive events with the help of student organizations, of a "shitty strategy". Sam carries on arguing that "this strategy" results in the following negative phenomena: "a very small amount students come to organize free coffee distributions", "apart from the politicized ones who know a bit the functioning of the unions", while the "worst is that some students are unaware of the fusion of the University and its consequences"; the "students elected in the administrative board" are negatively evaluated as opponents since they "are very close to the direction" "which is 200% pro-Macron" and "voted in favor of the fusion or abstained from the vote". Patricia negatively appraises ("it scares me") that "students aren't informed enough" and that "thirty people out of twelve thousand are organizing". She evaluates unions as "totally useful", as they intend to "rally" students go to demonstrate. Student unions' ways of organizing are also

positively framed by Sam as they are “very creative when it comes to creating banners” and to “put stickers saying ‘refugees welcome’”.

In this Section, my analysis of the Radio LAP programs exposed that discourses about migration that are hegemonic in the political sphere and the media were dialogized by the participants in Radio LAP who ended up criticizing the nationalist and securitarian ideologies these discourses are caught in. The economic ideology was less subject to critique as migration was assumed to be a ‘profitable’ thing. The securitarian and antidemocratic approach of the nuclear energy question from the part of the French state institutions and French corporations was also polemicized by the Radio LAP participants, who unveiled its neo-colonial dimension as well when discussing the broader production context of nuclear raw materials like uranium. The identities that emerged during the events emphasized their rejection of police repression, of policies focused on generating and monopolizing profit in private hands, and affirmed the necessity of organizing in order to, for example, increase the importance of what can be characterized as welfare state prerogatives, such as the public good (energy in this case) and the protection of people (migrants in the context of this specific program).

CHAPTER 8
DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS ACROSS DIFFERENT DATA SETS

In this chapter, I will discuss the data analyzed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 to be able to answer the questions asked in Chapter 4, i.e. to what extent the logic of neoliberalism and 'power against' is resisted in pedagogical interaction in LAP and the consequences on the school's pedagogic discourse; and what kind of pedagogical identities emerge in pedagogical practices, which identities end up being legitimized, stigmatized or encouraged, by whom and for what purpose. To answer these questions, I will first discuss the dialogicity between the state pedagogical discourse and LAP's pedagogical discourse, and in a second time, I will discuss the issue of agency and the articulations of identities in LAP's practices to see how much re-centering identities and 'power with' practices are negotiated.

8.1 Dialogization of the 'Thinkable' Between Pedagogical Discourses

The State intends to enact the domination of the official recontextualizing field over the pedagogical pedagogic field: it decides what the thinkable orientations in education in the country are, and evaluates the local pedagogic practices to see whether they follow the guidelines. I have shown in Chapter 5 that the French State's official recontextualizing field, embodied by the Paris Academy at the regional level concerning LAP, is deeply caught in the managerial and market logics. In order to reach its instrumental goals of facilitating the student's insertion in the job market and of reinforcing the competitive advantage of the regional educational institutions, the academic project text promotes a managerial approach to the secondary education and clearly defines the various thinkable roles of the different actors of the educational institution and the hierarchy between them. The State's appropriate way of acting in relation to the educational system is argued to be one of a 'project builder', that is, a manager whose aim is to encourage 'innovation'. Evaluation takes place on the basis of 'good practices', naturalizing the 'thinkable' as 'good', which are practices valorizing 'success' in creating economic value mainly through cost-cutting.

The particular secondary institutions and their staff are supposed to adapt to the State-defined 'good practices' of economic success through finding ways to deal with the 'guidelines' ensuing from cost-reduction measures while providing equity for students in their 'professional insertion' as an objective through the development of 'project-based' pedagogical activities and the obtaining of particular skills, such as 'transversal' skills. As a replacement to public funding, 'partnerships' with other actors are argued to be relevant. However, combined with the

adaptation to these economic changes concealed under the terms ‘modernization’ or ‘progress’, educational institutions are required to teach particular values identified with a fetishized idea of ‘republic’ through historical glorification and the silencing of ‘inappropriate’ religious behaviors. The combined appeal to market instrumentality and French nationalist narratives brings about two different types of appropriate pedagogical identities: a de-centered market identity focalized on exchange value at the market, and a centering (focused on past), ‘fundamentalist’ identity based on particular religious-nationalist myths, in this case, the ‘secular French republic’. The ‘republican’ nationalist ideology intends to convey, successfully or not, a sense of belonging to an egalitarian entity that the market cannot provide. The ideology of secularism is racist as it specifically targets French citizens whose religion is Islam and represents them as not displaying enough ‘love’ towards the ‘republic’, thus blaming on their supposed rejection of ‘republican values’ the fact that they are not wholly considered part of the ‘republic’.

The different actors of the Paris Self-managed High School recontextualize the official discourse on education and its particular representations, genres and identities to shape their own representations, genres and identities by virtue of particular degrees of dialogicity. These degrees are combined in the specific pedagogical events taking place in LAP and vary according to the possible power relations shaping the agency of the participants and their context. According to Fairclough, the different degrees of dialogicity (discussed in section 4.1) that can be combined in any event are the following:

> (a) an openness to, an acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in ‘dialogue’ in the richest sense of the term; (b) an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meanings, norms, power; (c) an attempt to resolve or overcome difference; (d) a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity; (e) consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and norms. (Fairclough 2003: 42–43)

Fairclough’s scenario (e) entails the use of assumptions, where the ways of representing, acting, and being from the perspective of a particular discourse are taken for granted and without explicit mention and are so recontextualized as ‘natural’ in another discourse. The instance of dialogicity combining taken for granted elements through assumptions is imposed by the superior authority of the neoliberal state leading to a consensus is salient in the process of applying to the school. Writing a CV and a motivation letter and going through a selection process of interviewing are instances of colonization by managerial practices at the level of the

educational system. Other instances of colonization of pedagogical categories within a managerial discourse in LAP is the use of the word 'project' in the 'Pedagogical project" document for instance. The concept of 'project' is taken from the managerial discourse of new capitalism, to refer to (1) the school's pedagogical statement of value (the 'pedagogical project') and (2) to name particular pedagogical activities taking place in the school as 'projects'. In the former case, the reason is that it is a requirement for every school to comply with the rule of writing such a document in such form. Concerning the latter tendency of using 'project', the specific activities are articulated in terms of goals to be achieved by their completion. Although the goals are defined by the students themselves, the perspective of being evaluated and obtaining 'value units' or 'UV' (*unités de valeur*) as a reward for their achievement still articulates an instrumental dimension.

Scenario (e) is also noticeable with regard to the meaning of high school attendance, centered on the instrumental goal of obtaining the *baccalauréat*, albeit combined with scenario (b) as an opening of the possible purposes of attending high school. The discourse of LAP takes for granted that the dominant approach towards going to high school is to obtain the *baccalauréat* to be better 'integrated' in society. Because LAP is a state school, preparing students to pass the *baccalauréat* is its main requirement, and questioning this principle represents a threat to the very existence of the school. Yet, if the official discourse on education reduces 'success' in education to an instrumental approach consisting of obtaining value on the labor market through obtaining certificates like the *baccalauréat*, the discourse of LAP opens up the possible meanings of 'success' in education. In the discourse of LAP, success can be based on several criteria, and the degree is only one of them. For instance, success in education does not only involve the development of the individual's social value, generally reduced to its economic dimension by neoliberal discourse, but also consists of the development of the political participation of the individual in collective political life. In turn, the critical pedagogic processes that will permit the conditions for this particular type of 'success' have to focus on teaching students to critically take part in collective choices through recognizing the different interests at stake. In the discourse of LAP, the meaning of educational success is thus broadened from depending on 'learning to become more valuable on the job market' towards 'learning to become a fully-fledged citizen'. The representation of pedagogical practices in LAP can re-appropriate the instrumental logic of the *baccalauréat*, for example, when a student argued that the technique of argumentation learnt during social movements can be useful in the perspective of passing the exam.

The dialogic scenario (b) in Fairclough's categorization was however predominant over the scenario (e) when the issue of the new *baccalauréat* law was discussed in the school. Unlike the configuration of the old *baccalauréat*, a fait accompli beyond discussion in LAP, the new baccalauréat configuration proposed by the Ministry of education (Ministère de l'Education Nationale 2018) was not yet put into practice in the school at the time of my study. The reform, represented in the official recontextualization field as a natural 'evolution' to 'improve' the educational system, is recontextualized in the school discourse as a 'threat' since it is seen to impose evaluative mechanisms that put the existing pedagogical practices of LAP in danger. Teachers would become 'examiners' rather than 'pedagogues' and preparing students for the baccalauréat would entail a limitation of pedagogic freedom in favor of an increase in standardized testing and even an implementation of competitive devices such as student rankings. The recontextualization of the reform as a 'threat' to the school and its actors lead to its unanimous and categorical refusal inside LAP. Attempts to dialogue to resolve difference (scenario (c)) were intended with the Paris Academy, exposing the contradictions between a state discourse that foregrounds the 'free choice' and free agency of students in choosing their educational career and its authoritarian approach that focuses on cutting costs rather than taking into account the needs of the schools. Such attempts to resolve difference lead to a delay in the implementation of the new law in the particular case of LAP, thereby postponing the conflict instead of resolving it.

The local pedagogic discourse of LAP represents the official discourse as limiting the 'thinkable' modalities of classification and framing in an authoritarian fashion. In LAP discourse, the official thinkable framing modalities are represented as obligations. In contrast, the weak framing modalities of the local pedagogic practices are expressed through an emphasis on a broader scope of available freedoms for students such as the 'freedom of attendance', and through the use of low deontic modality when representing the obligations incumbent upon participants of LAP. Also, 'traditional' ways of imposing discipline in schools are polemicized. They are assimilated to practices that are typical of criminal law enforcement, such as the likening of the 'internal regulations' (*règlement intérieur*) standard in 'traditional' schools, to a penal code. As an alternative to such disciplinary approaches likening students to potential 'criminals', the school includes self-management as a "thinkable" pedagogical practice that does not entail obligations imposed by an arbitrary authority but by the necessities of the participation in a politically-oriented community.

8.2 The Negotiation of Identities in the Pedagogical Practices of LAP

In the pedagogical practices of LAP I analyzed, the tension between the teachers' and the students' agency was revealed. The issue of 'trust' between students and teachers in the construction of self-management practices was salient, as some teachers resorted to top-down practices foreclosing the emergence of practices in which students' agencies could fully develop. For instance, the student's attitude in what were represented by the teachers as the relevant social struggles was designated by the teachers as inappropriate 'passivity'. The relative absence of the student's voice in the discussions concerning the new baccalauréat reform translated a lack of interest against which teachers resorted to forms of authoritarian, top-down practices. In that particular case, teachers tried to impose a collective identity upon the students by emphasizing the fact that the school is a collective, and by resorting to further ways of building such an identity, for example through calling up more events discussing and organizing the subsequent demonstrations at the grassroots level of the 'basic groups'.

It is telling that 'basic groups', which are the core of the 'bottom-up' processes of self-management in LAP, came to be instrumentalized by a specific purpose imposed by the teachers in the general assembly, in the name of resolving the matter of the so-called 'student passivity'. The divide is all the more visible as when students actively came up with the idea of creating a basic group for drug prevention, the relevance of which was already discussed beforehand among students, and they had to convince the teachers of the importance of such a group in a general assembly in order to have it built. When students relayed the calls of environmentalist collectives and collectives against police violence, they foregrounded a re-centering identity for which the collective social base was different from the social base of the 'union' calls foregrounded by teachers in a general assembly. In this particular case, the lack of discussion of these calls by the teachers in the general assembly leads to the foreclosing of the discussion at all. The identities negotiated in the general assemblies were re-centering identities as they backgrounded the instrumental purpose of improving the 'efficiency' of education to transmit a quantifiable and reified knowledge to individuals while foregrounding a collective social base. Yet, in the assemblies analyzed in my data, the teachers rather than the students were vested with a particular "gatekeepers and licensers'" authority to allow or deny the recognition of the 'authentic' re-centering identity by foregrounding the particular relevant political struggles and solidarities the group should be involved in (Bernstein 2000: 76), in this case, the struggle against the reform against the *baccalauréat*, threatening the immediate material interests of the school and of the teachers. The stigmatization of students mainly takes the form of labeling

them as passive, and in the particular case of the justice commission, as ‘subversive’, implying that there *is* in fact an authority to subvert.

The stigmatizing labeling of students as ‘passive’ when they do not fit in the ‘authentic’ re-centering identity brought forward, sometimes by teachers in a top-down manner, was internalized by Céline. She argued in an interview that it took her time to realize that her so-called ‘passivity’ was what was preventing her from adapting to LAP and from thriving in her daily life at school. It is worth noting that her trajectory from a de-centered market identity embedded in the generic pedagogical model, towards the negotiation of a re-centering because of having to be integrated in the LAP collective, is still caught in an instrumental logic in which radical practices such as participating in demonstrations have the purpose of acquiring ‘skills’ relevant to pass the *baccalauréat* exam. In contrast, Antoine completely rejected the ‘traditional’ generic pedagogical model he had to suffer through and negotiated a form of re-centering identity against de-centered market identities in which value in the labor market is the dominant aspect. Instead, he argues enrolling in LAP allowed him to belong to a collective in which ‘power with’ practices made him feel empowered to act upon the world.

In the Radio LAP events, students were fully able to negotiate and realize the re-centering identity they wanted. Radio LAP participants were able to become the very ‘gatekeepers’ of the re-centering identity they deemed to be relevant, ‘authentic’, according to the political struggles they choose to belong to and the collective social base these foreground. Practices of trust are more salient in the events as the teacher never imposed her own agency upon the orientation of the program. The principal limit of the Radio LAP project is that it is only representative of a minority of LAP’s students. The students who chose to enroll in the Radio LAP project were mostly already adapted and thriving in the radical pedagogical model of LAP, and considered that they had something to *voice* in the radio program. Nevertheless, Radio LAP is the most relevant illustration in my data of the development of ‘power with’ pedagogical practices and of re-centering identities in a bottom-up approach.

The processes of re-centering identities negotiated by students in the Radio LAP program are the effect of the construction of a collective through their aim to build solidarities with particular political struggles beyond their immediate school context, which should foster conflicts with social groups whose representations were deemed illegitimate for various reasons. The representations of dominant social actors such as the government, corporations, right-wing political groups and mainstream media are rejected for justifying multiple forms of

gender, race and class-based oppression. Instead, participants constructed approaches of solidarity with social groups identified as building forms of counter-hegemonic practices such as student unions, LGBTQI+ activist groups and anti-nuclear groups. The ultimate criterion at the core of the building of conflicts and solidarities is a material one: the different forms of oppression neoliberal capitalism and private profit entail are rejected across the pedagogical events, while demands for wealth redistribution in the perspective of empowering oppressed social groups and of resolving social issues, in general, are pushed forward. Students in the program not only negotiated re-centering identities through purely discursive means but embedded their counter-hegemonic discursive strategies in *praxis,* a dialectical combination of reflection and action. Indeed, for most programs, students situated themselves not only towards the social groups they expressed solidarity with, but also within, through participating in the actual events these groups organized *outside* the immediate field of pedagogical practice.

CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSION

The purpose of my case study was to address the problem of the production, reproduction and critique of the neoliberal discourse of pedagogy in the Paris Self-managed High School (LAP), an educational institution self-identifying with critical pedagogy. I discussed how hegemony is articulated in the French educational system and how LAP situates itself with respect to hegemonic power relations. Through an analysis of the interdiscursive aspects of the pedagogical practices of the school, I have found that the discourse of LAP tends to polemicize the French state's neoliberal discourse on education. The managerial approach of banking pedagogy to education as 'efficient', that is, able to transmit reified individual 'skills' to individual students is generally framed as undesirable by LAP in favor of 'critical knowledge on a collective and democratic basis. Practices of solidarity with collectives situated in the broader context of the school are enacted through concrete action as well, such as participating in demonstrations or creating links of solidarity with various organizations. I have also shown that a limit to the democratic practices in the school emerges whenever the teachers' agency prevails over the students' in deciding which solidarities are desirable, such as during the struggle against the new baccalauréat reform, that is when LAP needs to adopt to the new systems of evaluation of student's performance.

The legitimation of particular solidarities is articulated in the legitimation of particular identities. The analysis showed that the legitimate identities of neoliberal education, the de-centered market identities, are not generally encouraged in LAP's practices, as neoliberal hegemonic discourse is polemicized. Nonetheless, such identities can sometimes still be taken for granted in LAP due to the instrumental requirement of the *baccalauréat* underlying most of the pedagogical practices. Instead, re-centering 'radical' identities often came to be legitimized, foregrounding a potentially counter-hegemonic collective base with regard to acting on the world. Re-centering identities were negotiated by students in specific practices such as the Radio LAP program.

In contrast, in daily school practices, particular re-centered identities were occasionally encouraged by teachers on behalf of the students. My case study could show that the tension between the bottom-up and the top-down approaches to the creation of a collective and politicized base in the school's practices is the result of the micro-level power relations involved in the negotiation of the foregrounding and backgrounding of particular macro-level political

issues in the pedagogical practices of LAP. However, therapeutic identities were also legitimized in pedagogical practices, for instance when backgrounding the collective and political dimension of democratic education while foregrounding the self as a personal project facilitated by cooperative practices in which hierarchical relations are concealed.

The relative depoliticization of some students and teachers of LAP exposes the limits of the discussion of this case study. The radical aspect of the pedagogical practices discussed may be of concern only for the part of the school community that was the most visible during my time in LAP. In my fieldwork, after all, I focused on the teachers and students whose voices were the most present during the general assemblies, on students who volunteered to organize the Radio LAP program, and generally on any agent of the school community who thought had something relevant to say and did say it. My analysis concentrated on explaining the reasons behind the voices of some of the school's actors, and further research would be needed to understand the reasons behind the silence of others. Despite this limitation, my analysis has shown that the LAP school was an institution capable of fostering counter-hegemonic representations and identities by building collective practices of decision-making and by being involved in various kinds of struggles for social justice. In the present neoliberal context where competition is the common denominator of all social relations, for example competition for commodified skills, is the generalization of self-management in education a desirable step towards more social justice? The example of LAP suggests that this is the case.

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APPENDIX

Figure 1

A4 comic strip on transgender identity displayed in the entrance hall of the school

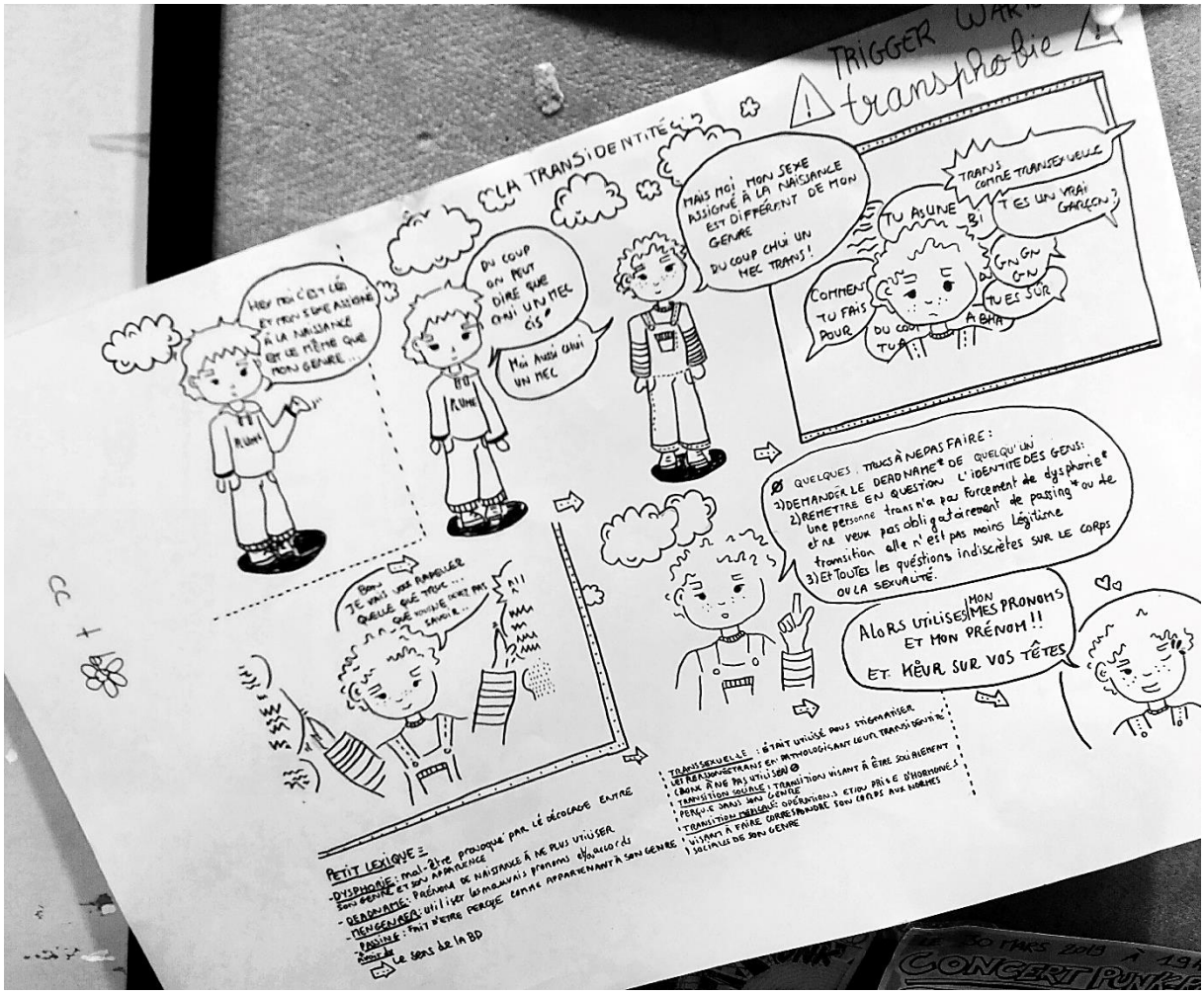
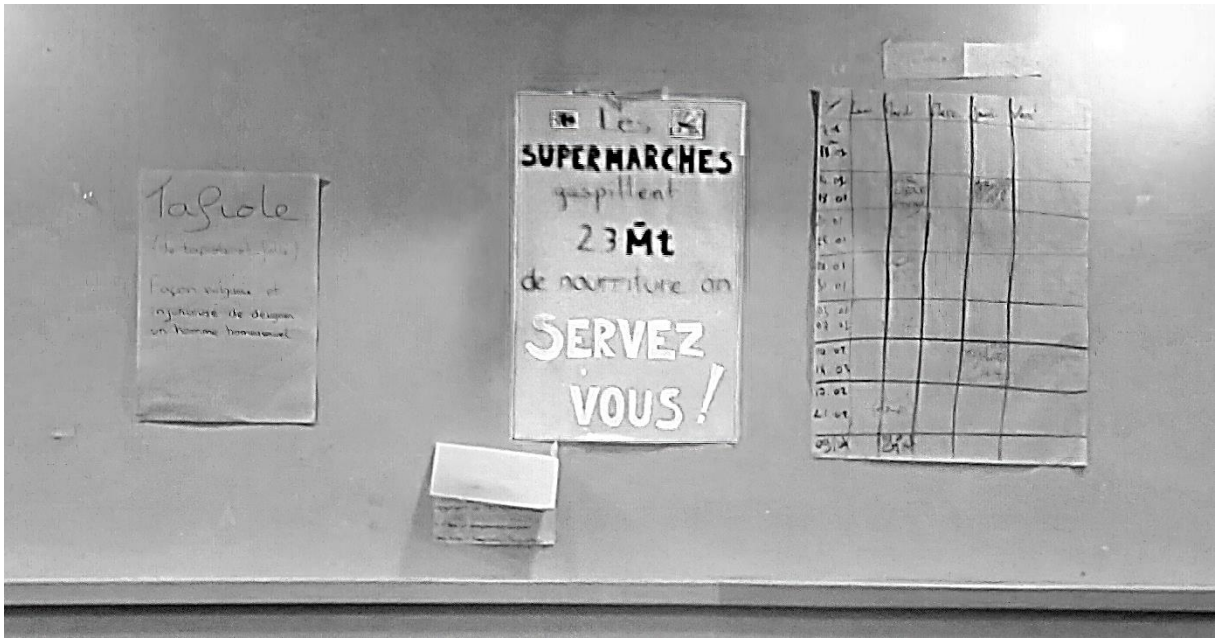


Figure 2



Posters in the school cafeteria

Left hand side: An explanation of the homophobic dimension of the word “Tafiole” (*Faggot*).

Middle: “Supermarket chains waste 23 million of tons in food per year, go help yourself!”

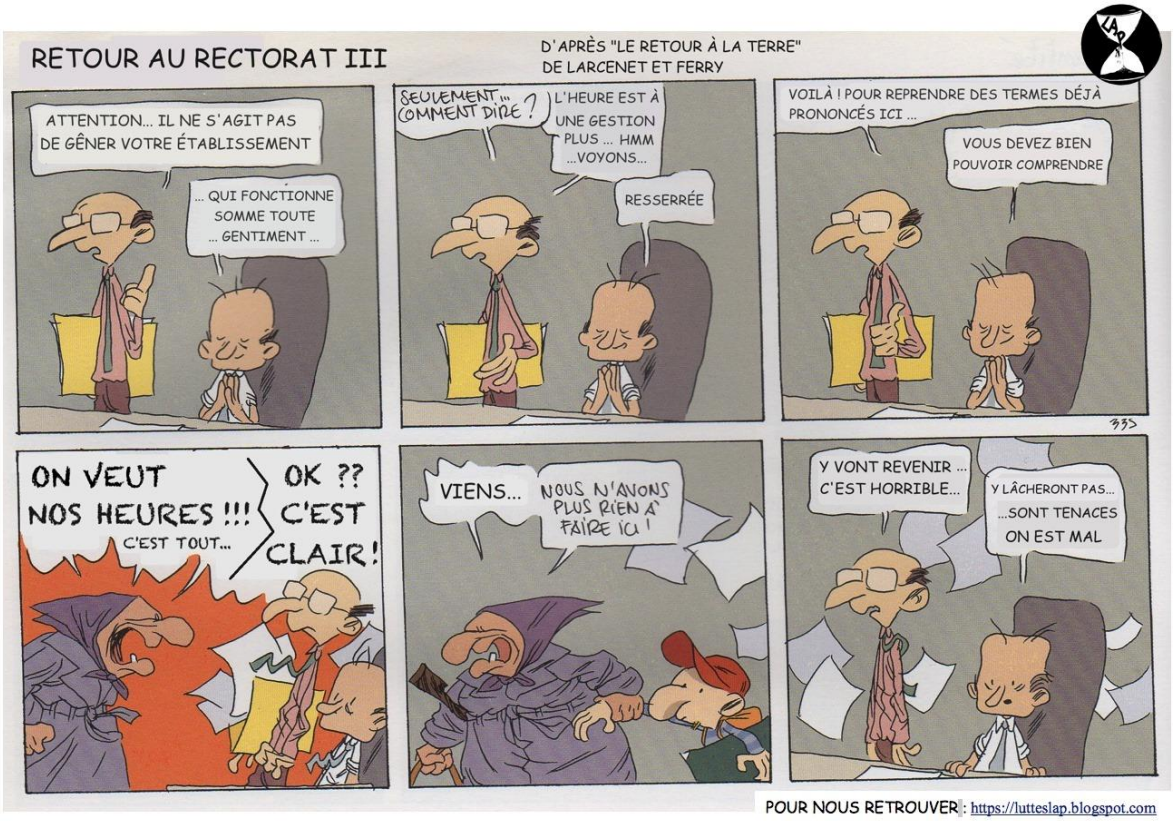
Figure 3


M'AME AUTOGESTION
D'APRÈS « LE RETOUR À LA TERRE » DE LARCENET /FERRY
... MADAME AUTOGESTION MERCI D'ÊTRE AVEC NOUS ...
ON VA AVOIR BESOIN DE VOUS !
J'AI L'HABITUDE
?
C'EST PAS LA PREMIÈRE FOIS QU'ILS RABOTENT DES HEURES
AH BON !?
OUI... EN 2011... C'ÉTAIT 5 POSTES SUPPRIMÉS
5 !
5 !?
OUI ... ET ILS ONT FINI PAR NOUS LES RENDRE
ARG!
MAIS VOUS VERREZ ... ILS SONT DURS DE LA FEUILLE ...
AU BOULOT !
POUR NOUS SUIVRE: HTTPS://LUTTESLAP.BLOGSPOT.COM


QUAND LE RECTORAT ARGUMENTE ...
... ALORS, VOUS LA PRENEZ CETTE DHG ?
ALLEZ ...
POUR NOUS TROUVER : https://lutteslap.blogspot.com
... S'IL VOUS PLAIT ?
MEME SI TU FAIS LES YEUX DE BAMBI, ILS N'ACCEPTERONT JAMAIS UNE DHG SANS LES 11HEURES EN PLUS
JE DEVRAIS PEUT-ETRE PLEURNICHER UN PEU ...
WATTERSON
D'après Calvin &Hobbes de Bill Watterson


RETOUR AU RECTORAT...
D'APRÈS "LE RETOUR À LA TERRE" DE LARCENET ET FERRY
CHER LYCÉE AUTOGÉRÉ DE PARIS... MERCI D'ÊTRE VENU À CE RENDEZ VOUS ACCOMPAGNÉ DE ... MADAME ...
EUH !!! MADAME ?
AUTOGESTION
EN PLACE AU LAP DEPUIS 1982 . . .
QU'EST CE QUE C'EST QUE CETTE HISTOIRE D'HEURES OUBLIÉES ?
ON NE PEUT PAS DIRE...
EUH !!!
QUE CE SOIT UN ... OUBLI... VOYEZ VOUS . . .
SI !
POUR NOUS RETROUVER : https://lutteslap.blogspot.com

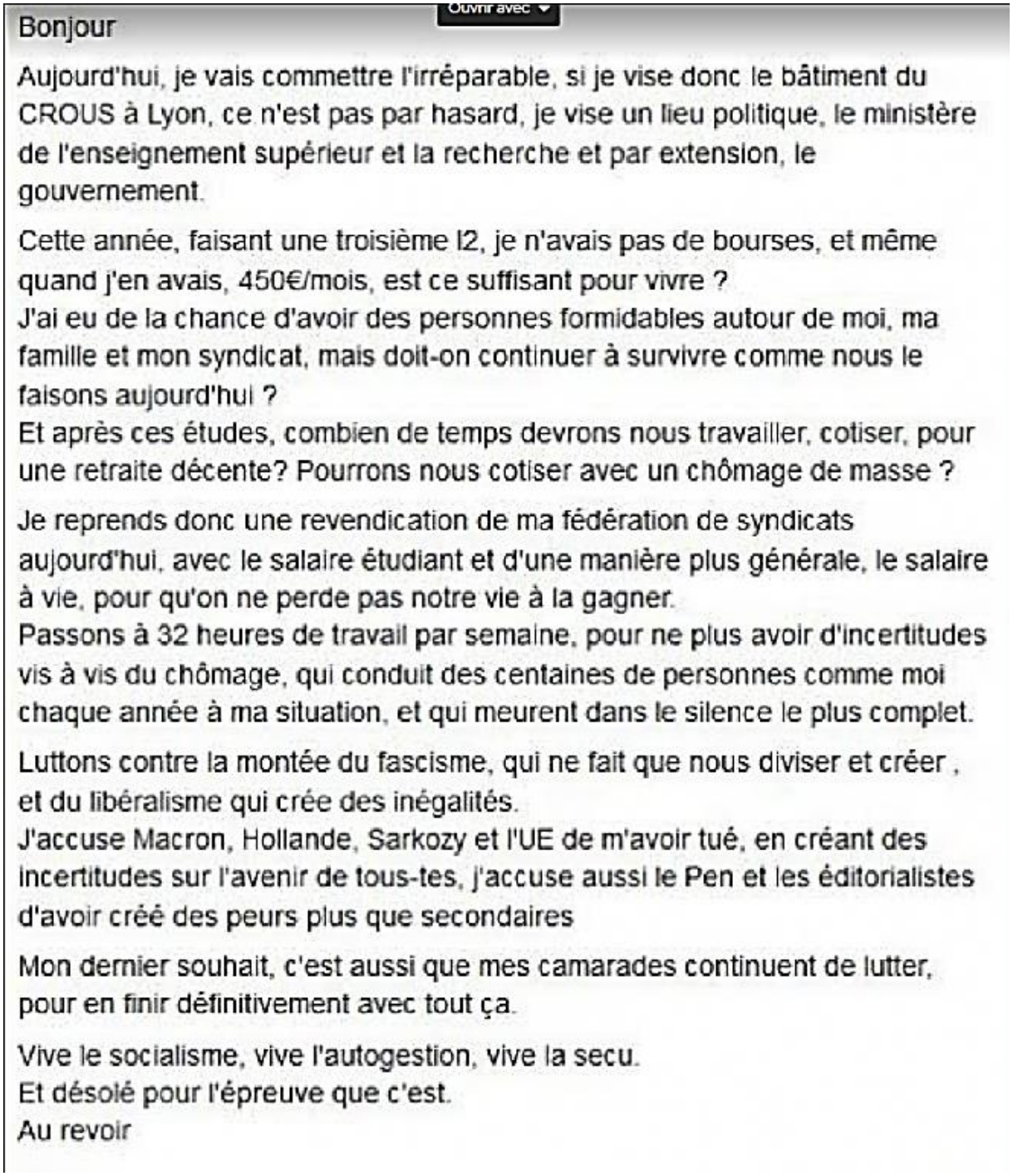

LE RETOUR AU RECTORAT (SUITE)
D'APRÈS "LE RETOUR À LA TERRE" DE LARCENET / FERRY
BON !!!
JE NE SAIS PAS SI VOUS MESUREZ LA SITUATION DIFFICILE DANS LAQUELLE NOS SERVICES SONT PL...
VOUS M'AVIEZ DIT QUOI SUR LE GRAND ?
CHUUUUT... C'EST LE BIG BOSS
IL A PAS L'AIR DE BIEN SAVOIR CE QU'IL RACONTE CELUI LÀ...
BEN ... P'TÊT
IL Y CONNAIT RIEN EN AUTOGESTION ...
ÇA C'EST SÛR...
J'LE VOIS DIRECT ...
LE P'TIT NON PLUS . . . Y CAPTE RIEN. . .
Y FAIT SEMBLANT DE COMPRENDRE
EN TOUT CAS ILS ONT L'AIR DE BIEN S'ENTENDRE POUR NOUS EMBOBINER...
POUR NOUS RETROUVER : https://lutteslap.blogspot.com


RETOUR AU RECTORAT III
D'APRÈS "LE RETOUR À LA TERRE" DE LARCENET ET FERRY
ATTENTION... IL NE S'AGIT PAS DE GÊNER VOTRE ÉTABLISSEMENT
... QUI FONCTIONNE SOMME TOUTE ... GENTIMENT ...
SEULEMENT... COMMENT DIRE ?
L'HEURE EST À UNE GESTION PLUS ... HMM ...VOYONS...
RESSERRÉE
VOILÀ ! POUR REPRENDRE DES TERMES DÉJÀ PRONONCÉS ICI ...
VOUS DEVEZ BIEN POUVOIR COMPRENDRE
ON VEUT NOS HEURES !!! C'EST TOUT...
OK ?? C'EST CLAIR !
VIENS...
NOUS N'AVONS PLUS RIEN À FAIRE ICI !
Y VONT REVENIR ... C'EST HORRIBLE...
Y LÂCHERONT PAS... ...SONT TENACES ON EST MAL
POUR NOUS RETROUVER : https://lutteslap.blogspot.com


RETOUR AU PIRE
D'APRÈS « LE RETOUR À LA TERRE » DE LARCENET/FERRY
NON MAIS C'EST PAS CROYABLE DES BRAS CASSÉS PAREIL !!!
ILS GÈRENT NOS ÉCOLES COMME DES ENTREPRISES
NOUS SUCRER PLUS D'UN DEMI POSTE
ET APPELER ÇA UNE ÉVOLUTION
VA FALLOIR ARRÊTER DE SE FOUTRE DE NOUS !
C'EST PAS PERMIS ÇA !!
VOUS DEVRIEZ NOUS SOUTENIR . . . NOUS DONNER DES MOYENS !!!
ET PAS NOUS PLOMBER
VOUS AVEZ COMPRIS ? C'EST TRÈS FACILE... TOUT COMME LA DAME A DIT RENDEZ NOUS LES HEURES
ET CELLES DES AUTRES BAHUTS ...
...NOUS C'EST 11 H !
POUR NOUS RETROUVER : https://lutteslap.blogspot.com

Comic strip published on lutteslap.blogspot.com to inform about the struggle between LAP and the Paris Academy in May 2020

Figure 4



Bonjour

Aujourd'hui, je vais commettre l'irréparable, si je vise donc le bâtiment du CROUS à Lyon, ce n'est pas par hasard, je vise un lieu politique, le ministère de l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche et par extension, le gouvernement.

Cette année, faisant une troisième l2, je n'avais pas de bourses, et même quand j'en avais, 450€/mois, est ce suffisant pour vivre ?
J'ai eu de la chance d'avoir des personnes formidables autour de moi, ma famille et mon syndicat, mais doit-on continuer à survivre comme nous le faisons aujourd'hui ?
Et après ces études, combien de temps devrons nous travailler, cotiser, pour une retraite décente? Pourrons nous cotiser avec un chômage de masse ?

Je reprends donc une revendication de ma fédération de syndicats aujourd'hui, avec le salaire étudiant et d'une manière plus générale, le salaire à vie, pour qu'on ne perde pas notre vie à la gagner.
Passons à 32 heures de travail par semaine, pour ne plus avoir d'incertitudes vis à vis du chômage, qui conduit des centaines de personnes comme moi chaque année à ma situation, et qui meurent dans le silence le plus complet.

Luttons contre la montée du fascisme, qui ne fait que nous diviser et créer , et du libéralisme qui crée des inégalités.
J'accuse Macron, Hollande, Sarkozy et l'UE de m'avoir tué, en créant des incertitudes sur l'avenir de tous-tes, j'accuse aussi le Pen et les éditorialistes d'avoir créé des peurs plus que secondaires

Mon dernier souhait, c'est aussi que mes camarades continuent de lutter, pour en finir définitivement avec tout ça.

Vive le socialisme, vive l'autogestion, vive la secu.
Et désolé pour l'épreuve que c'est.
Au revoir

Letter left by Anas K. on Facebook before his self-immolation

Source: https://blogs.mediapart.fr/lenous/blog/101119/message-de-letudiant-immole-devant-le-crous-lyon-2

Figure 5

The main linguistic categories of analysis used respectively in intertextuality and identification analysis

Intertextuality analysis	Identification analysis

• Dialogicity
  ○ Recognition of difference, (dialogue)
  ○ Accentuation of difference (polemic, struggle).
  ○ Attempt to resolve difference
  ○ Bracketing of difference (solidarity)
  ○ Consensus, the acceptation of difference (suppression)
• Attribution of voices in dialogue
	• Modality
	  ○ Probability (epistemic)
	  ○ Obligation (deontic)
	• Evaluation
	  ○ Evaluative statements,
	  ○ Affective mental processes
	  ○ Value assumptions