

REVOLUTIONARY  
EDUCATION



## REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION / LA IWW 620

The following is rough material towards a strategy for revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist organizing within the Educational sector. It's been developed so far as a series of workshops—the items included below are a composite of four workshops ("Context and Activation," "Equality, Democracy, Truth," "The Hidden Curriculum," "Revolutionary Autonomist Pedagogy"). I am developing the material into a book and a set of video segments for use in IWW 620 organizer trainings (and by whomever else).

In essence the program outlined here integrates "radical pedagogy" with anarcho-syndicalist strategy. It seems to me that radical pedagogy, while revolutionary in content, has for the most part been divorced from broader student and teacher struggle. Consequently labor-oriented organizers perceive that educators concerned with radical pedagogy are stuck on educational "content" while unfortunately fleeing from economic/political conflict. Meanwhile even many "radical" union-oriented organizers within education continue to teach in a standard, conservative, thoughtless fashion within their classrooms. They remain "experts" telling the "uneducated"... everything. They are radical with respect to employer-employee relations, but they perpetuate dominator-dominated patterns in their everyday work. Put briefly, I am asking "critical" pedagogues to take the step into the economic and political context of the classroom—to "politicize" themselves and the classroom; and I am asking "radical" unionists to re-evaluate and alter their teaching so as not to continue (re)producing the same old hierarchical, disempowering society.

The view here presents education as production, and the classroom as a point of production. The phrasing "social reproduction" is probably more familiar to most people. That's what I'm talking about. But I use the pushier term "production" in order to insist that what we are doing on campuses and in classrooms is *real work*, with *real products*—namely, the attitudes, capacities, tendencies, habits, opinions, and identities of all the people involved—students and teachers both. Educational institutions produce docile workers, docile political subjects, thoughtless consumers, people ignorant of their real world and afraid to act upon it: individualized, isolated, community-fearing folks with no habit of defiance, contextual/institutional/power analysis, or democratic practice. I am suggesting that we should *seize the means of educational production—to begin with, the space, time, rituals and materials of the classroom*—in order to produce *the people we really need to be*: active, thoughtful, aware, courageous folks with the basic skills of analyzing where we're at, reaching out to others around us, assembling groups, practicing democracy, finding and developing power and acting in concert, forming powerful networks. ***Let's begin healing society right where we are.*** (And in the process, let's lay the foundation for wide-scale occupation.)

There is one position involved here which, given my nearly twenty years of college teaching experience, seems totally natural to me, but which very dependably pisses off many other professors—especially tenure-trackers—and union organizers too—even allegedly-radical Wobblies. The contentious position is that *professors and teachers are co-workers*, and as coworkers, *they should be organized and act together*. The classroom is a point of production. Radicalization and takeover of the point of production (in order to block or to re-orient production) must begin with the *egalitarian integration of all the workers at the point of production*. Solidarity unionism begins with solidarity, and solidarity requires equality. I am proposing that we begin by breaking down the institutional hierarchy that structures educational process. This is difficult for professors to swallow, because it means they have to critique, contextualize, and ditch their own privilege and the psychological support that goes along with it. It's difficult for students because it means they have to overcome the inertia of their own habits of passivity and submission. And it pisses off unionists because they "know" that the only people worth organizing are "wage-earners," and clearly, the professor gets a wage, while the students pay a fee. Neoliberalism has constructed the educational situation as a relation between a service-provider and a consumer. Even many "radical" unionists seem to accept this structuration as the end of the story. According to them, *wage-earners* have to be organized *as wage-earners*. Meanwhile it's cool if students organize, but that's a separate struggle. My reply to this is always: "but these are the people I work with every day!" How on earth can a college be radicalized if a classroom can't, and how on earth can a classroom be radicalized without challenging the alleged qualitative difference between the people in that room? If we leave hierarchy intact, and continue to perform the pacifications that hierarchy inevitably involves, we will never get anywhere.

I insist that professors and students are equals. In our classrooms, we take steps to concretize that equality. We advocate a takeover of educational production by the workers, whether they are paid (too little) or charged (too much). Regardless of the administrators and their money-flow, we really are here, in these rooms, working. The question is: *how shall we work, and what shall we produce?*

## (ASK ME FOR THE) TEXTS FROM WHICH I AM DRAWING

The perspective I have just outlined stems primarily from nearly two decades of work in this sector, and from the increasingly-radical education I have been able to give myself as an (underpaid) adjunct. That education has involved many figures. I have included some of the key writers and some of the key passages from their writing in this document. I also have the longer segments from which these quotations are derived available for whoever is interested. I wish everybody would read them. Here are the books from which this material is drawn.

- Paolo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.
- Angela Davis, speech at UCLA, 1970.
- Subcommandante Marcos, "Do Not Forget: Ideas are also Weapons".
- Bell Hooks, "Confronting Class in the Classroom."
- Jane Stembridge, "Notes on a Class" (transcript of a class led by Stokely Carmichael).
- Mikhail Bakunin, *God and the State*.
- Jacques Rancière, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*.
- Simone Weil, *Oppression and Liberty*.
- Henri Giroux, "Social Education in the Classroom: The Dynamics of the Hidden Curriculum".
- Mariarosa Dallacosta and Selma James, *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*.
- Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses".
- Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*.
- John B. Watson, *Behaviorism*.
- David Graeber, *Direct Action*.
- Henry David Thoreau, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience".
- Mikhail Bakunin, "On Worker Self-Management".
- Noam Chomsky, "The Relevance of Anarcho-Syndicalism".
- Isabelle Fremeauz and John Jordan, "Anarchist Pedagogy in Action: Paideia, *Escuela Libre*".
- Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study*.
- Abdullah Öcalan, "Democratic Confederalism".
- Starhawk, *Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex, and Politics*.
- David Lyon, *Surveillance as Social Sorting*.
- K. Wayne Yang, *A Third University is Possible*.

- Two key problems with education = *DISCONNECTION FROM IT, and PASSIVITY WITHIN IT*. What would the dis-alienation of students from their own education look like? What would a truly empowered set of students look like? What would they do? What could they do? How should they act upon their context?
- Our present educational system *separates people from one another*. What would an educational system that functioned to *connect* people into really-thoughtful and really-functional... and really-egalitarian... communities look like?
- Our present educational system, like most institutions, inhibits participant action upon its processes. What would an educational movement, of *people* who happen to be students or teachers, aiming to alter or even to *take over* educational process... look like?

# ALIENATION AND CONNECTION: Healing Divides

**Alienation... and passivity... are the problem... and connection and activation... are the solution**

- in various respects:

*alienation between people*

- alienation between students
- alienation between students and teachers

*alienation between people and their produced world*

- alienation between students and their contexts
- alienation between teachers and their contexts
- students and teachers (but especially students) are habituated:
  - not to perceive their contexts: they are cognitively passive
  - not to act upon their contexts: they are practically passive
  - to be formed by their contexts: they are passive material molded by external formative force

*alienation between people and their own activity*

- alienation between individuals (students, teachers) and what they are doing... and what they can do

So... *HEALING* these divides means (re-)connecting... again, in all these specific ways.

# PRAXIS

- re-linkage of thought and action
- an ongoing, developing, transformative process with 2 phases:
  - thought about, and
  - action upon:
  - contexts / relations to contexts

*praxis also requires*

- --overcoming of alienation between students, between students and teachers, and between these educational workers and their various contexts. ***This includes overcoming hierarchy.***

"PRAXIS" = ... the solution / the goal at which we should aim in repatterning classroom phenomena. We need to move towards

*EDUCATION AS THE PRACTICE OF FREEDOM*

# PRAXIS:

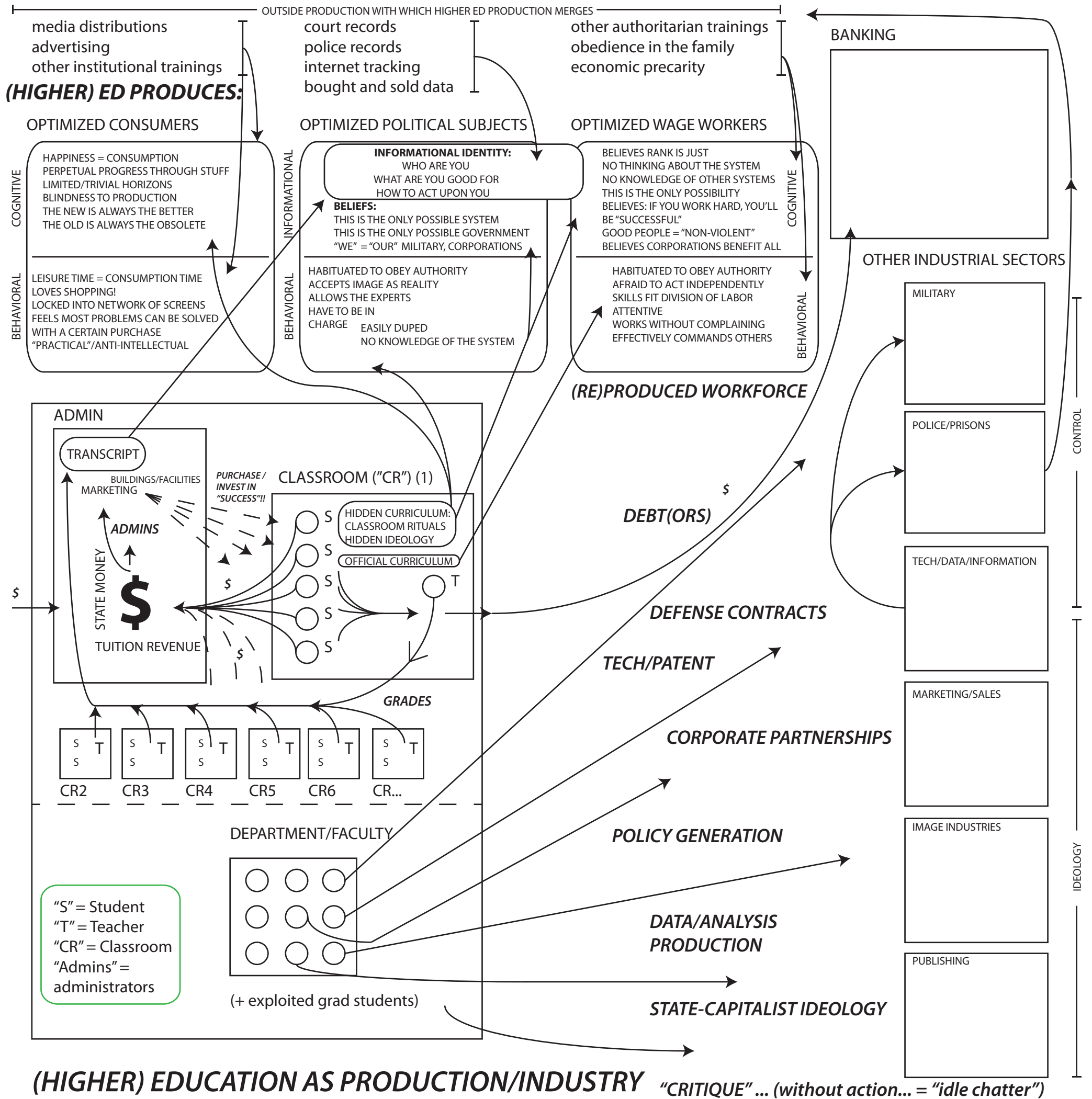




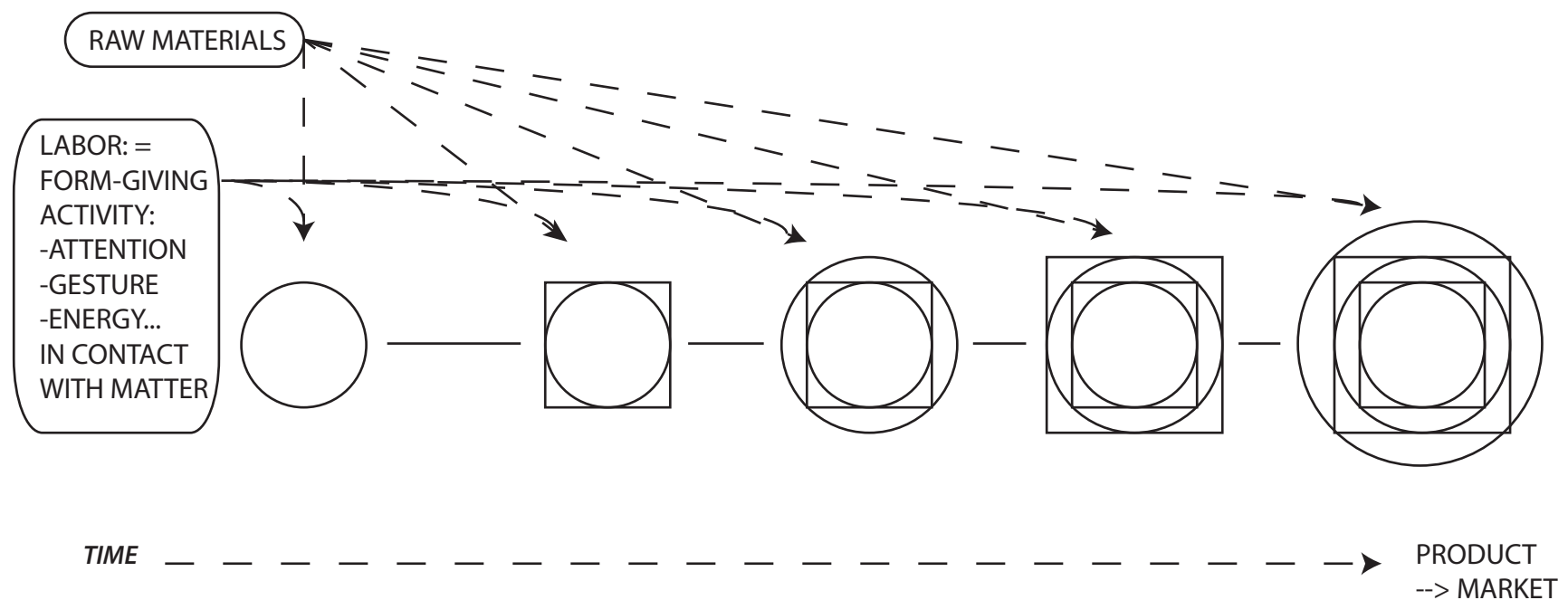
- *“CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS RESULTS FROM INTERVENTION IN THE WORLD AS TRANSFORMERS OF THE WORLD.”*
- *“THOUGHT HAS MEANING ONLY WHEN GENERATED BY ACTION UPON THE WORLD.”*
- *“LIBERATION IS PRAXIS.”*

- **(Freire): "There is no such thing as a neutral educational process."**
- **(Ilich): "If we do not challenge the assumption that valuable knowledge is a commodity which under certain circumstances may be forced into the consumer, society will be increasingly dominated by sinister pseudo schools and totalitarian managers of information. Pedagogical therapists will drug their pupils more in order to teach them better, and students will drug themselves more to gain relief from the pressures of teachers and the race for certificates. Increasingly larger numbers of bureaucrats will presume to pose as teachers... Pedagogical warfare in the style of Vietnam will be increasingly justified as the only way of teaching people the superior value of unending progress." 50**

- **(Giroux): “the complex, intimate relationship between the institution of the school and the nation's economic and political institutions.”**
- **“situate... schools within a sociopolitical context... comprehend the school as an agent of socialization... identify those structural properties at the core of the schooling process which link it to comparable properties in the workplace and other sociopolitical spheres... shift... attention from a technical, ahistorical, view of schooling to a sociopolitical perspective.” 22-23**
- **James: “... school as a center of ideological discipline and of the shaping of the labor force and its masters.” 6**
- **James: “disciplining fresh labor power.”**



# ***PRODUCTION IS THE GIVING OF FORM***



FOR EXAMPLE:

A carpenter alters wood so as to move towards the “form” of a table. Wood in one form becomes wood in another form, which now has a certain use value.

Workers on an assembly line progressively add more elements together such that metal, plastic, steel, etc. come over time to have the form of a “car.”

Workers in a graphic design shop “give form” to diagrams like this one, over time, till the digital product is “formed” so as to match advertising demands.

Digital workers exert themselves to form a spreadsheet, database or matrix in a certain fashion such that it has a use value in whatever applications.

...

***ALL LABOR IS GIVING FORM TO SOMETHING, OVER TIME, BY MEANS OF HUMAN GESTURES AND ATTENTIVENESS. MARX SAID THAT LABOR WAS “OBJECTIFIED” OR “CONGEALED” IN THE THING PRODUCED. THAT IS, THE THING PRODUCED RECEIVES, AS ITS FORM, THE GESTURES AND ATTENTION OF THE WORKER.***

“In the labour process... man’s activity, via the instruments of labour, effects an alteration in the object of labour which was intended from the outset. The process is extinguished in the product. The product of the process is a use-value, a piece of natural material adapted to human needs by means of a change in its form. Labour has become bound up in its object: labour has been objectivied, the object has been worked on. What on the side of the worker appeared in the form of unrust now appears, on the side of the product, in the form of being, as a fixed, immobile characteristic.”

Marx, Capital, 287.

***BEHAVIOR/CAPACITIES FOR BEHAVIOR  
ARE ALSO PRODUCED/GIVEN FORM  
THROUGH TIME... BY LABOR***

**Dance.** Takes practice, repetition, etc. One who has “learned” dance has *produced* their behavior/capacity for behavior (their body, its musculature, its neural connections, its muscle memory, its... *habits*)... as a dancer.

**Military drill.** Takes practice, repetition, etc... See Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish*.

**Martial arts.**

**Swimming.** See Marcel Mauss’s *Techniques of the Body*.

**Multiplication tables.** Now we’re talking less about coarse muscular ability, and more about cognitive habits...

**Fear, courage, submission, defiance...**

...

Activity and tendencies to activity can be “produced” by giving form

- **Aristotle: "In a word, characteristics develop from corresponding activities. For that reason, we must see to it that our activities are of a certain kind, since any variations in them will be reflected in our characteristics. Hence it is no small matter whether one habit or another is inculcated in us from early childhood; on the contrary, it makes a considerable difference, or, rather, all the difference." 34-35**



## ***BELIEFS AND COGNITIVE PROCESSES CAN BE HABITUATED THROUGH REPETITION***

“...any sequence of mental action which has been frequently repeated tends to perpetuate itself;  
so that we find ourselves automatically prompted to think, feel, or do what we have been before accustomed to think, feel, or do, under like circumstances, without any consciously formed purpose, or anticipation of results.”

William James, Principles of Psychology, p. 112

**"Habit** is thus the enormous fly-wheel of society, its most precious conservative agent. It alone is what **keeps us all within the bounds of ordinance**, and saves the children of fortune from the envious uprisings of the poor. It alone prevents the hardest and most repulsive walks of life from being deserted by those brought up to tread therein.... It **keeps different social strata from mixing**. Already at the age of twenty-five you see **the professional mannerism settling down** on the young commercial traveller, on the young doctor, on the young minister, on the young counsellor-at-law. You see the little lines of cleavage running through the character, the **tricks of thought**, the **prejudices**, the **ways of the 'shop'.."**

William James, Principles of Psychology, p. 121

## ***WHO ARE THE WORKERS WHO DO THIS PRODUCTION?***

**DANCE:** The dancer. And the instructor who observes, corrects, directs and redirects.

**MILITARY DRILL:** The soldier. And the superior who observes, corrects, directs and redirects.

...

and so on. There's WORK being done by both the *one whose behavior is being formed...* and by those who *oversee and direct the formation.*

So typically there's a division of labor:

### ***PRINCIPLES OF FORMATION***

are typically imposed from a director: dance instructor, officer, master, teacher...

### ***REPETITIOUS/ENERGY-INTENSIVE, ATTENTIVE AND GESTURAL***

motions, practices, rituals, exercises

are executed by the *one who is being formed*

### ***JUST THE SAME IN THE CLASSROOM:***

the teacher **directs**, prescribes, demands... certain repetitions, certain exercises

the student **performs** the prescribed gestures... or some variant thereof  
...and thus **the student is formed/produced...** according to an extrinsic pattern... ***WHICH FITS INTO THE OVERALL SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOR...***  
which serves to produce profit for the few, and servitude for the many

“Now instruments are of various sorts; some are living, others lifeless...  
the servant is a kind of instrument.”

Aristotle, Politics 1253a30

“Again, the male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and  
the one rules, and the other is ruled;  
this principle, of necessity, extends to all mankind...  
the lower sort are by nature slaves, and it is better for them as for all inferiors that they should be  
under the rule of a master.  
For he who can be, and therefore is, another’s, and he who participates in reason enough to  
apprehend, but not to have, is a slave by nature.”

Aristotle, Politics, 1254a15-25

“There are two crafts that control matter and involve knowledge: the craft that uses (the matter)  
and the craft that directs this productive craft... the directing craft knows the form, whereas the  
productive craft knows the matter.”

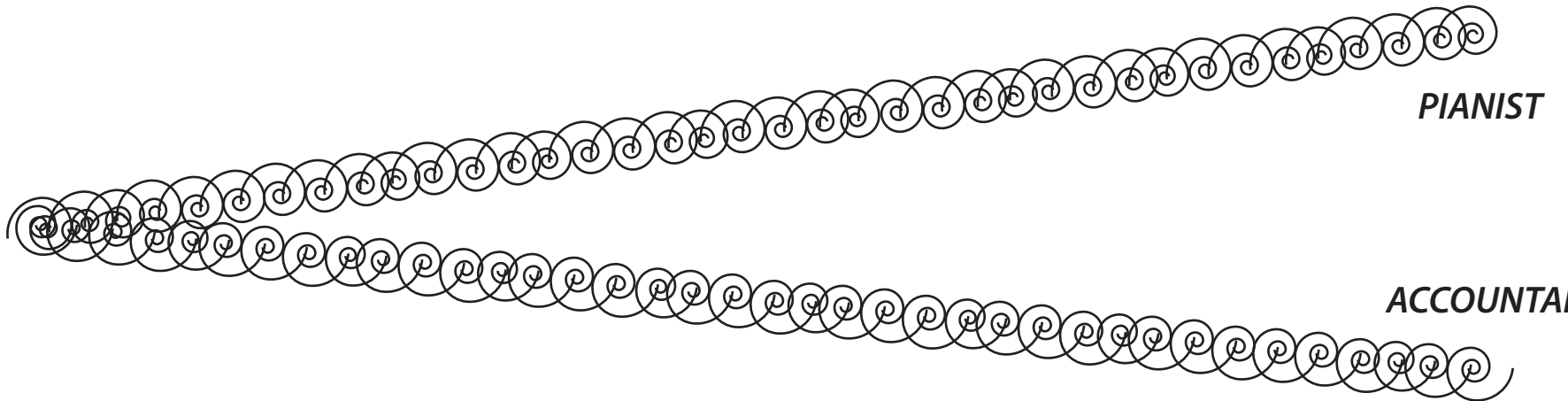
Aristotle, Physics, 194b1

“That is why we believe the master craftsmen in a given craft are more honorable, know more, and  
are wiser than the manual craftsmen, because they know the causes of what is produced. The  
manual craftsmen, we think, are like inanimate things that produce without knowing what they  
produce, in the way that, for instance, fire burns; the latter produce their products by a natural  
tendency, while the manual craftsmen produce theirs **because of habit**. We assume, then, that some  
craftsmen are wiser than others not because they are better in practice, but because they have a  
rational account and know the causes.”

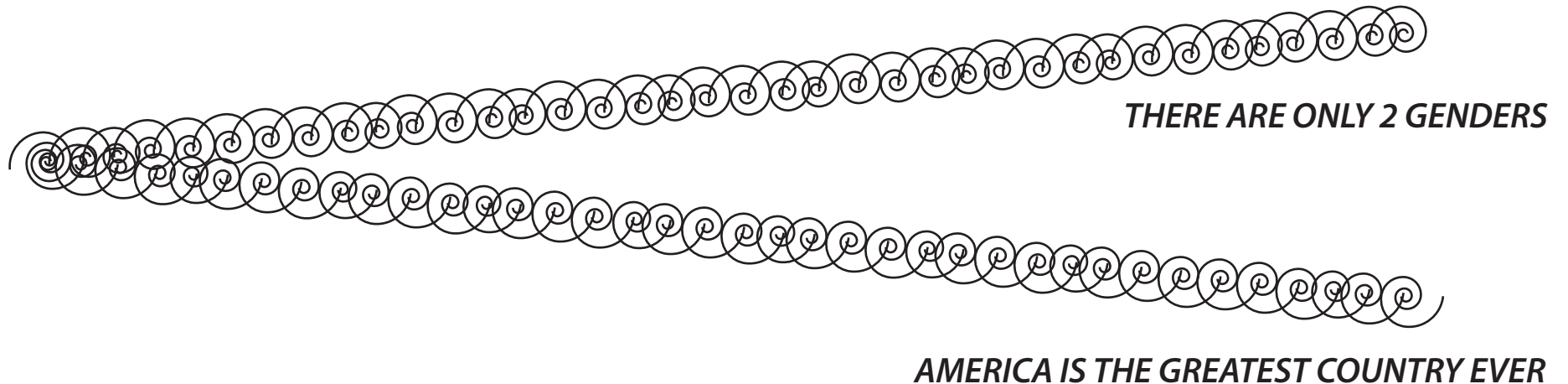
Aristotle, Metaphysics, 981b1

**PRODUCTION OF  
HABIT, BELIEF, IDENTITY  
OCCURS THROUGH  
REPETITION / RITUAL**

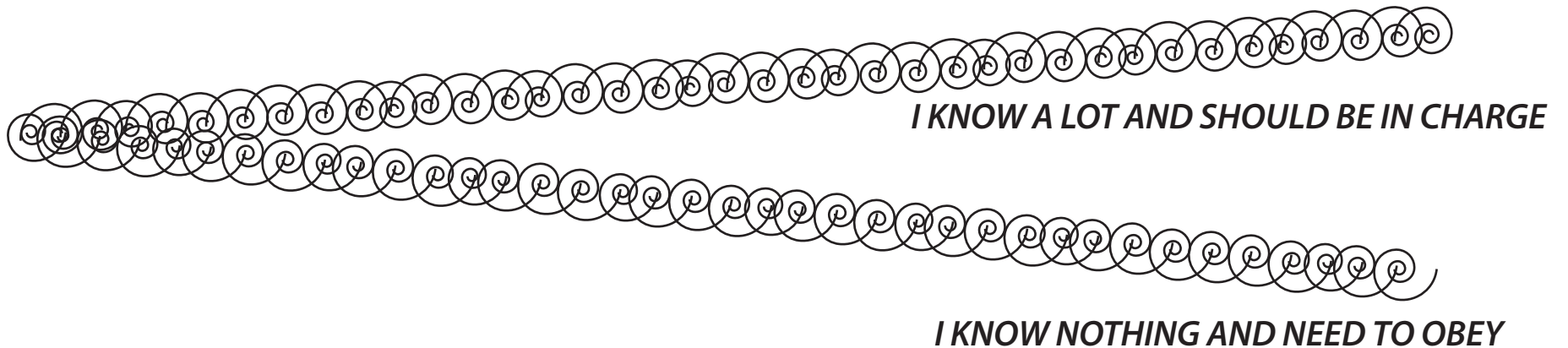
**HABIT**



**BELIEF**



**IDENTITY**

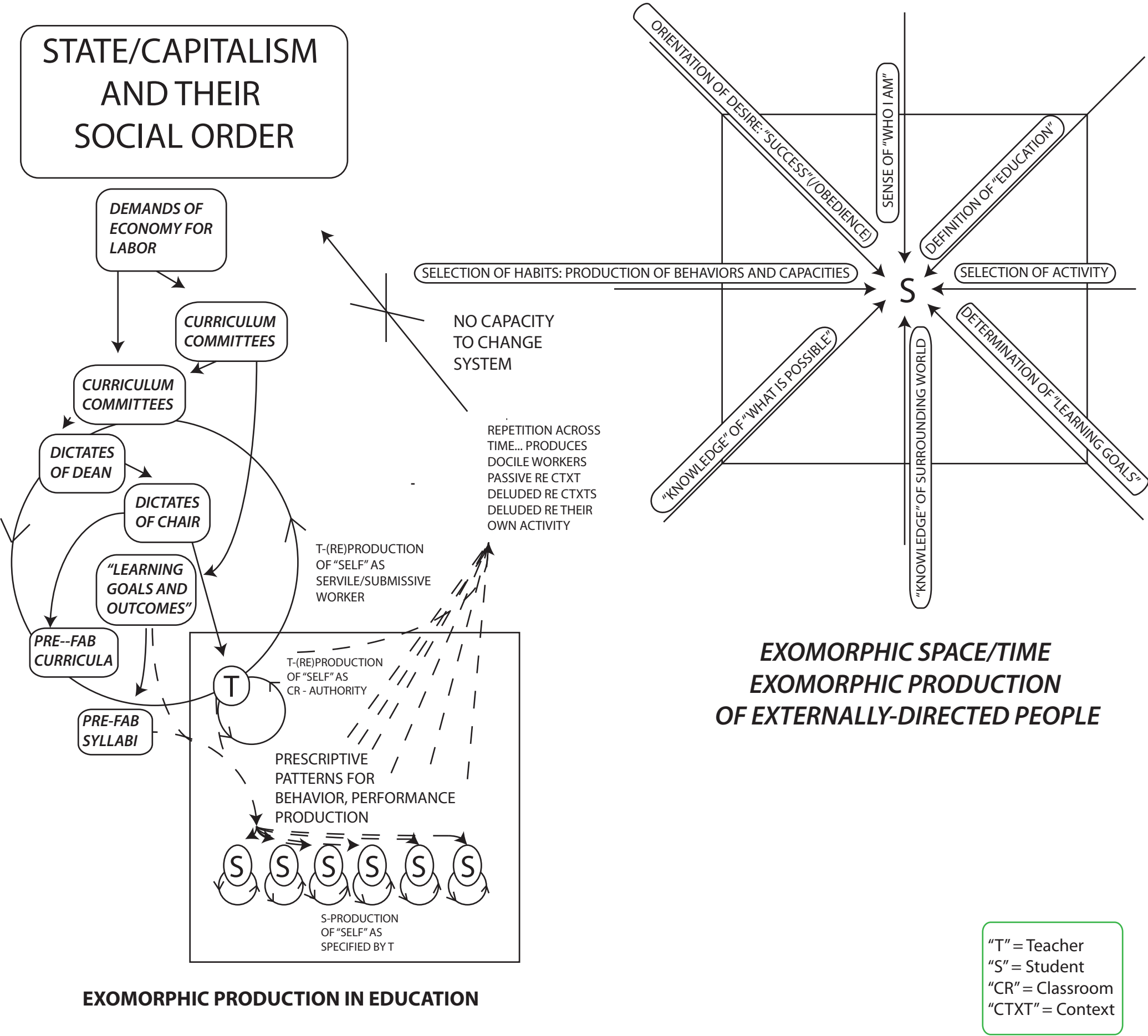


**WHAT IS THE REPETITIVE RITUAL IN YOUR CLASSROOM?**

# Education Produces activity and habit through (Classroom) Ritual

- Watson: "**environmental trainings**" 270
- "**the situation we are in dominates us always and releases one or another of these all-powerful habit systems...** In general, we are what the situation calls for..." 276
- Alth: "**an ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices.**" 40

**WHAT PATTERNS OF PRODUCTION STRUCTURE YOUR CLASSROOM?  
ARE STUDENT CAPACITIES AND BELIEFS FORMED FROM ABOVE/OUTSIDE?**



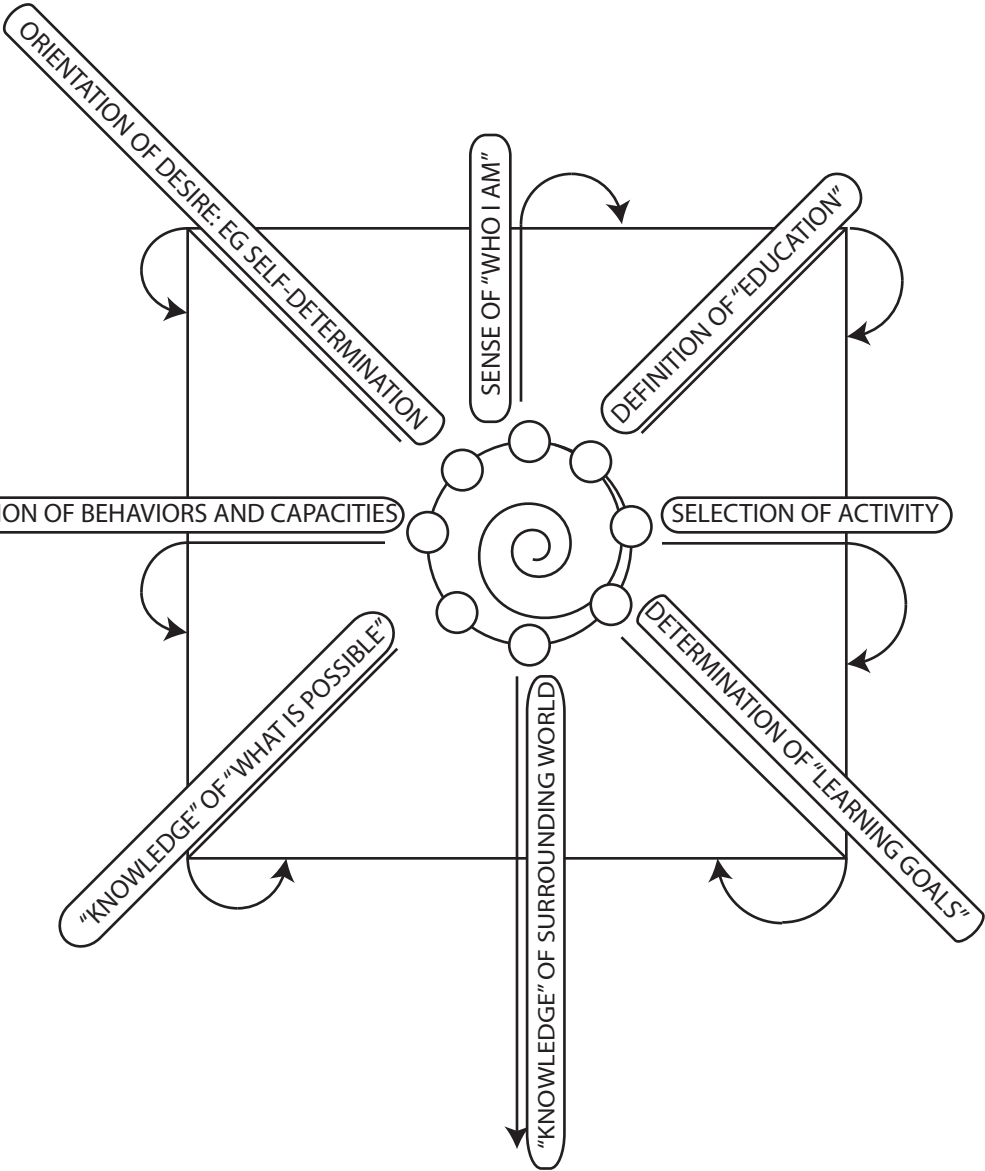
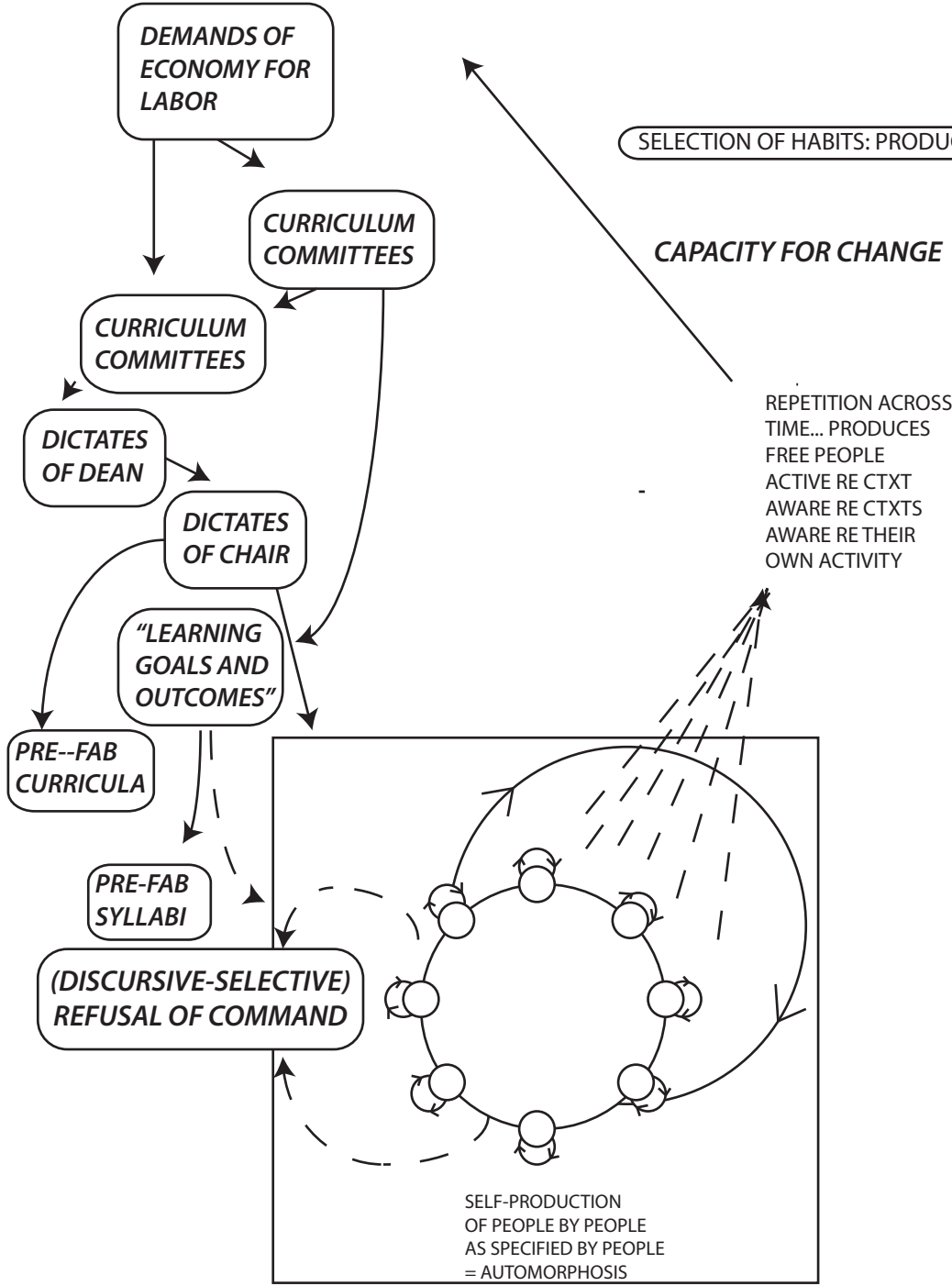
# Automorphic vs Exomorphic Production

- (Giroux, paraphrasing Bowles and Gintis): **“the classroom becomes a miniature workplace in which time, space, content and structure are fixed by others.”** 33
- “Automorphic”: Auto: self ; Morph: shape/ form... “Automorphic” = self-forming.
- “Exomorphic”: Exo: outer ; Morph: shape/ form... “Exomorphic” = formed from without.



OR ARE THE PEOPLE IN THE ROOM LEARNING TO FORM THEMSELVES  
AND THE SPATIOTEMPORAL CONTEXTS IN WHICH THEY LIVE?

AUTONOMIZING  
EDUCATION PRODUCES  
AUTONOMOUS PEOPLE



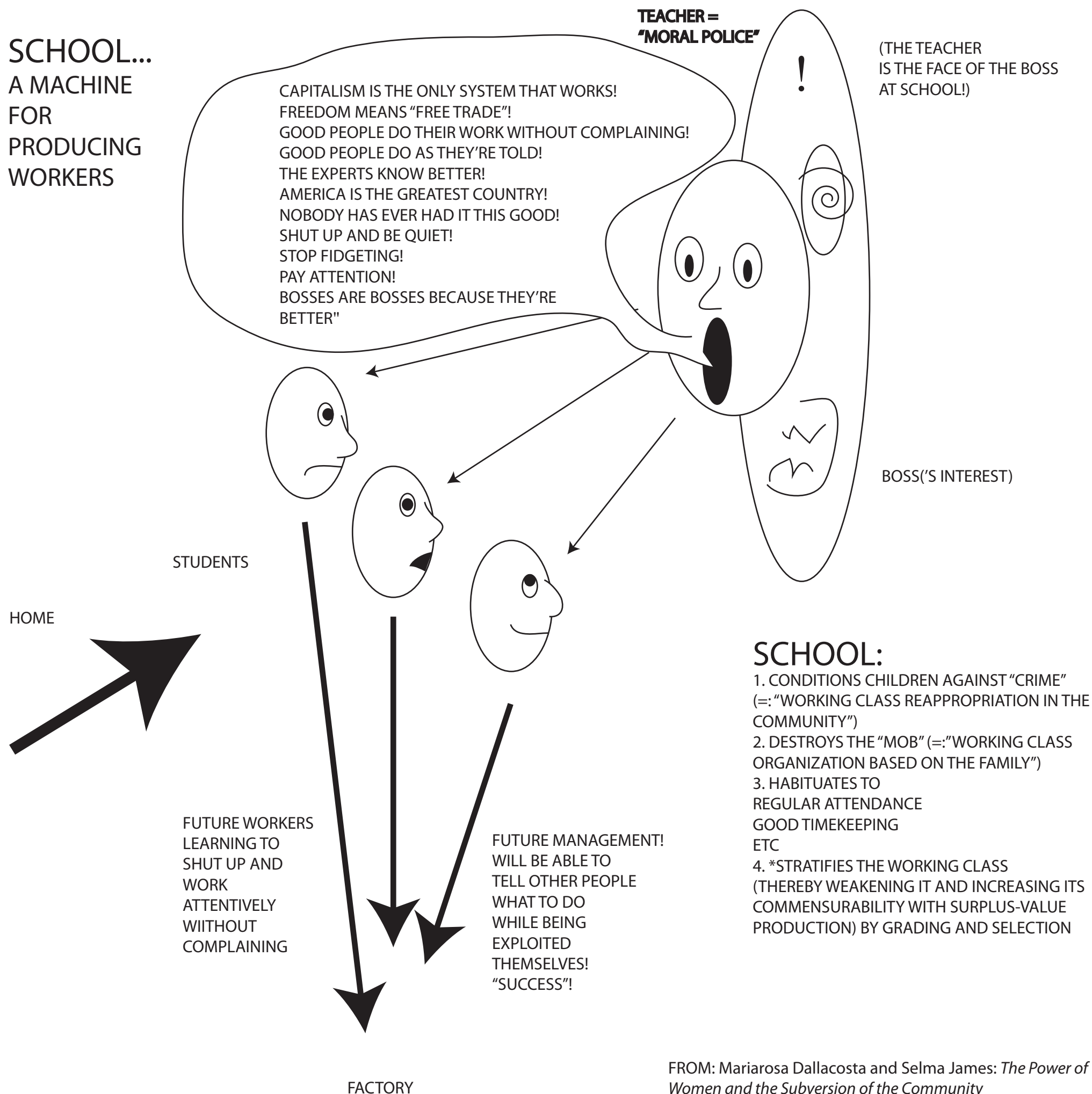
AUTOMORPHIC SPACE/TIME  
AUTOMOROPHIC PRODUCTION  
OF AUTOMORPHIC PEOPLE

SELF-DETERMINED  
PATTERNS FOR  
BEHAVIOR, PERFORMANCE  
PRODUCTION

AUTOMORPHIC PRODUCTION TRANSFORMING EDUCATION  
FROM BELOW

"CTXT" = Context

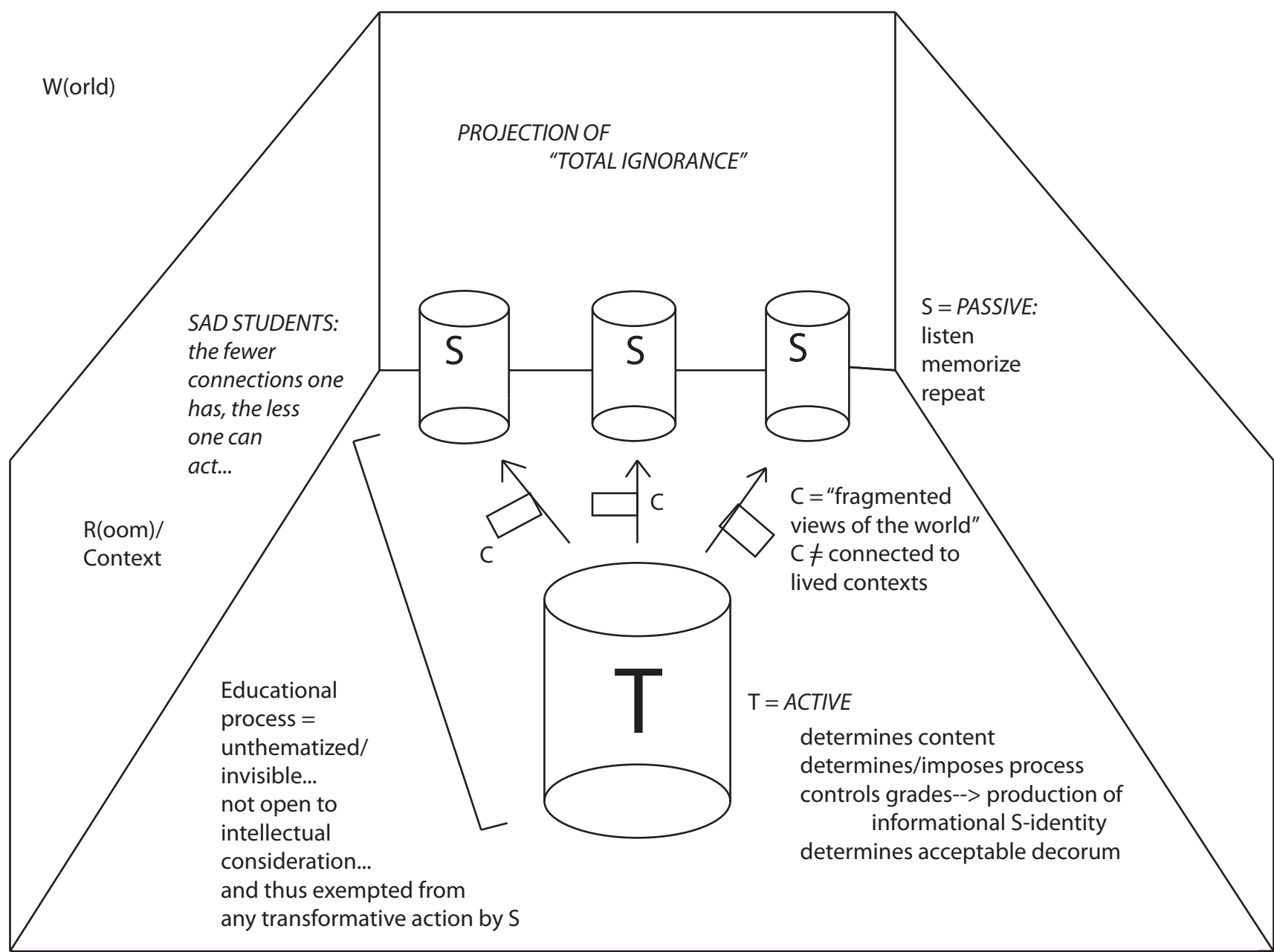
# SCHOOL... A MACHINE FOR PRODUCING WORKERS



FROM: Mariarosa Dallacosta and Selma James: *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*

# THE TYPICAL FORMAT: EDUCATION AS DOMINATION /OPPRESSION/PACIFICATION

"S" = Student  
"T" = Teacher  
"C" = Content

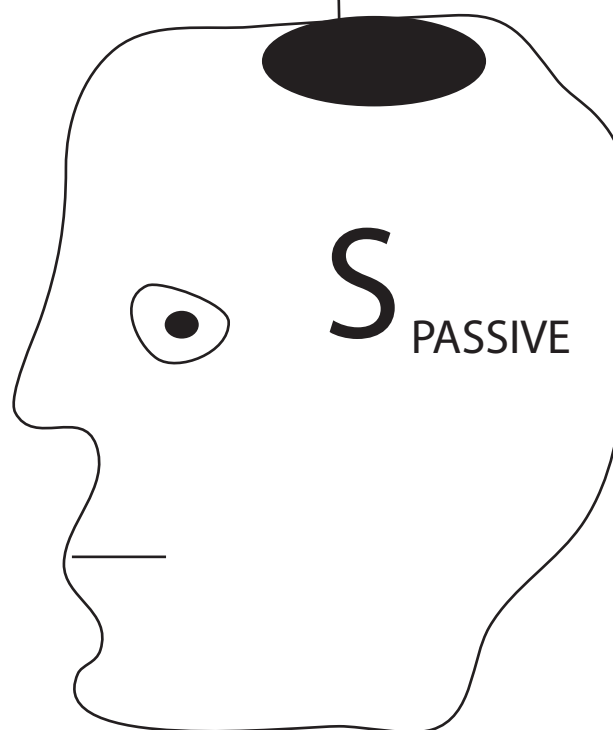


**T**  
ACTIVE

C = "information"  
/ "knowledge"  
C ≠ connected to  
S-exp or S-ctxt

CONTEXTS/S-RELATIONS TO THEM REMAIN  
INVISIBLE BECAUSE  
SYSTEMATICALLY NON-  
THEMATIZED

**THIS INVISIBILITY  
IS STRATEGIC:**  
YOU DON'T  
ACT INTENTIONALLY  
ON WHAT YOU  
DON'T  
DISCUSS



"Hidden" lesson =  
Be passive  
Be quiet  
Be attentive  
Don't move  
Don't insist  
Adapt to process  
and syllabus...  
*These behaviors  
are rewarded;  
their opposites  
are punished*

"C" = Content  
"S" = Student  
"exp" = Experience  
"ctxt" = Context  
"T" = Teacher

# THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

(LAYERS OF HIDDEN CURRICULUM)

UNQUESTIONING ACCEPTANCE OF /  
HIERARCHICAL INSTITUTIONS, CAPITALISTIC  
SOCIETY, STATE AND ITS STRUCTURES

RITUALS OF AUTHORITY AND SUBMISSION IN THE CLASSROOM

EXCLUSIONS: CERTAIN THINGS ARE SYSTEMICALLY OMITTED

UNSPOKEN ASSUMPTIONS UNDERPINNING OVERT DECLARATIONS

OVERT IDEOLOGY (PERCEIVED AS SIMPLE TRUTH FROM AN EXPERT)

OFFICIAL CURRICULUM: "WHAT WE ARE STUDYING AND LEARNING IN THIS CLASS"

WHAT IS TAUGHT  
IS (ALSO)  
WHAT IS DONE

# The Hidden Curriculum

- (Giroux): **"the hidden curriculum... is rooted in those organizational aspects of classroom life which are not commonly perceived by either students or teachers."** 32

# Hidden Teachings:

- (Giroux, paraphrasing Dreeben) **"... schooling demands the formation of social relationships that are more time-bounded, more diverse, less dependent, and less emotive than those of the family. Unlike the family, schools separate performance from emotional expression..." 29**
- (Giroux, paraphrasing Bernstein) **"students learn values and norms that would produce 'good' industrial workers. Students internalize values which stress a respect for authority, punctuality, cleanliness, docility, and conformity." 29**
- **"...schools are evaluative settings, and what a student learns is not only how to be evaluated, but how to evaluate himself and others as well." 32**
- (Giroux, paraphrasing Jackson) **"...learn constantly to wait to use resources ; learn to be quiet; learn how to be isolated in a crowd; unwarranted submission to authority..." 33**

# What is Produced?

- PEOPLE! CONCRETE ATTITUDES, CAPACITIES, TENDENCIES, HABITS, FEELINGS:
- WORKERS
- CONSUMERS
- PASSIVE/FEARFUL/INERT/DISCIPLINED BODIES
- IDEOLOGIZED MINDS
- PEOPLE WHO NEED OTHER PEOPLE TO TELL THEM WHAT TO DO



**IDEOLOGY AS FALSE REPRESENTATION  
OF THE RELATION OF INDIVIDUALS  
TO THE CONDITIONS OF THEIR LIVES  
(THE CONDITIONS OF PRODUCTION)**

*(Giroux): “Ideological considerations... structure the students’ view of the world.” 31*

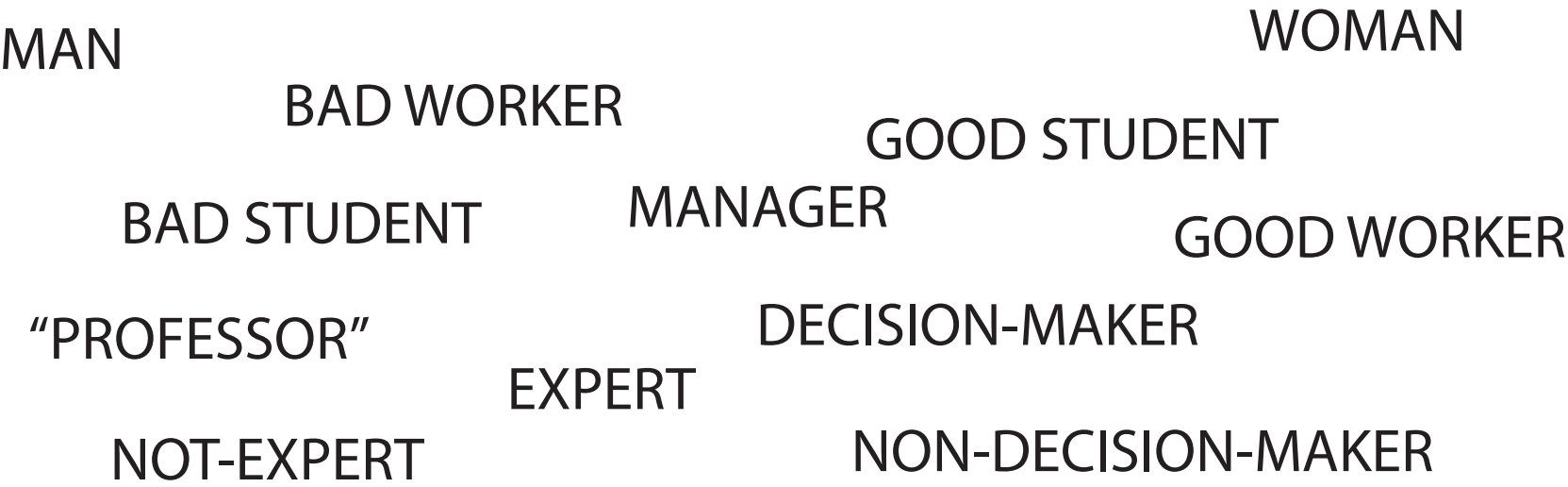
PERCEIVED REALITY	ACTUAL REALITY
I have control over my circumstances.  If I work hard, I’ll “succeed.”  One day I too could be a millionaire. Maybe even a billionaire!  The relationship to my job is a free one.  I live in a free society and therefore I am free.  Things are arranged as they are for the good of everyone.  The laws that are in place exist for the benefit of everyone.  The police and the military only mess with enemies.  Whoever the leaders and media say is the enemy, that’s the enemy!  In the future, there’ll be so much “progress” it’ll all be so much better!	A few other people control the circumstances for the rest of us. If you work hard, most likely you’ll just keep having to work hard, till you die. You are almost certain never to be a millionaire, much less a billionaire! People get jobs because they and their children can’t live otherwise. You live in a society where if you don’t work, as “the economy” dictates, you’ll die. And while you’re at work, you’ll do as you’re told! Things are arranged as they are for the “good” of “the economy,” which means for the maximum accumulation of capital... in very few hands. The laws that are in place do sometimes reflect past struggles and compromises. Those are quick to erode though and are often ignored. Meanwhile a whole lot of laws serve to defend property. Especially big property. The police and the military mess with all sorts of people, especially people of color, and the military will target you if you actually oppose this system. “Progress” has given us global warming, nuclear war, apartheid, poison gas, global surveillance, etc. In the future we’re going to run out of water.

**AS PROFESSORS, IS IT DESIRABLE TO MAKE PEOPLE “FEEL GOOD” BY LYING TO THEM?  
OR IS IT RATHER DESIRABLE THROUGH EDUCATION TO PRODUCE A GLIMMER OF  
APPREHENSION OF WHAT’S GOING ON IN OUR WORLD?  
AS STUDENTS, IS IT DESIRABLE TO REMAIN IGNORANT OF REAL CONDITIONS IN THE  
HOPES OF BEING SMILED ON BY SOME SOURCE OF REVENUE?  
OR IS IT RATHER DESIRABLE THROUGH EDUCATION TO KNOW SOMETHING OF THE WORLD?**

- (Althusser): **“What is represented in ideology is therefore not the system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live.” 38-39**

# IDEOLOGY AS IDENTITY/INTERPELLATION

## “HEY, YOU!”



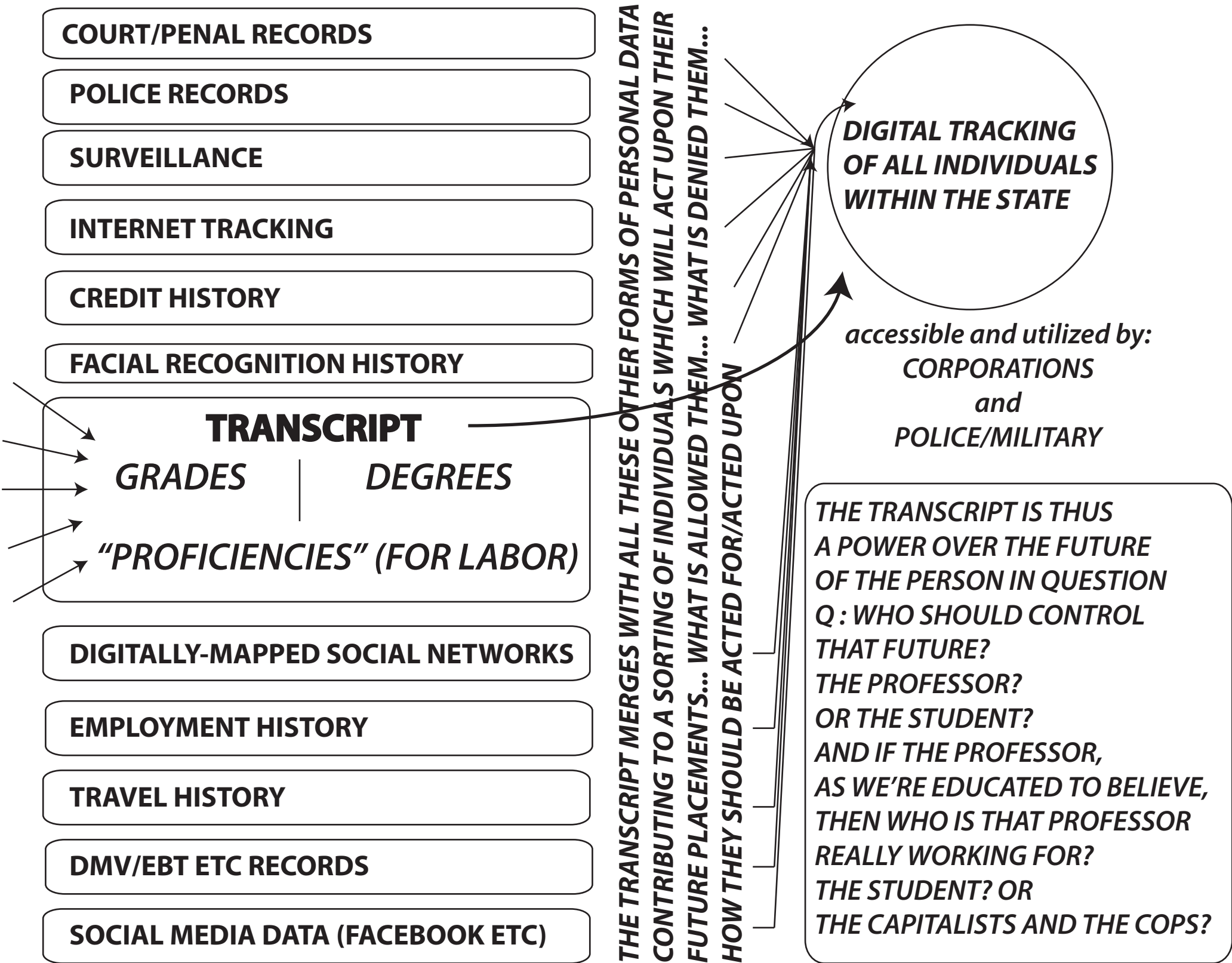
INSTITUTIONS ALL OFFER CERTAIN “IDENTITIES” FOR THE PEOPLE WHO ACT (RITUALLY) WITHIN THEM

*THESE ROLES DETERMINE/LIMIT/CONTAIN BEHAVIOR*

SELF-SELF	OTHER-SELF	SELF-OTHER
<b>PROFESSOR:</b> Feel free to speak! You really do know quite a bit! You have a degree! You’re the authority! But with freedom and authority come grave responsibility! MAINTAIN A “PROFESSIONAL” demeanor! No fraternizing with those poor unenlightened souls below!	You are owed a certain amount of respect! Nobody who disrespects you in a classroom gets to continue / pass! You insist! As for colleagues, you hope they recognize you as an equal. Secretly however you are possessed of a certain fear that they won’t, that you won’t measure up. It’s a competitive academic world! Work hard to succeed!	You treat other experts with the respect they deserve. You recognize that there are experts all around, in and out of your field, and they must be deferred to. You recognize the legitimate authority of administrators, chairs, presidents et al. It’s the least you can do as an authority yourself. Maintain superiority to/separation from “lower”/commoner folks and their uneducated culture... strive to connect with “successes”.
<b>STUDENT:</b> Be quiet! You don’t know much yet! You’re here to learn from this expert! He’s very knowledgeable. In fact, he’s so expert that you know he has little in common with you. You might think you know things but the kinds of things you know are not the kinds of things that count... in a classroom	You don’t deserve so much really. You haven’t got the degree yet, after all, so here at school you’re not much. On the other hand however you are the CUSTOMER ... and the professor is the SERVICE-PROVIDER... so if you’re not getting your money’s worth here... that’s legit grounds for complaint.	There are a lot of folks you need to listen to. There’s the counselor, and all the professors, and the coaches, and the administrators, and the bank people, and of course your boss, and maybe even your parents. On the other hand, you’re not yet “in the real world,” and therefore you don’t have to take things so seriously yet.

*These roles inhibit action. Adopting them leads one to a situation where they inhibit themselves. But lurking beneath any role-role relation is a HUMAN RELATION... a capacity for mutual experience, trust, mutual action, mutual respect, mutual decision-making... DITCH THE ROLE and encounter your humanity and your power! The realm of possible behaviors, discussions, relations is infinitely broadened by this refusal of interpellation.*

EDUCATION PRODUCES “INFORMATIONAL IDENTITY”/  
PERFORMS A “SOCIAL SORTING” FUNCTION/  
CONTRIBUTES TO INDIVIDUALS’ “DATA DOUBLE”:  
= A COMPOSITE DATA REPRESENTATION:  
WHO IS THIS?  
WHAT CAN THEY DO?  
HOW CAN THEY BE EXPLOITED?  
WHAT CASTE ARE THEY? (“FELON;” “GOOD CITIZEN”; “IMPORTANT PERSON”; “EXPERT”; “LEADER”)...



# Consumers

- (Illich:) "The university... has the effect of **imposing consumer standards at work and at home, and it does so in every part of the world and under every political system. The fewer university graduates there are in a country, the more their cultivated demands are taken as models by the rest of the population.**" 35
- **It is the game itself that schools, that gets into the blood and becomes a habit. A whole society is initiated into the Myth of Unending Consumption of services... School directs ritual rivalry into an international game which obliges competitors to blame the world's ills on those who cannot or will not play. School is a ritual of initiation which introduces the neophyte to the sacred race of progressive consumption, a ritual of propitiation whose academic priests mediate between the faithful and the gods of privilege and power, a ritual of expiation which sacrifices its dropouts, branding them as scapegoats of underdevelopment.**" 44
- **"School fuses the growth in humiliating dependence on a master with the growth in the futile sense of omnipotence that is so typical of the pupil who wants to go out and teach all nations to save themselves. The ritual is tailored to the stern work habits of the hardhats, and its purpose is to celebrate the myth of an earthly paradise of never-ending consumption, which is the only hope for the wretched and dispossessed."** 45

# Fitting people into the capitalist system of exploitation

- (Althusser): "[T]he **reproduction of labour power** requires not only a **reproduction of its skills**, but also, at the same time, a reproduction of its **submission to the rules of the established order**, i.e. a reproduction of **submission to the ruling ideology for the workers**, and a reproduction of **the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression...**" 6-7
- "Each mass ejected *en route* is practically **provided with the ideology which suits the role it has to fulfil in class society**: the role of the **exploited** (with a 'highly-developed' 'professional', 'ethical', 'civic', 'national' and a-political consciousness); the role of the **agent of exploitation** (ability to give the workers orders and speak to them: 'human relations'), of the **agent of repression** (ability to give orders and enforce obedience 'without discussion', or ability to manipulate the demagogy of a political leader's rhetoric), or of the **professional ideologist** (ability to treat consciousness with the respect, i.e. with the contempt, blackmail, and demagogy they deserve, adapted to the accents of Morality, of Virtue, of 'Transcendence', of the Nation... etc.)." 29-30

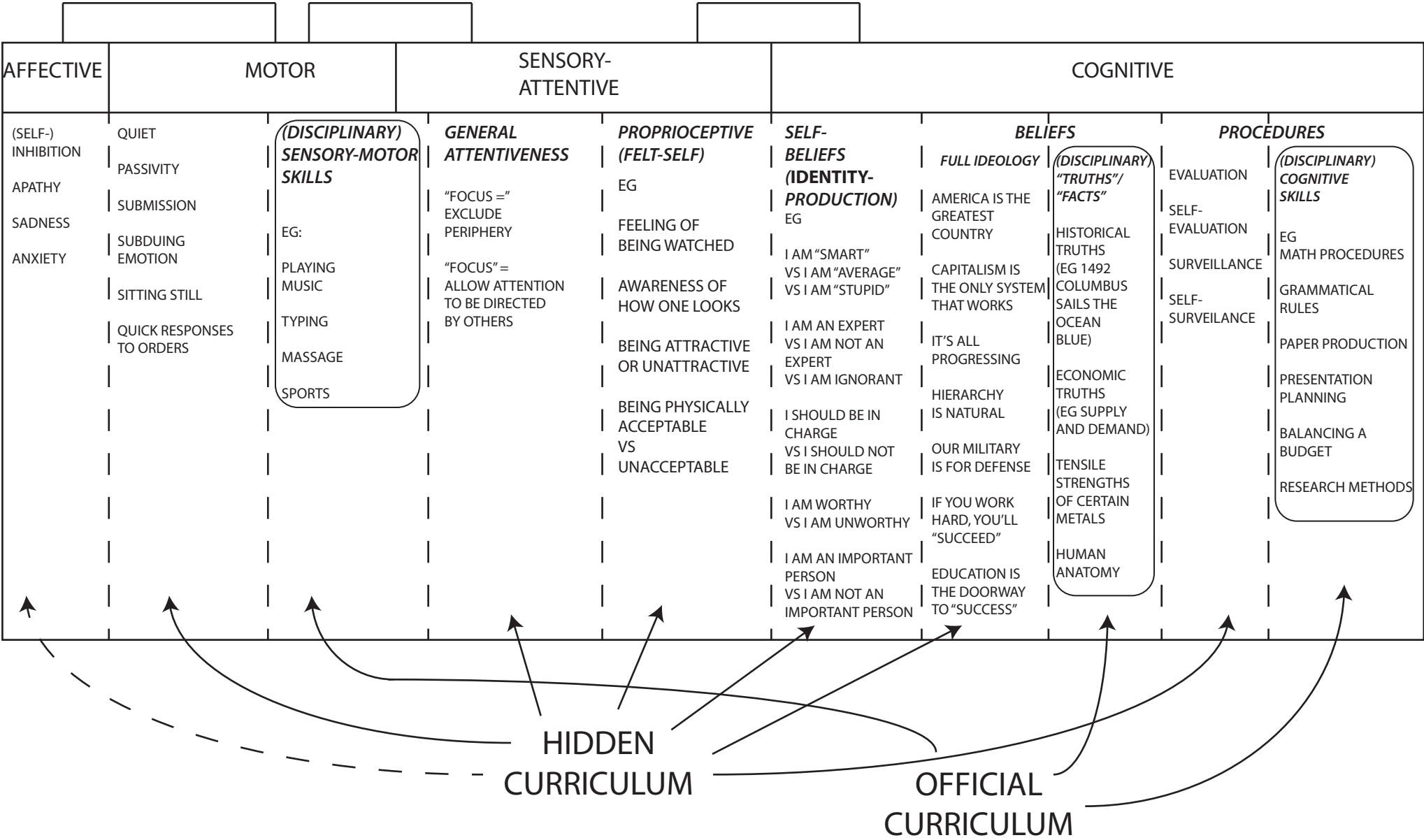
# Submission to Bureaucracy/Experts/Hierarchical Society (under ideological roles)

- (Illich): "Once we have learned to need school, all our activities tend to take the shape of client relationships to other specialized institutions"
- Once a man or woman has accepted the need for school, he or she is easy prey for other institutions. Once young people have allowed their imaginations to be formed by curricular instruction, they are conditioned to institutional planning of every sort." 37-39
- Once people have the idea schooled into them that values can be produced and measured, they tend to accept all kinds of rankings." 40
- "Everywhere, all children know that they were given a chance, albeit an unequal one, in an obligatory lottery, and the presumed equality of the international standard now compounds their original poverty with the self-inflicted discrimination accepted by the dropout." 44
- "School prepares for the alienating institutionalization of life by teaching the need to be taught." 47

IT'S THE REAL PROCESSES CONSTITUTING PEOPLE  
ON A MATERIAL, PHENOMENOLOGICAL LEVEL  
THAT ARE BEING PRODUCED (FORMED) THROUGH OUR LABOR  
("OUR" LABOR = STUDENTS + TEACHERS)

PRODUCING WORKER-SUBJECTS, POLITICAL SUBJECTS, CONSUMING SUBJECTS:

EVERYTHING HERE  
IS PRODUCED THROUGH  
REPETITION



WHAT IS PRODUCED  
ON THE INDIVIDUAL  
LEVEL?



# Destruction of Community

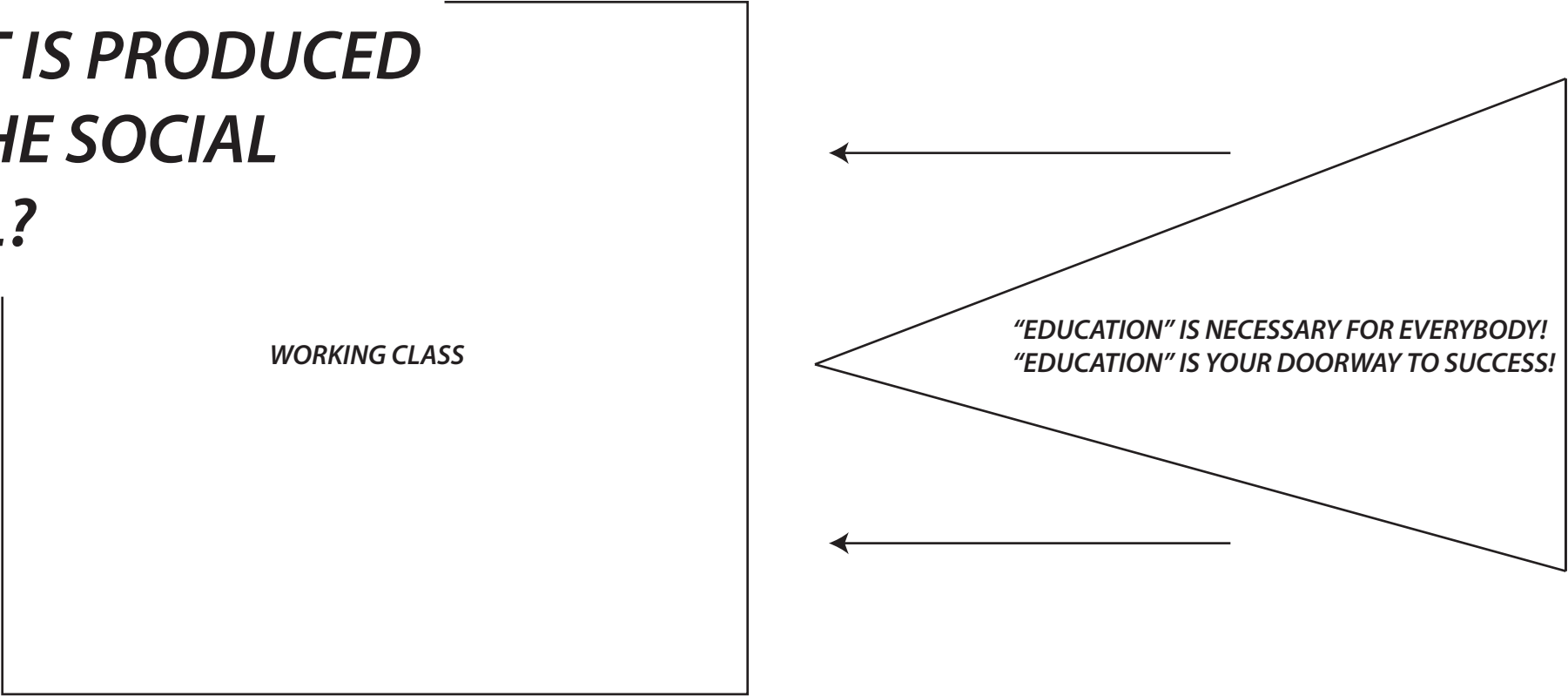
- (Ilich:) "In the modern university [the] community has fled to the fringes, where it meets in a pad, a professor's office, or the chaplain's quarters.... **The modern university has forfeited its chance to provide a simple setting for encounters which are both autonomous and anarchic, focused yet unplanned and ebullient, and has chosen instead to manage the process by which so-called research and instruction are produced.**" 36
- (Giroux:) "In ideological terms, collectivity and social solidarity represent powerful structural threats to the ethos of capitalism." 36

# Class Divisions

- (James:) "In elementary school children, in those who are the sons and daughters of workers, there is always an awareness that **school is in some way setting them against their parents *and their peers*, and consequently that there is an instinctive resistance to studying and to being 'educated.'** This is the resistance for which Black children are confined to educationally subnormal schools in Britain. The European working class child, like the Black working class child, sees **in the teacher somebody who is teaching him or her something against her mother and father, not as a defense of the child but as an attack on the class. Capitalism is the first productive system where the children of the exploited are disciplined and educated in institutions organized and controlled by the ruling class."** 7-8

**EDUCATION SPLITS APART AND THEREBY WEAKENS THE WORKING CLASS**

**WHAT IS PRODUCED  
ON THE SOCIAL  
LEVEL?**



**"EDUCATED" WORKING CLASS**

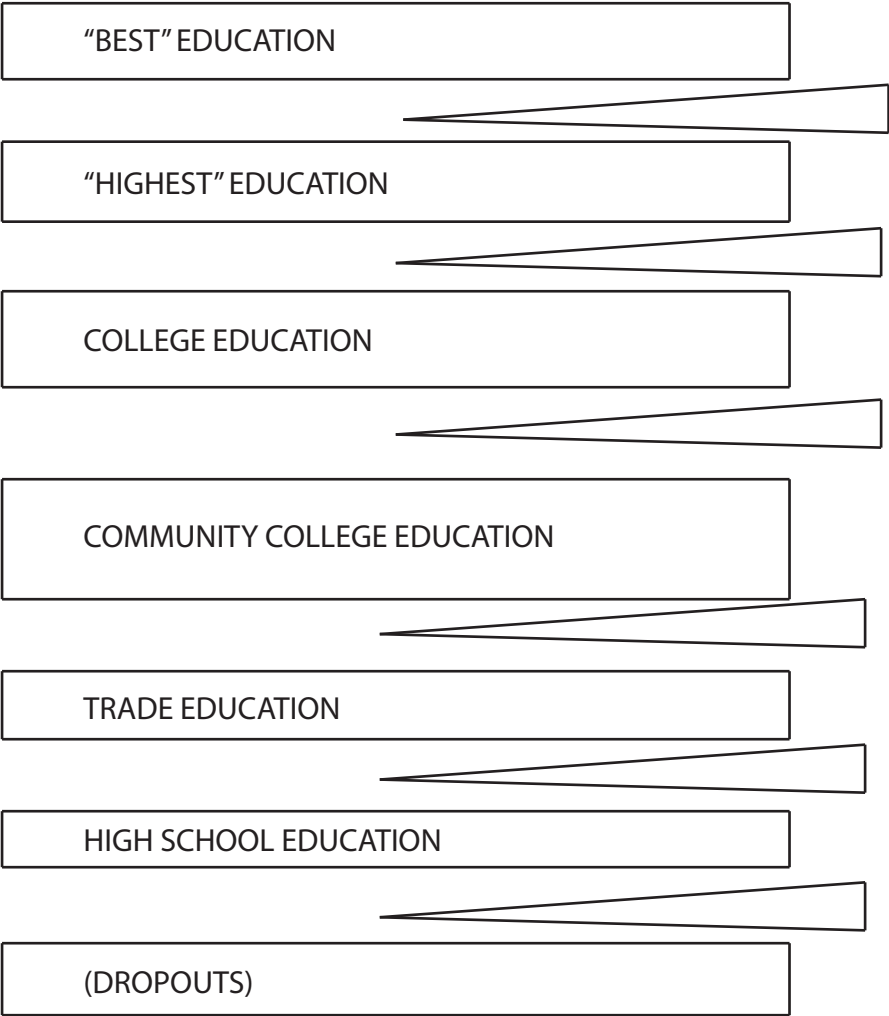
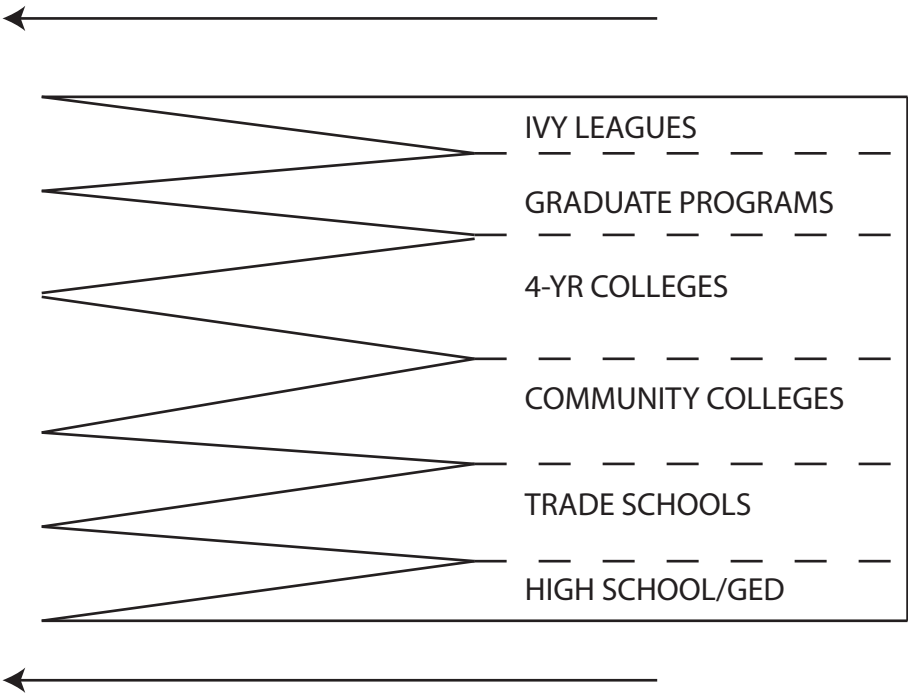
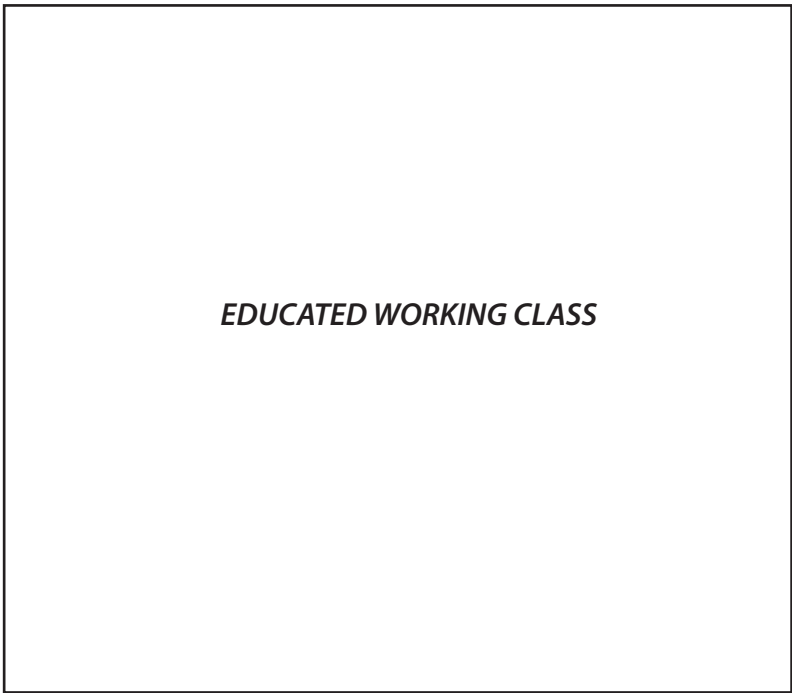
**"EDUCATION"**

**"UNEDUCATED" WORKING CLASS**

PORTIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS  
NO LONGER CAN RELATE  
SPEAK IN DIFFERENT WAYS  
MAKE REFERENCES THE OTHER PORTION OF THE CLASS  
CANNOT UNDERSTAND  
LIVE IN DIFFERENT PLACES  
WORK IN DIFFERENT SECTORS, ESP  
WHITE/BLUE COLLAR JOBS...

AND IF YOU THINK THIS IS TOO HARSH A JUDGMENT  
(COMING FROM SELMA JAMES AND MARIAROSA  
DALLACOSTA)... CONSIDER THE SIZEABLE CULTURAL,  
BEHAVIORAL, LINGUISTIC, ETC GAP BETWEEN  
ADJUNCTS AND STUDENTS... BOTH = ELEMENTS OF  
THE WORKING CLASS... BUT NEITHER THE ADJUNCTS  
NOR THE STUDENTS THINK THE ADJUNCTS ARE OF  
THE CLASS

**EDUCATION SEGREGATES THE (WORKING CLASS) POPULATION FOR EMPLOYER (AND CONTROL)**



**SEGREGATION FITS THE DIVISION OF LABOR**

**MANAGERIAL LABOR  
(INCLUDING EDUCATIONAL  
MANAGERS:  
TEACHERS AND PROFESSORS!)**

**WHITE COLLAR LABOR  
(EG INFORMATION WORKERS  
INCL.ONLINE EDUCATORS!)**

**"SKILLED" LABOR: TRADES**

**"UNSKILLED" LABOR**

**EACH GROUP FEELS  
SUPERIOR TO THE ONE  
BELOW  
INFERIOR TO THE ONE  
ABOVE  
ORDERS COME FROM  
ABOVE  
OBEDIENCE FROM  
BELOW  
THUS DIFFERENT  
INTERESTS  
ARE GENERATED  
WITHIN THE  
WORKING CLASS:  
THE CLASS IS DIVIDED...  
THUS EASIER TO  
CONTROL**

DIMENSIONS OF THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

<div>CORRECTIONS (USU. THROUGH SUBSTITUTION)</div>	PATTERNINGS OF COURSE CONTENT						CLASSROOM RITUAL
	overt ideological declarations		unstated assumptions underpinning overt declarations		tactical / systemic exclusions		passivity quiet obedience isolation disconnection from context fear of speech fear of sanction powerlessness over context top-down command exclusions of certain behaviors
	in readings	in lectures	in readings	in lectures	in readings	in lectures	
	select other texts	reflect on what you say and what you think you know	select other texts	reflect on what you are assuming and who might disagree	select other texts	reflect on what you don't say or talk about- what's off limits-- and why	activity coming to voice self-determination community action upon context multiple voices control over evaluation mutual selection of decorum practice of democracy

LIBERATORY ADJUSTMENT TO HIDDEN CURRICULUM

"ctxt" = Context  
"Q" = Question  
"ctxt-->Q" = (turn)  
context into question

WHAT IS DONE  
AND HOW IT IS DONE  
CAN BE CHANGED

PRODUCERS	MEANS OF PRODUCTION	PRODUCTS
<p><i>WORKERS IN THIS PRODUCTIVE PROCESS =</i></p> <p>STUDENTS</p> <p>TEACHERS</p>	<p>CLASSROOM <b>RITUAL</b></p> <p>CLASSROOM <b>RANKINGS</b></p> <p><b>EVALUATIONS</b></p> <p><b>EXCLUSIONS</b> WITHIN OFFICIAL CURRICULUM</p> <p><b>UNSTATED PREMISES</b> UNDERLYING OFFICIAL CURRICULUM</p> <p><b>EXPLICIT ASSERTIONS</b> IN CLASS MATERIALS/ UTTERED BY TEACHER</p> <p><b>GRADES</b> / DISCIPLINARY ACTION</p>	<p>FEELINGS OF SADNESS/ APATHY/ INCAPACITY</p> <p>DISCIPLINED, DOCILE BODIES</p> <p>HARD WORKERS</p> <p>PEOPLE WHO FEEL AND BELIEVE THAT NO OTHER WORLD IS POSSIBLE</p> <p>UNQUESTIONING PEOPLE</p> <p>SUBMISSIVE PEOPLE</p> <p>BODIES/WORKERS MATCHED WITH PRESENT TECHNOLOGY / DIVISION OF LABOR</p> <p>PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE THE EXPERTS SHOULD TAKE CARE OF IT</p>

WHAT IS TAUGHT  
AND HOW IT IS TAUGHT  
CAN BE CHANGED

THESE ARE THE THINGS THAT  
STUDENTS AND TEACHERS  
(WORKING AS EQUAL PARTNERS)  
CAN ALTER:

*THESE WORKERS SHOULD SEIZE CONTROL OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION*

*"I am not like her"*

DR. KNOWLEDGE

BLAH  
BLAH  
BLAH

HATES THE CLASSROOM  
WANTS TO DO HIS RESEARCH  
WISHES HE HAD BETTER STUDENTS  
PROBLEMS WITH THE CHAIR  
UNCERTAIN EMPLOYMENT  
LACK OF RECOGNITION

"SADNESS" =  
EVER-DIMINISHING  
EVER-CURTAILED  
POWER

STUDENT

*"I am not like him"*

HATES THE CLASSROOM  
WANTS TO DO HER REAL WORK  
(FOR HER MAJOR)  
WISHES SHE HAD A COOLER PROF  
PROBLEMS WITH TUITION  
PROBLEMS WITH PARKING

"SADNESS" =  
EVER-DIMINISHING  
EVER-CURTAILED  
POWER

SEPARATION

## THE TEACHER-STUDENT RELATION IS A RELATION OF ALIENATION

--IT "LINKS" TWO PEOPLE IN A CERTAIN WAY

--BUT IN LINKING THEM, IT SEPARATES THEM SO AS TO INHIBIT TRUE  
RELATIONALITY

TEACHER

NO "WE" SHALL  
EMERGE

STUDENT

SPEAK WHEN I SAY SPEAK!  
WRITE WHEN I SAY WRITE!  
AND NOT OTHERWISE!  
= **PACIFICATION**

OKAY, INACTIVE, SUPERFICIAL  
"WE"S ARE OKAY:  
BE DODGERS FANS  
GAME OF THRONES AFFICIANADOS  
BUT DON'T GET TOO FAMILIAR  
DON'T ACTUALLY BE TOGETHER

WITH RESPECT TO THIS OTHER PERSON  
YOUR ACTIONS MUST BE LIMITED TO "TEACHING"  
CONSIDER THAT THE OTHER PERSON IS LESS... (X) THAN YOU

WITH RESPECT TO THIS OTHER PERSON  
YOUR ACTIONS MUST BE LIMITED TO  
"STUDYING" AND "LEARNING"  
CONSIDER THAT THIS OTHER PERSON IS  
MORE... (X) THAN YOU

**SEGREGATION OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS**  
**SEGREGATION OF GOOD VS BAD STUDENTS**  
**SYSTEMIC MUTUAL DISEMPOWERMENT IN THE CLASSROOM**  
**PROTECTS THE CLASSROOM FROM ALTERATION**  
**BY THOSE WHO LIVE IT**

PERSON1  
Female  
Latina  
Younger  
Dodgers Fan  
Travis Scott fan

PERSON2  
Male  
African American  
Older  
Angels Fan  
Loves Metallica

EVEN EARNEST COMMUNICATION, WITHOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF MUTUAL ACTION, SUSTAINS ISOLATION

“Subjects” with “Predicates”

“Identities” with “Preferences”

COMMUNICATION CHANNEL

SHARING THOUGHTS

energy goes to “seeing who you are” and “sharing who I am”--  
thus the activity, if arrested at this phase, serves to REINFORCE separation

THESE TWO PEOPLE CAN BECOME FAMILIAR THROUGH COMMUNICATION  
THEY MIGHT FIND THINGS THEY HAVE IN COMMON  
AND EVEN INTERESTS THEY SHARE  
BUT WITHOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF ACTION  
THEY REMAIN FOREVER SEPARATE IN THEIR MUTUAL ISOLATION

2 DISTINCT ASPECTS OF 1 CAUSAL PROCESS

MUTUAL ACTION  
PRODUCES NEW UNITIES IN THE WORLD

SPEAKING TOGETHER  
IN ORDER TO ACT TOGETHER  
(IN ORDER TO SPEAK TOGETHER  
IN ORDER TO ACT TOGETHER)  
COMPOSES NEW FORCES  
ACTUALLY IN THE WORLD  
ACTUALLY CAUSAL IN THE WORLD

COMMUNITY/  
COMMONALITY  
IN MUTUAL  
CAUSATION

don’t get stuck fixating on identities  
preferences and predicates  
UNDERNEATH EVERY RELATION OF IDENTITIES  
IS THE POTENTIALITY FOR MUTUAL EXPERIENCE AND MUTUAL ACTION ----  
LIBERATION DEPENDS ON THE REALIZATION OF THESE POWERS

DESIRED  
CHANGE



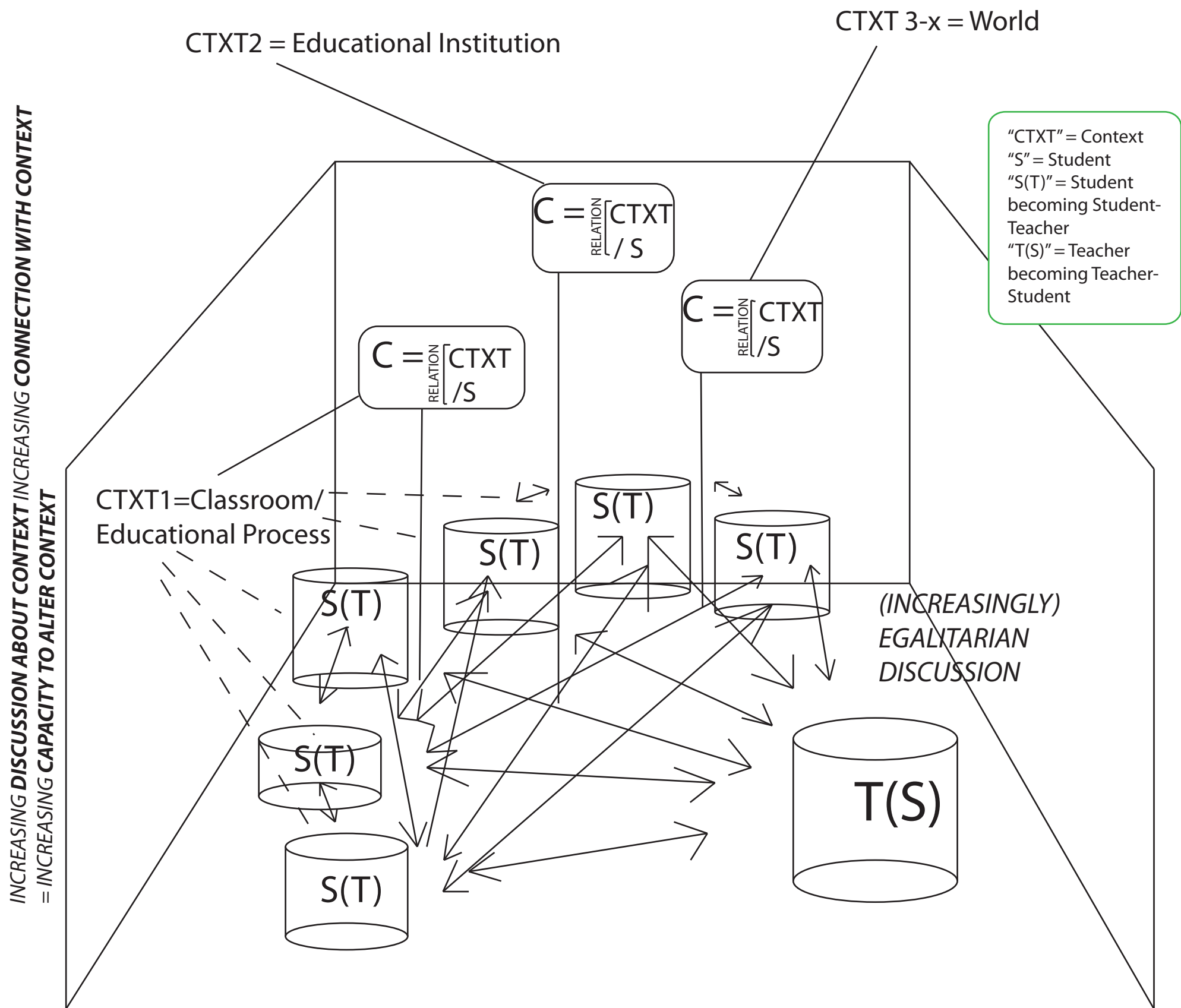
# The only “authority” that doesn’t destroy equality... *is quiet except when called on!*

YES, SOME PEOPLE KNOW THINGS THAT OTHERS DON’T. WE RECOGNIZE THEIR “AUTHORITY” AND WE WILL ASK FOR IT WHEN WE WANT IT—THAT IS, WHEN WE NEED IT.

NO, NOTHING ANYBODY KNOWS SHOULD ESTABLISH THEM AS A *POSITIONAL* AUTHORITY... ONE WHO HAS TO BE RESPECTED BECAUSE OF THEIR POSITION AND TITLE... *REGARDLESS* OF WHETHER WE RESPECT THEM OR WANT TO KNOW WHAT THEY KNOW ... LIKE A “TEACHER” ... OR A “COP.” (NOR, OF COURSE, IS IT THE CASE THAT POSITIONAL AUTHORITY GUARANTEES KNOWLEDGE, MUCH LESS THE KNOWLEDGE WE’RE LOOKING FOR.)

- Bakunin: "In the matter of boots, I refer to the authority of the bootmaker; concerning houses, canals, or railroads, I consult that of the architect or engineer... But I allow neither the bootmaker nor the architect... to impose his authority upon me. I listen to them freely and with all the respect merited by their intelligence, their character, their knowledge, reserving always my incontestable right of criticism and censure. I do not content myself with consulting a single authority in any special branch; I consult several: I compare their opinions, and choose that which seems to me the soundest. But I recognize no infallible authority, even in special questions; consequently, whatever respect I may have for the honesty and the sincerity of such or such an individual, I have no absolute faith in any person. Such a faith would be fatal to my reason, to my liberty, and even to the success of my undertakings; it would immediately transform me into a stupid slave, an instrument of the will and interests of others." 32
- "I receive and I give—such is human life. Each directs and is directed in his turn. Therefore there is no fixed and constant authority, but a continual exchange of mutual, temporary, and, above all, voluntary authority and subordination." 33

# BEGINNING TO TRANSFORM THE CLASSROOM: WHAT'S HAPPENING / WHAT ARE WE DISCUSSING



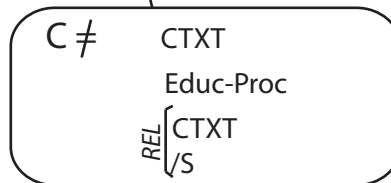
INITIAL

*AUTHORITATIVE  
VOICE*

*PROJECTED IGNORANCE*

**T**  
ACTIVE

**S**  
PASSIVE



~~X~~

**S**  
PASSIVE

"T" = Teacher  
"S" = Student  
"TS" = "Teacher-Student"  
"ST" = "Student-Teacher"  
"C" = Content  
"CTXT" = Context  
"REL" = Relation  
"Educ-Proc" = Educational  
Process



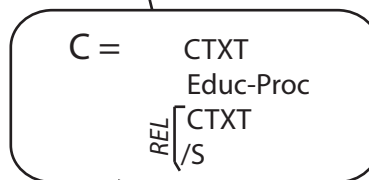
**(ST)**

ACTIVE

TRANSFORMED

**(TS)**

ACTIVE



**(ST)**  
ACTIVE

*PARTNERSHIP  
MUTUAL DIALOGUE  
PRACTICE OF FREEDOM*

from: Paolo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*

# GUIDING PRINCIPLE:

Whenever and however, we should aim to establish

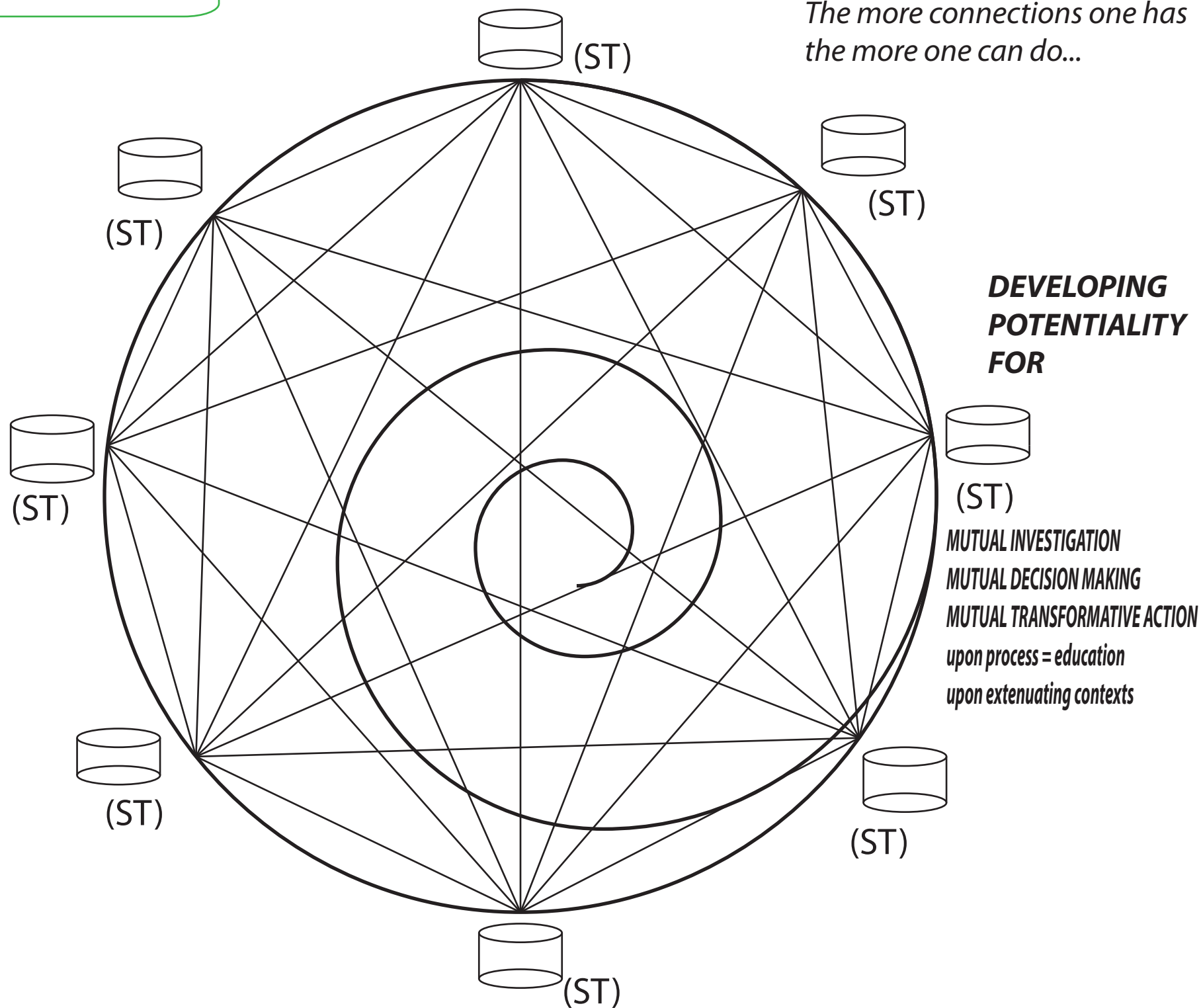
An **egalitarian democratic free discussion circle**

Which **questions and challenges ideologies, structures and practices**

And **moves towards autonomy** (=praxis 1. with respect to self and 2. with respect to immediate context: room [format, ritual/process], syllabus, reading, evaluation)

"ST" = Student-Teachers  
(Students who also teach  
including the "Professor")

*JOYOUS STUDENTS:  
The more connections one has  
the more one can do...*



# EQUALITY: a condition of possibility of honest dialogue and hence of education

## HUMAN COMMUNITY IS BUILT UPON THE ABILITY OF ALL TO UNDERSTAND

- Ranciere: "Equality and intelligence are synonymous terms, exactly like *reason* and *will*. This synonymy on which each man's intellectual capacity is based is also what makes society, in general, possible. **The equality of intelligence is the common bond of humankind, the necessary and sufficient condition for a society of [people] to exist.**" 73
- "There are no madmen except those who insist on inequality and domination, those who want to be right. **Reason begins when discourses organized with the goal of being right cease, begins where equality is recognized: not an equality decreed by law or force, not a passively received equality, but an equality in act, verified, at each step by those marchers who, in their constant attention to themselves and in their endless revolving around the truth, find the right sentences to make themselves understood by others.**" *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, p. 72.

## THERE'S NO "DIALOGUE", NO FREE DISCUSSION, IF SOME SPEAK FOR OTHERS (OR IF CERTAIN THINGS ARE "NOT OPEN FOR DISCUSSION")

- Freire: "But while to say the true word—which is work, which is praxis—is to transform the world, saying the word is not the privilege of some few persons, but the right of everyone. Consequently, no one can say a true word alone—nor can she say it *for* another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words." 88
- "[D]ialogue cannot occur between those who want to name the world and those who do not wish this naming—between those who deny others the right to speak their word and those whose right to speak has been denied them. Those who have been denied their primordial right to speak their word must first reclaim this right and prevent the continuation of this dehumanizing aggression." 88
- "Because dialogue is an encounter among women and men who name the world, it must not be a situation where some name on behalf of others. It is an act of creation; it must not serve as a crafty instrument for the domination of one person by another.

## DIALOGUE IS FOUNDED UPON LOVE, AND LOVE IMPLIES NON-DOMINATION/EQUALITY

- Dialogue cannot exist, however, in the absence of a profound love **for the world and for people. The naming of the world, which is an act of relation and re-creation, is not possible if it is not infused with love. Love is at the same time the foundation of dialogue and dialogue itself. It is thus necessarily the task of responsible Subjects and cannot exist in a relation of domination...** " 89
- "Only by abolishing the situation of oppression is it possible to restore the love which that situation made impossible. If I do not love the world—if I do not love life—if I do not love people—I cannot enter into dialogue." 90
- On the other hand, **dialogue cannot exist without humility.** The naming of the world, through which people constantly re-create the world, cannot be an act of arrogance. Dialogue, as the encounter of those addressed to the common task of learning and acting, is broken if the parties (or one of them) lack humility. How can I dialogue if I always project ignorance onto others and never perceive my own? How can I dialogue if I consider myself a member of the in-group of 'pure' men, the owners of truth and knowledge... **how can I dialogue if I am closed to—and even offended by—the contribution of others?** How can I dialogue if I am afraid of being displaced, the mere possibility causing me torment and weakness?... **Someone who cannot acknowledge himself to be as mortal as everyone else still has a long way to go before he can reach the point of encounter.** At the point of encounter there are neither utter ignoramuses nor perfect sages; **there are only people who are attempting, together, to learn more than they know now.**" 90
- "Without dialogue there is no communication, and without communication there can be no true education." 93

# Assume Equality of Intelligences

- Ranciere: "...no one is born with more intelligence than his neighbor... the superiority that someone might manifest is only the fruit of as tenacious an application to working with words as another might show to working with tools; that the inferiority of someone else is the consequence of circumstances that didn't compel him to seek harder."

# Practical Equality: let people speak and act as in the rest of their lives

Hooks: "...create spaces in the classroom where all voices can be heard because all students are free to speak, knowing their presence will be recognized and valued."

Stembridge:

- "STOKELY Who decides what is correct English and what is incorrect English?
- MILTON People made rules. People in England, I guess.
- ...
- ALMA Why should we change if we understand what we mean?
- ...
- STOKELY If most people speak on the left, why are they trying to change these people?
- GLADYS If you don't talk right, society rejects you...
- ALMA If the majority speaks on the left, then a minority must rule society. Why do we have to change to be accepted by the minority group?
- STOKELY Let's think about two questions for next time: What is society? **Who makes the rules for society?**" 4-7

Stembridge: "[T]he main thing is to understand what people mean when they talk." 8

Hooks: "class... shape[s] values, attitudes, social relations, and the biases that inform... the way knowledge is given and received." 178

- "...it was tacitly assumed that class should not be talked about, that there would be no critique of the bourgeois class biases shaping and informing pedagogical process (as well as social etiquette) in the classroom. Although no one ever directly stated the rules that would govern our conduct, it was taught by example and reinforced by a system of rewards. As silence and obedience to authority were most rewarded, students learned that this was the appropriate demeanor in a classroom. Loudness, anger, emotional outbursts, and even something as seemingly innocent as unrestrained laughter were deemed unacceptable, vulgar disruptions of classroom social order. These traits were also associated with being a member of the lower classes. If one was not from a privileged social group, adopting a demeanor similar to that of the group could help one to advance. It is still necessary for students to assimilate bourgeois values in order to be deemed acceptable.
- **Bourgeois values in the classroom create a barrier, blocking the possibility of confrontation and conflict, warding off dissent.** Students are often silenced by means of class values that teach them to maintain order at all costs. **When the obsession with maintaining order is coupled with the fear of 'losing face,' of not being thought well of by one's professor and peers, all possibility of constructive dialogue is undermined...** This censoring process is only one way bourgeois values overdetermine social behavior in the classroom and undermine the democratic exchange of ideas." 178-179
- "...the attitudes and values of those from materially privileged classes are imposed upon everyone via biased pedagogical strategies. Reflected in choice of subject matter and the manner in which ideas are shared, these biases need never be overtly stated." 180
- (from Karl Anderson:) **"silencing is 'the most oppressive aspect of middle-class life.'** [Anderson] maintains: **'It thrives upon people keeping their mouths shut, unless they are actually endorsing whatever powers exist...'** Silencing enforced by bourgeois values is sanctioned in the classroom by everyone.
- Even those professors who embrace the tenets of critical pedagogy (many of whom are white and male) still conduct their classrooms in a manner that only reinforces bourgeois models of decorum." 180
- "It was assumed that any student coming from a poor or working-class background would willingly surrender all values and habits of being associated with this background. Those of us from diverse ethnic/racial backgrounds learned that no aspect of our vernacular culture could be voiced in elite settings. This was especially the case with **vernacular language or a first language that was not English. To insist on speaking in any manner that did not conform to privileged class ideals** and mannerisms placed one always in the position of interloper...
- We were **encouraged, as many students are today, to betray our class origins...**
- I see many students from 'undesirable' class backgrounds become unable to complete their studies because the contradictions between the behavior necessary to 'make it' in the academy and those that allowed them to be comfortable at home, with their families and friends, are just too great." 182
- "When those of us in the academy who are working class or from **working-class backgrounds share our perspectives**, we subvert the tendency to focus only on the thoughts, attitudes, and experiences of those who are materially privileged." 185

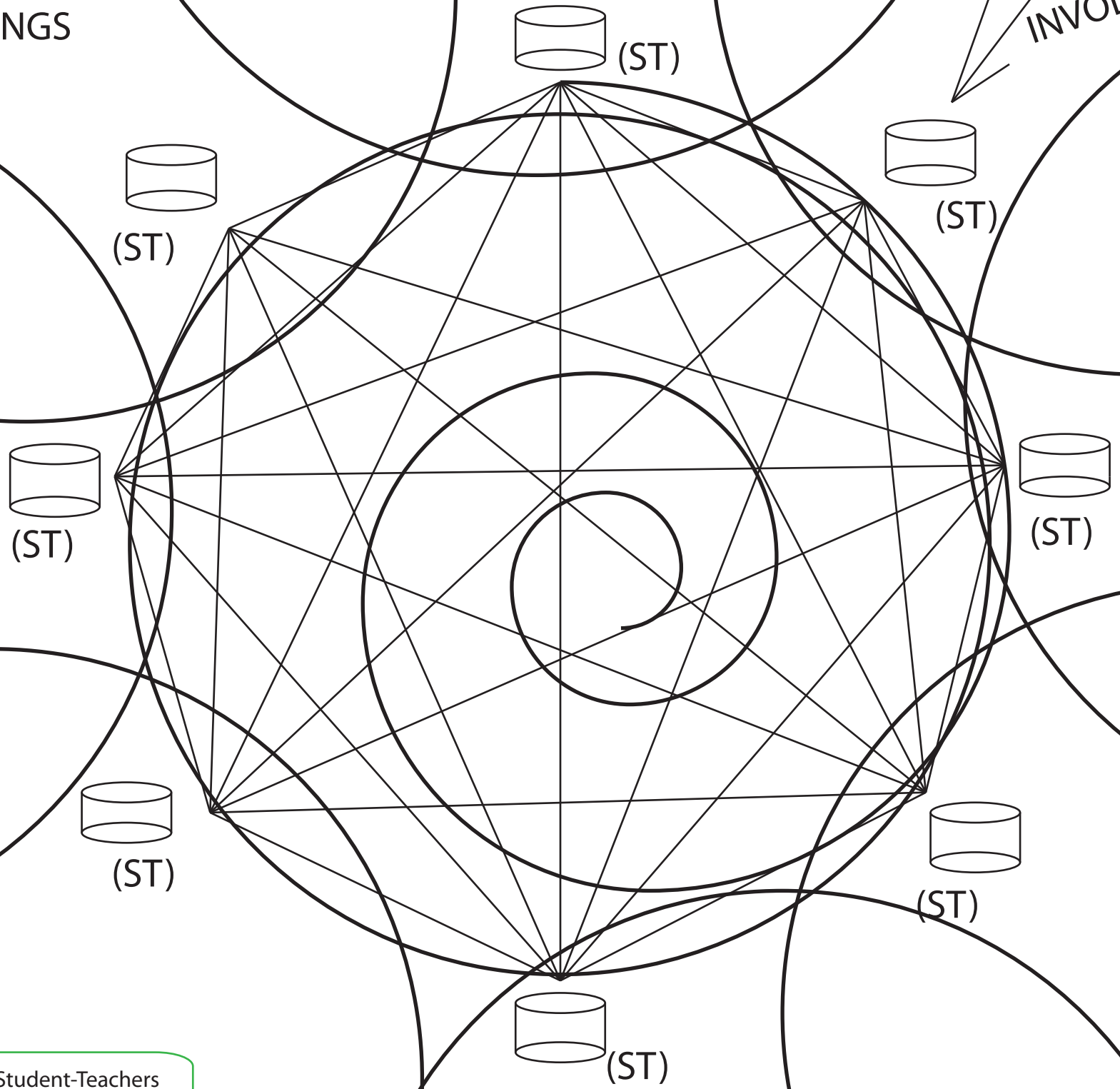


Okay, so egalitarian discussion... but  
what do we discuss?

- Contexts are the concrete basis of our commonality. We need to talk about our relationship to them; their action upon us; our action upon them. This can be achieved in many ways.

CONTEXT  
EMBEDDINGS

HOME  
WORK  
INVOLVEMENTS



"ST" = Student-Teachers  
(Students who also teach  
including the "Professor")

- Freire: "Dialogue is **the encounter between men, mediated by the world**, in order to name the world." 88?
- "[C]ritical thinking—thinking which discerns **an indivisible solidarity between the world and the people** and admits of no dichotomy between them—thinking which perceives reality as process, as transformation, rather than as a static entity—thinking which does not separate itself from action... For the naïve thinker, the important thing is accommodation to this normalized 'today.' For the critic, the important thing is the continuing transformation of reality, in behalf of the continuing humanization of men." 92
- "Education which is able to resolve the contradiction between teacher and student takes place in a **situation in which both address their act of cognition to the object by which they are mediated.** thus, the dialogical character of education as the practice of freedom does not begin when the teacher-student meets with the students-teachers in a pedagogical situation, but rather when the former first asks herself or himself *what* she or he will dialogue with the latter *about*.
- For the anti-dialogical banking educator, the question of content simply concerns the program about which he will discourse to his students; and he answers his own question, by organizing his own program. For the dialogical, problem-posing teacher-student, the program content of education is neither a gift nor an imposition—bits of information to be deposited in students—but rather **the organized, systematized, and developed "re-presentation" to individuals of the things about which they want to know more.**
- **Authentic education... mediated by the world—a world which impresses and challenges both parties—giving rise to views or opinions about it. These views, impregnated with anxieties, doubts, hopes, or hopelessness, imply significant themes on the basis of which the program content of education can be built.**

# START HERE AND NOW, IN THIS ROOM

- Davis: "what is the meaning of Education?... The goal of the educational process is to create human beings who have human concerns, human beings who know and understand themselves and are able to **pass human judgments on what's going on around them**. Education should not move the mind according to a prefabricated architectural plan; it should rather liberate the mind. **It should liberate the mind from established definitions and plans**. The mind has to be liberated merely in order to **perceive the world, to understand what its advantages are, what its disadvantages are**."
- Freire: "**The starting point** for organizing the program content of education or political action must be **the present, existential, concrete situation**, reflecting the aspirations of the people. Utilizing certain basic contradictions, we must **pose this existential, concrete, present situation to the people as a problem which challenges** them and requires a response—**not just at the intellectual level, but at the level of action**." 96

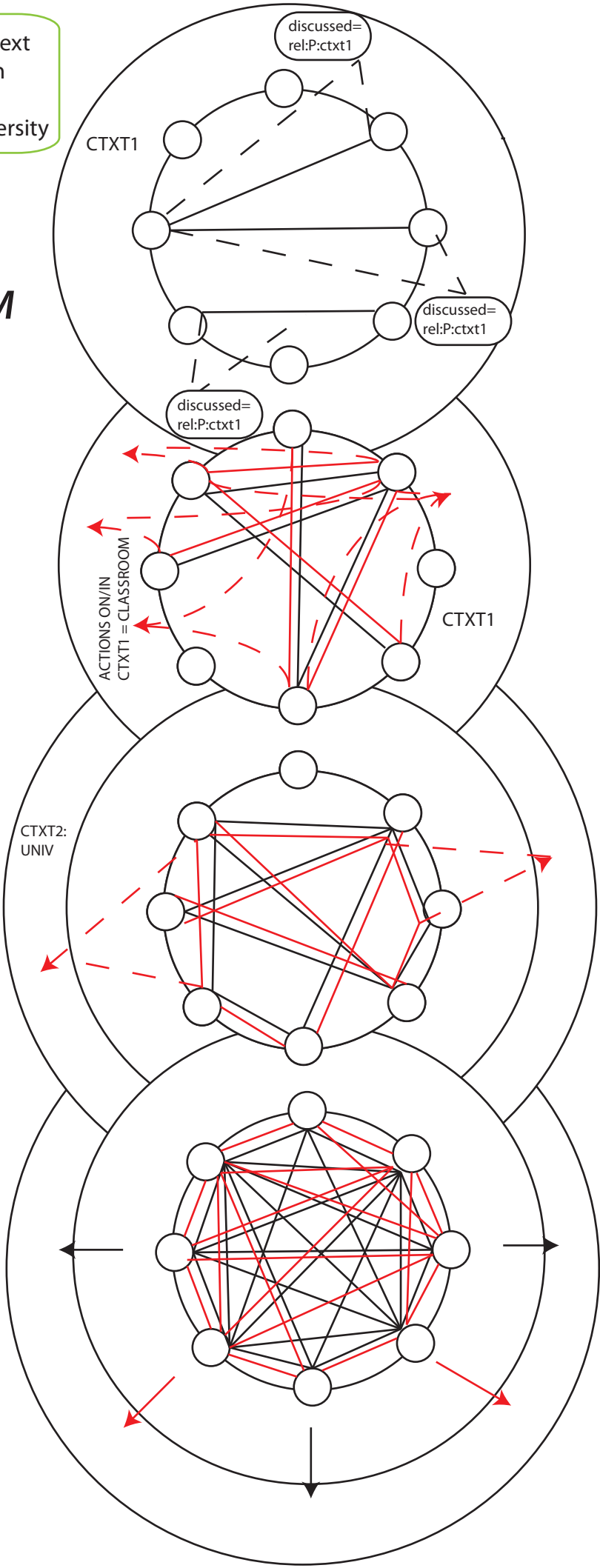
EQUALIZATION  
DEMOCRATIZATION  
TRUTH  
FREE DISCUSSION  
BUILD POWER IN THE ROOM:

NOW  
ACTIVATING THE GROUP/  
**ACTIVATING THE ROOM**

B  
U  
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DEVELOPING  
CAPACITY FOR INTERROGATION  
WILL AND CAPACITY FOR  
UNDERSTANDING  
ACTIVATION REGARDING CONTEXTS  
CAPACITY FOR TRANSFORMATIONAL  
ACTION  
HABIT OF TRANSFORMATIONAL ACTION

“CTXT” = Context  
“rel” = Relation  
“P” = Person  
“UNIV” = University

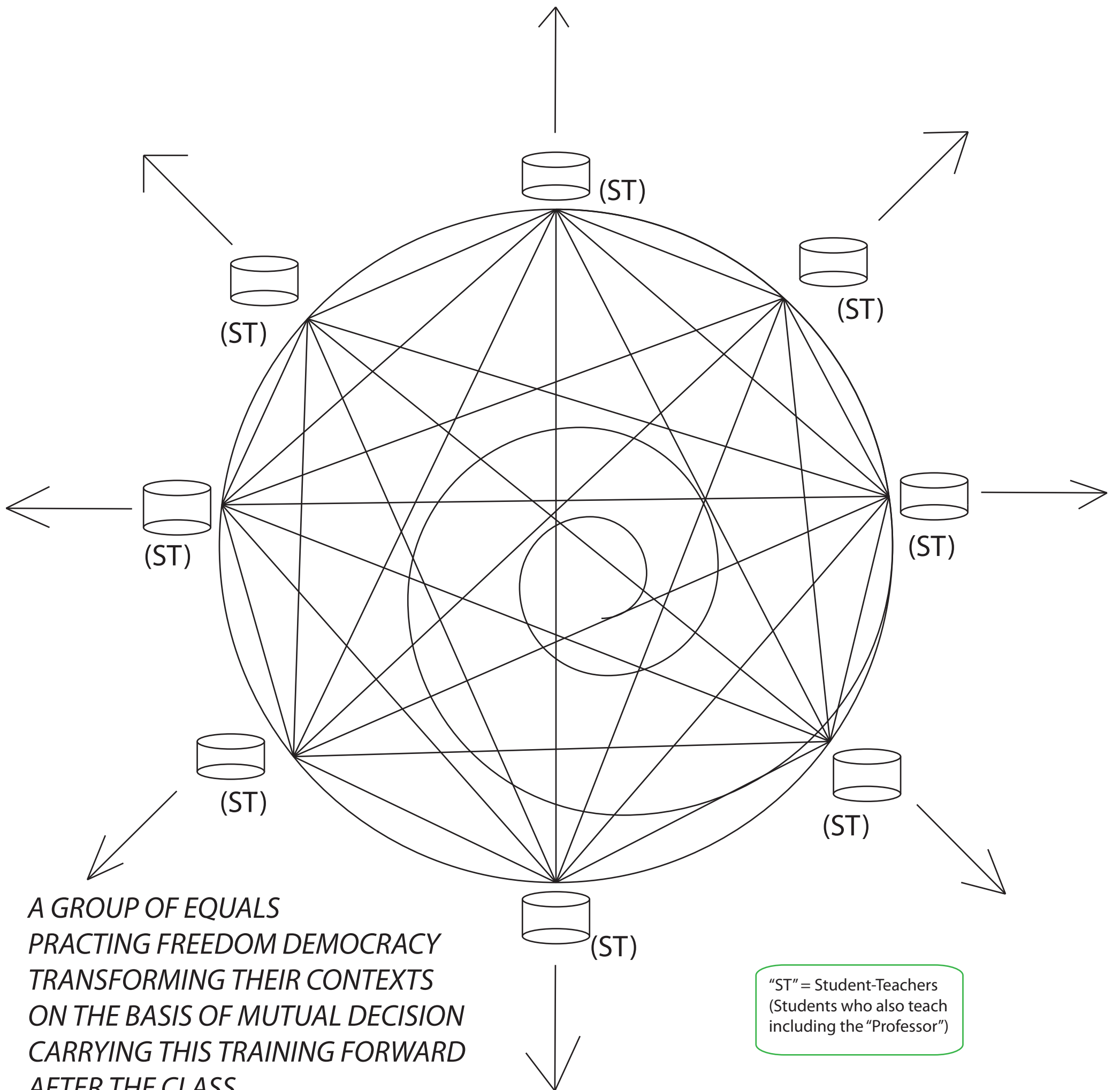


MULTIPLYING COMMUNICATION CHANNELS  
MULTIPLYING DISCUSSION ABOUT  
\*RELATIONS OF US TO CTXTS:  
what is really up in this ctxt?  
x = desirable  
x = undesirable  
FINDING COMMONALITY OF SITUATION  
FINDING COMMONALITY OF INTEREST  
VIA FREE DISCUSSION  
ABOUT WHAT QUESTIONS  
ABOUT REL: P: CTXT  
ARE RAISED BY OUR “CONTENT”  
(“CONTENT” IS ALSO CONTEXT)/  
(THE MESSAGE IS PART OF THE MEDIUM)

**BUT EACH “COMMUNICATION CHANNEL”  
IS MORE THAN A COMMUNICATION CHANNEL  
(A COMMUNICATION CHANNEL IMPLIES  
TWO DISCRETE AND SEPARATED ENTITIES  
WHO ARE DEFINED IN TERMS OF THEIR  
“COMMUNICATING”)**

**EACH COMMUNICATION CHANNEL  
IS ALSO A POTENTIAL HUMAN RELATIONSHIP  
IS ALSO A CAPACITY FOR MUTUAL EXPERIENCE  
A CAPACITY FOR MUTUAL DESIRE/INTEREST  
AND A CAPACITY FOR MUTUAL ACTION  
THESE ARE GROWN BY COMMUNICATION  
BUT THEY EXCEED COMMUNICATION  
BY BECOMING CO-PASSIONATE  
AND CO-CAUSAL**

A FULLY LIBERATED/AUTONOMIZED  
CLASSROOM =  
A COMMUNITY OF  
INTELLIGENT TRUTH-SEEKERS  
INSISTING ON THE TRUTH  
ABOUT THEIR SITUATIONS  
DISCOVERING WHAT IS GOOD  
AND WHAT ISN'T  
IN THESE SITUATIONS  
DISCUSSING AND ACTING REGULARLY  
ON THESE CONTEXTS  
EMANATING UNDERSTANDING  
AND CAUSAL / ORGANIZATIONAL  
INFLUENCE OUTWARD



# What gets pulled into question?

## DOMINANT IDEOLOGICAL NOTIONS (EG “THE SLOGANS OF THE OPPRESSORS”)

- Ture: "The job of the oppressor is to make you think that the oppressed and the oppressor have the same history... So our job is to constantly give them the truth."
- Davis: "I think **one of the most violent forms of repression which exists in the society today is the calculated indoctrination to which the American people are being subjected...**"
- Marcos: "In our global world the pictures come from all over the planet—but some are missing. Not because there is not enough room on the screen but because **someone up there selected these pictures rather than others.**" 311
- Freire: "... **a truly liberating course of action... by presenting the oppressors' slogans as a problem, helps the oppressed to 'eject' those slogans from within themselves.**" 95

## STRUCTURES/PROCESSES/... THE SYLLABUS

- Ture: "Your job is to redirect their energies to the forces that affect their lives."
- "You can never make an analysis of an oppressed people in any aspect of their lives, and leave out the oppressor. If you do, you'll end up blaming the people... Once you understand that there are forces that are making them go this way, then you know that your struggle is against these forces."

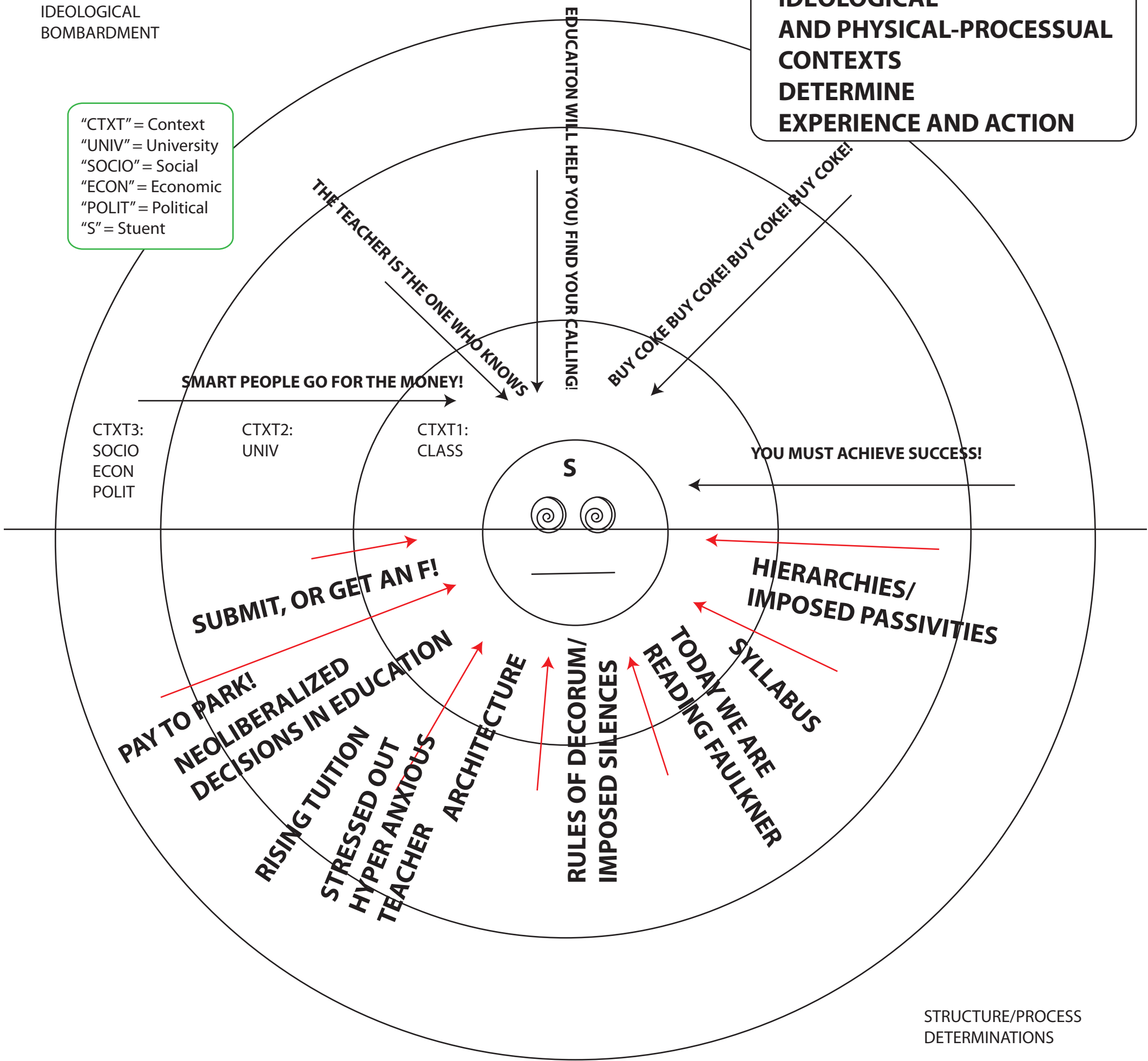
## USING TEXTS TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT CONTEXTS

- in this text, at this time, this was said to be true
  - is that true now? if not, how is now different? if so, how is stuff now the same?
  - (*texts can be politicized/weaponized for attacking/revealing/altering contexts—*)
- \*\***and they can be selected for on this basis—*a liberating educator should select on this basis:*
- --to raise key questions
  - --to inform about contexts [sometimes by diagramming the history of their production]

IDEOLOGICAL  
BOMBARDMENT

IDEOLOGICAL  
AND PHYSICAL-PROCESSUAL  
CONTEXTS  
DETERMINE  
EXPERIENCE AND ACTION

"CTXT" = Context  
"UNIV" = University  
"SOCIO" = Social  
"ECON" = Economic  
"POLIT" = Political  
"S" = Stuent





IDEOLOGICAL  
BOMBARDMENT

"CTXT" = Context  
"SOCIO" = Social  
"ECON" = Economic  
"POLIT" = Political  
"S" = Student  
"Q" = Question

**PROBLEM-POSING  
EDUCATION  
REVEALS CONTEXTS  
BY QUESTIONING  
IDEOLOGY AND  
STRUCTURES/PROCESSES**

Q: WHAT'S THE HISTORY  
OF THE IDEA OF "SUCCESS"  
IN THE UNITED STATES?

YOU MUST ACHIEVE SUCCESS!

Q: HOW DOES OUR  
EDUCATION SYSTEM  
SERVE CAPITALISM?

STRUCTURE/PROCESS  
DETERMINATIONS

EDUCATION WILL HELP YOU) FIND YOUR CALLING!

BUY COKE BUY COKE! BUY COKE!

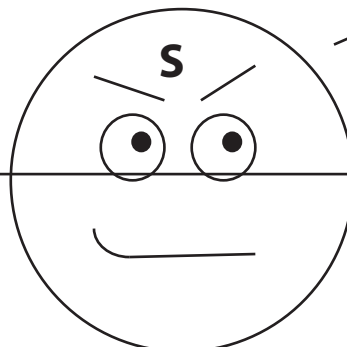
THE TEACHER IS THE ONE WHO KNOWS

SMART PEOPLE GO FOR THE MONEY!

CTXT3:  
SOCIO  
ECON  
POLIT

CTXT2:  
UNIV

CTXT1:  
CLASS



HIERARCHIES/  
IMPOSED PASSIVITIES

SYLLABUS

TODAY WE ARE  
READING FAULKNER

RULES OF DECORUM/  
IMPOSED SILENCES

ARCHITECTURE

STRESSED OUT  
HYPER ANXIOUS  
TEACHER

PAY TO PARK!

NEOLIBERALIZED  
DECISIONS IN EDUCATION

SUBMIT, OR GET AN F!

# DISCUSSION AND QUESTIONING:

## QUESTION – NAME – SHARE - FREELY

### QUESTION – EVERYTHING – ESPECIALLY WHAT'S "OBVIOUS"

- Davis: "Absolutely everything deserves to be questioned, especially what is most taken for granted."

### NAME

- Freire: "To exist, humanly, is to *name* the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new *naming*." 88

### SHARE: We discuss to find commonality and to produce it.

- Hooks: "Hearing each other's voices, individual thoughts, and sometimes associating these voices with personal experience makes us more acutely aware of each other. That moment of collective participation and dialogue means that students and professor respect—and here I invoke the root meaning of the world, 'to look at'—each other, engage in acts of recognition with one another, and do not just talk to the professor. Sharing experiences and confessional narratives in the classroom helps establish communal commitment to learning. These narrative moments usually are the space where the assumption that we share a common class background and perspective is disrupted." 186

### FREELY= according to the comfort of everyone present

- Hooks: "Professors cannot empower students to embrace diversities of experience, standpoint, behavior, or style if our training has disempowered us, socialized us to cope effectively only with a single mode of interaction based on middle-class values." 187

# “Politicizing” the (already-political) classroom

- Davis: "I maintain that political opinions should be brought into the classroom. They belong in the classroom. I think that **education itself is inherently political. Its goal ought to be political. It ought to create human beings who possess a genuine concern for their fellow human beings...**"
- "...there are political opinions already in the classroom but they are political opinions which reflect the political power in this country... in maintaining that the university is no place for political thought they are denying something which is the most crucial aspect of knowledge: its transformation into reality."
- "I can't and I won't keep my political opinions out of the classroom. I think they belong there.... I want [students] to think about it, to criticize, to say whether they think I'm right and to present other solutions perhaps which they feel might be better. Now this is the process of education. It's supposed to **be a free atmosphere where everything can be subjected to a critical attitude** and I think the **critical attitude is truly the mark of an educated person...**"
- Marcos: "[P]rogressive thinkers must reveal what they know, dissect it, denounce it, and pass it on to others. but to do this, they must also **confront neoliberal dogma, backed by the media, banks, major corporations, the Army, and police.**"  
314-315

# TRUTH

- Ture: "Conscience is in every human being... and it instinctively recognizes truth, instantly... Capitalism's weakest point is the lies it tells. Our strongest point is the truth we tell."
- Ture: "They know that the only way that lies can dominate truth is that lies must be constant. Constant. Anytime lies stop, truth surfaces."

# Liberation Pedagogy requires (but also breeds) Honesty and Integrity

**Honesty 1:** Veracity. No saying things we don't believe, or that we know to be false. No telling people things because "that's what students need to hear." No hiding when we are asked what we really think. We have to model propositional truth-telling.

**Honesty 2:** Virtuous **character**. Honesty goes beyond the veracity of statements. It also encompasses **awareness** of one's own fallibility, one's own class, gender and race positionality, the biases produced by one's own education and history. "Being honest" is a comportment as well as a manner of speaking. "Being honest" in this respect includes recognizing that one is *just another person*... So "being honest" might often mean (especially for teachers) *being quiet*.

- Stembridge: "[P]eople learn from someone they trust, who trusts them... [including] seriousness... about the subject matter."

## **Honesty 3: Commitment**

- Freire: "Because love is an act of courage, not of fear, love is commitment to others. No matter where the oppressed are found, the act of love is commitment to their cause—the cause of liberation. And this commitment, because it is loving, is dialogical."

## **Integrity**

- Freire: "When a word is deprived of its dimension of action, reflection automatically suffers as well; and the word is changed into idle chatter... It becomes an empty word, one which cannot denounce the world, for denunciation is impossible without a commitment to transform, and there is no transformation without action." 87

# LIBERATION ONLY HAPPENS IN AN AMBIENCE OF TRUST

- Freire: "Founding itself upon love, humility, and faith, dialogue becomes a **horizontal relationship of which mutual trust between the dialoguers is the logical consequence... [a] climate of mutual trust, which leads the dialoguers into ever closer partnership in the naming of the world.** Conversely, such trust is obviously absent in the anti-dialogics of the banking method of education... **trust is established by dialogue.** Should it founder, it will be seen that the preconditions were lacking." 91
- "Trust is contingent on the evidence which one party provides the others of his true, concrete intentions; it cannot exist if that party's words do not coincide with their actions. To say one thing and do another—to take one's own word lightly—cannot inspire trust. To glorify democracy and to silence the people is a farce; to discourse on humanisms and to negate people is a lie." 9

# (Tell the truth!): There is no such thing as “neutrality”

Marcos: "[Intellectuals] are... part of a **society, which is the scene of endless confrontation** and is **split between those who use power to maintain the status quo and those who fight for change.**" 312

- "Progressive intellectuals are 'born' in the midst of a process of seduction and persecution. Some resist; others, convinced that the global economy is inevitable, look in their box of tricks and find reasons to legitimate the existing power structure. They are awarded with a comfortable armchair, on the right hand of the prince they once denounced." 312
- "Far from indulging in original, critical thought, right-wing intellectuals become remarkably pragmatic, echoing the advertising slogans that flood the world's markets. In exchange for a place in the sun and the support of certain media and governments, they cast off their critical imagination and any form of self-criticism and espouse the new, free-market creed."

Ture: "Every child in this country over eight years old knows about Coca-Cola. Yet Coca-Cola doesn't stop putting up signs or whistling jingles. So we must be as enthusiastic about winning our people over to struggle as Coca-Cola is about selling Cokes."

Davis: (the Regents) "intend to keep the knowledge developed in the university in the service of the prevailing oppression."

- "I think we have to establish some priorities. We have to ask ourselves whether we're going to make an effort now towards individual fulfillment or whether we're going to wage a fight for a more humane society, whether we're going to create a strong defense against what may very well become a mirror of fascism. You see I don't think we really have a choice. I don't think there is any question about what the priority should be.... I think the priority is very clear... if we don't work to prevent the full-blown development of fascism in this country then we won't even be able to talk about... individual fulfillment in the future."

Freire: "**The oppressors are the ones who act upon the people to indoctrinate them and adjust them to a reality which must remain untouched.**"

Ture: "You can never make an analysis of an oppressed people in any aspect of their lives, and leave out the oppressor. If you do, you'll end up blaming the people... Once you understand that there are forces that are making them go this way, then you know that your struggle is against these forces."

Freire: "It is not our role to speak to the people about our own view of the world, nor to attempt to impose that view on them, but rather to dialogue with the people about their view and ours. We must realize that their view of the world, manifested variously in their action, reflects their *situation* in the world." 96

# Why/how democracy?

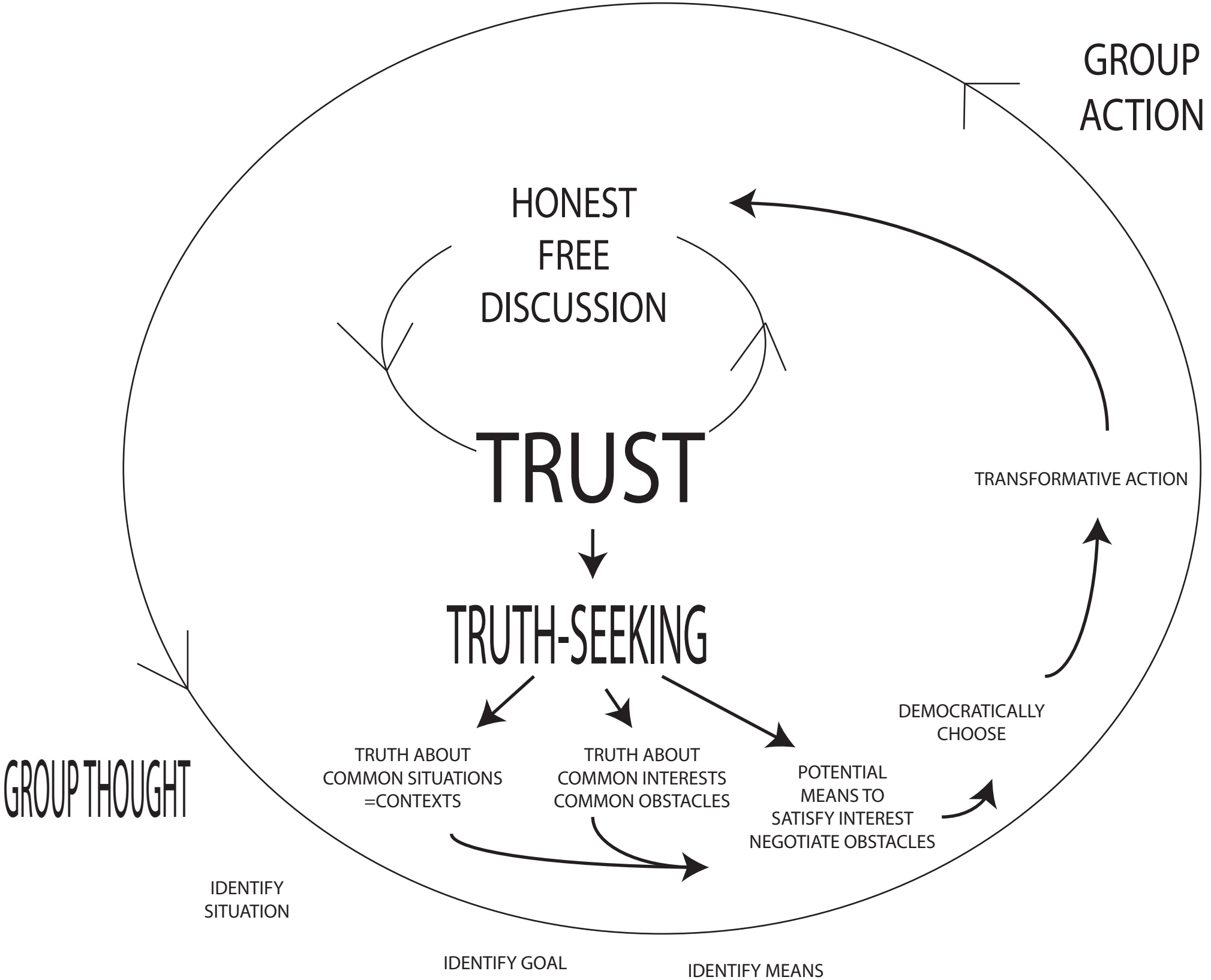
- Because we have affirmed that we wish to *activate* the people in the room as individuals and as a group. But if some do not debate or decide, they are structurally pacified.
- Because we have affirmed that we wish to overcome alienations/separations between people. If some choose but others don't, there's a separation between them.
- Because we have affirmed that we wish to respect the equality of everyone in the room. If some decide but others don't, we're empirically unequal.



# Democracy = Group Praxis

- Ture: "They are told all the time that in this country, you ain't got to care about nobody except yourself. They are told that in a million different ways... They are getting individualism 24 hours a day, so you have to come and give them community orientation 24 hours a day."
- Weil: "True liberty is not defined by a relationship between desire and its satisfaction, but by a relationship between thought and action: the absolutely free man would be he whose every action proceeded from a preliminary judgment concerning the end which he set himself and the sequence of means suitable for attaining this end." 81
- "Every judgment bears upon an objective set of circumstances, and consequently upon a warp and woof of necessities. Living man can on no account cease to be hemmed in on all sides by an absolutely inflexible necessity; but since he is a thinking creature, he can choose between either blindly submitting to the spur with which necessity pricks him on from outside, or else adapting himself to the inner representation of it that he forms in his own mind; and it is in this that the contrast between servitude and liberty lies." 81

# DEMOCRACY = GROUP PRAXIS



CONTEXT 1: THE ROOM / THE CLASS  
This is the first place where praxis must occur,  
or else it is the place where praxis will be defeated.

If there is no equality  
If certain people are being shut down  
There can be no praxis

If there is no democracy  
If only certain people decide  
There can be no praxis

If there is no truth  
If words never match actions  
such that there is no integrity  
If ideology is left unquestioned  
If no one dares speak honestly  
About what's up right here  
There can be no praxis

BUT WITHOUT PRAXIS THERE IS NO FREEDOM

AND EDUCATION SHOULD BE THE  
PRACTICE OF FREEDOM

THE ACTUAL EXISTENCE OF  
A GROUP  
VS OF TWO OR MORE GROUPS  
OR ONLY INDIVIDUALS  
DEPENDS UPON

**EQUALITY**  
**DEMOCRACY**  
**TRUTH**

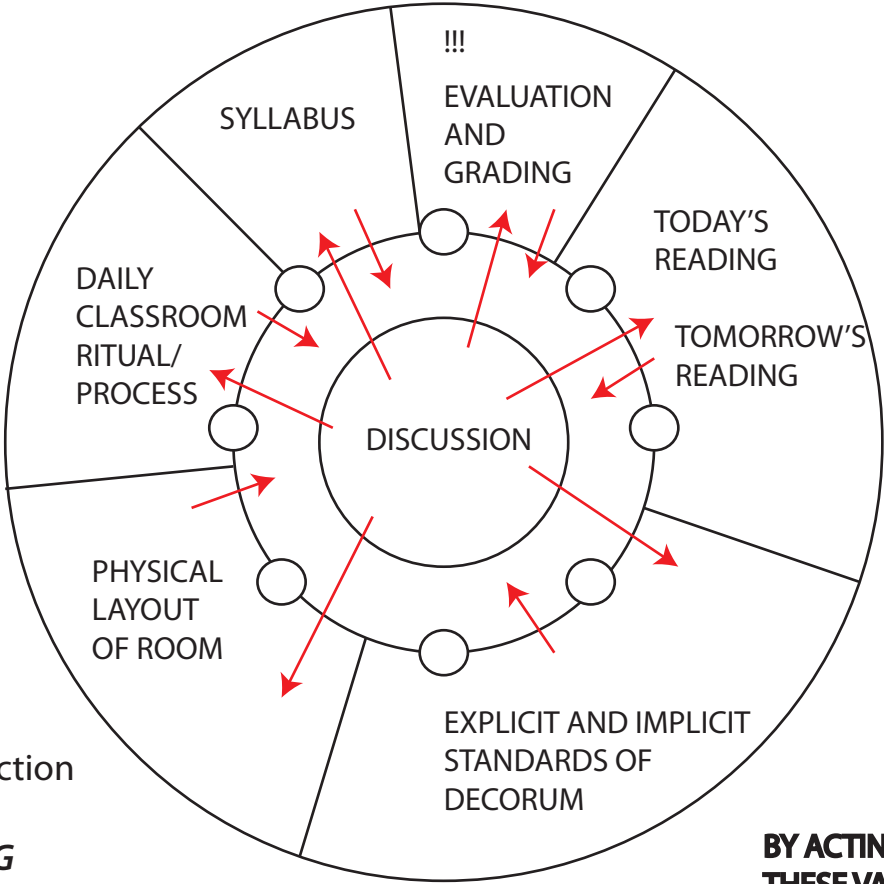
EACH OF THESE ELEMENTS OF  
CONTEXT 1: THE ROOM / THE CLASS ITSELF  
= **FORCES FORMING THE CLASS AS A  
REAL PROCESS UNFOLDING ACROSS  
TIME AND SPACE**  
THEY ARE  
**MEANS OF PRODUCTION OF THE ROOM**  
AND THEY SHOULD BE TAKEN OVER BY THE  
WORKERS IN THE CLASSROOM

**WHAT WE ARE READING**  
**WHAT WE ARE VIEWING**  
**(and hence)**  
**WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT**  
should be engaged with  
ANY THOUGHTS IT PRODUCES  
in the people in the room  
We have to talk about  
what this means  
to US  
given where we're at  
and what we've been through...  
or else it's just  
IDLE CHATTER  
(and we've all got plenty  
of training in that already)

**THE PHYSICAL ROOM**  
should be rearranged  
as a circle!

**DAILY RITUAL**  
should be chosen  
by those who  
perform it  
  
**THE SYLLABUS**  
should be open to  
collaborative reconstruction  
thus  
**TOMORROW'S READING**  
should be selected  
by those who will read it

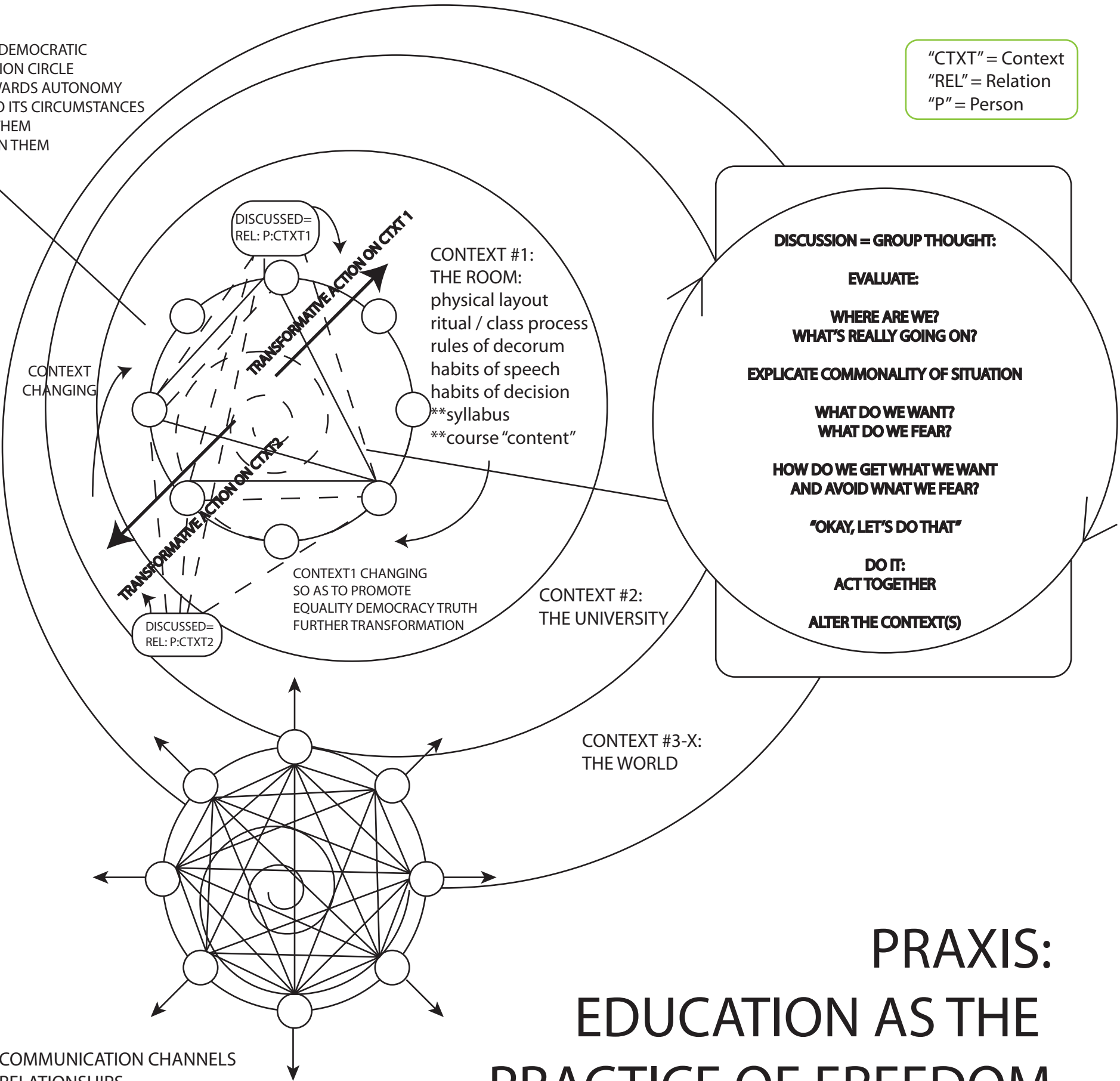
**EVALUATION AND GRADING**  
should be the subject of  
serious discussion and negotiation



**BY ACTING UPON  
THESE VARIOUS DIMENSIONS  
OF THE ROOM / THE CLASS  
THE PEOPLE IN THE ROOM  
TAKE CONTROL  
OVER THEIR OWN ACTIVITY  
AND THEIR OWN FORMATION,  
FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES**

EGALITARIAN DEMOCRATIC  
FREE DISCUSSION CIRCLE  
TENDING TOWARDS AUTONOMY  
WAKING UP TO ITS CIRCUMSTANCES  
EVALUATING THEM  
OPERATING ON THEM

"CTXT" = Context  
"REL" = Relation  
"P" = Person



# PRAXIS: EDUCATION AS THE PRACTICE OF FREEDOM

# Indices / Markers of Classroom Liberation

**Activation** with respect to Context:

- individual activation (especially “coming to voice”)
- group → activity
  - with respect to its own space and practice
  - with respect to broader contexts

**Contexts:** opening to understanding/action

Find **commonality** (perceived/understood; experienced)

- situation/contexts...
- interests... goals...
- means...
- action

	Context	Activations	PCVD commonalities	ENACTED commonalities	Gen ORG skills
PRE existing condition	Acts on us without our perception; = invisible / hidden / irrelevant	T = active S = passive	T-S relations are sequestered Only commonality = individuals "striving for success"	Reinforcing isolations and active/passive relations	NONE
1	thematize / make visible the context... begin altering the context as a circle	Individuals pass from passive listeners to active speakers Affectively they pass from closed to open	of situation (here we are, all together, multiple points of view upon one situation)	mutual RISK (by opening and sharing with others)	One-on-ones
2	analyze in wider terms (I-CR-620-W) Democratically alter process and syllabus	of GROUP/room ... act on syllabus... act on process	of interest (here's what we'd all [or some subset] like; here's what we'd all like to avoid)	mutual SELECTIVE CHOICE (doing democratic selection of proc/syll)	Gathering and negotiating groups
3	understood in large-scale PRODUCTIVE CONTEXT (invisible HC/prod made visible)	Drop roles... act as PEOPLE... with existing connections, allegiances, concerns	of means and actions (here's how we could get what we want and avoid what we fear)	mutual productive action → beginning in but extending beyond the CR	Power analysis/mapping institutionally
4	active productive relation between group and ctxt at multiple levels	of wider potentialities and networks (beyond the CR)	in a wide strategy (here's how our struggle relates to other struggles)	networked/larger-scale tactical connections	Seeking/developing confederation
Revolutionary Outcome	WE ACT ON IT	OUR HABIT IS PRAXIS – OUR HABIT HAS BECOME THE "PRACTICE	WE SEE THE BIG PICTURE	WE ACT LOCALLY WITH RELATION TO THE BIG PICTURE	AS PART OF A CONFEDERAL MOVEMENT NETWORK

		OF FREEDOM"			
--	--	----------------	--	--	--

# What are We Doing?

- (Ilich:) **"Only disenchantment with and detachment from the central social ritual and reform of that ritual can bring about radical change.**
- **We cannot begin a reform of education unless we first understand that neither individual learning nor social equality can be enhanced by the ritual of schooling.**
- (Althusser:) "I ask the pardon of those teachers who, in dreadful conditions, attempt to turn the few weapons they can find in the history and learning they 'teach' against the ideology, the system and the practices in which they are trapped.... But they are rare and how many (the majority) **do not even begin to suspect the 'work' the system (which is bigger than they are and crushes them) forces them to do,** or worse, put all their heart and ingenuity into performing it with the most advanced awareness (the famous new methods!)." 35



# What is Direct Action?

- (Graeber: quoting Sans Titres Bulletin): "Direct action places **moral conscience up against the official law**... It is the expression of the individual's readiness to fight, to take control of his life, and to try, directly, to act on the world that surrounds us, to take responsibility for one's actions." 201
- (Rob Sparrow) "Direct action aims to **achieve our goals through our own activity rather than through the action of others. It is about people taking power for themselves...** Direct action is not only a method of protest but also a way of **'building the future now.'**" 202
- **"build a new society in the shell of the old"** 203
- **"the direct actionist does not just refuse to pay taxes to support a militarized school system, she combines with others to try to create a new school system that operates on different principles."** 203
- (Graeber: quoting Beyer-Arensen) "[W]e can define direct action as being **an action carried out on the behalf of nobody else but ourselves, where the means are immediately also the ends... or where the means, stand in an immediate relation to self-defined ends. A direct action successfully carried out brings about a direct rearrangement of existing conditions of life through the combined efforts of those directly affected.**" 207
- (Thoreau:) "It is not a man's duty, as a matter of course, to devote himself to the eradication of any, even the most enormous wrong; but it is his duty, at least, to wash his hands of it, and, if he gives it no thought longer, **not to give it practically his support.**" 10
- **"Action from principle, – the perception and the performance of right, --changes things and relations; it is essentially revolutionary, and does not consist wholly with any thing which was."** 11-12
- **"...if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine. What I have to do is to see, at any rate, that I do not lend myself to the wrong which I condemn."** 13
- **"Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence. A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight."** 15

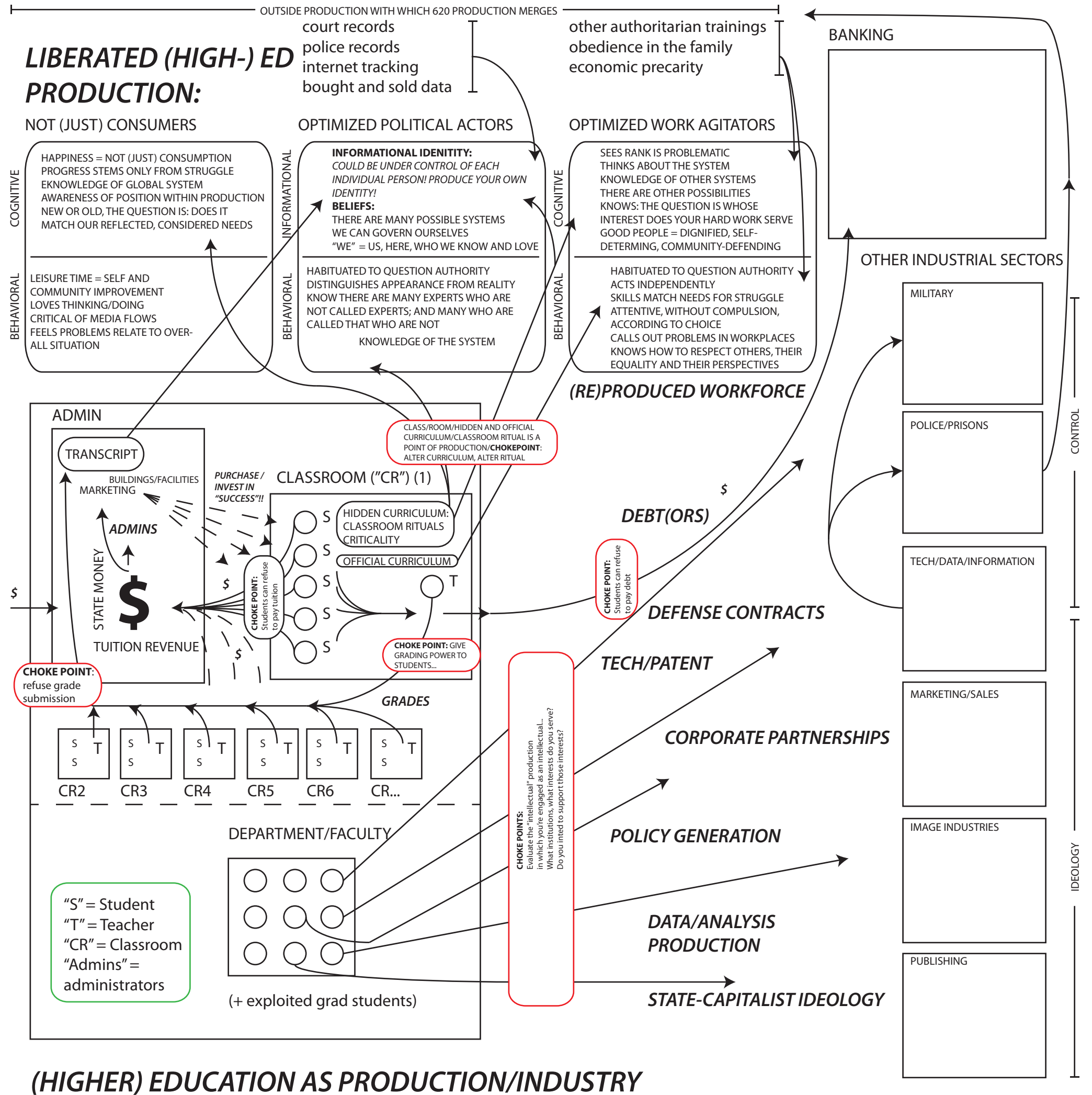
# ***BLOCKAGE VS SUBSTITUTION/PREFIGURATION***

**BLOCKAGE.** Historically, anarcho-syndicalism, and unionism in general, have mostly focused upon production in order to arrest it. Since it is workers who DO production, they are in a position to interrupt that production, and with it, the continuation of profit-accumulation, market competitiveness, etc., which are “necessary” for the system/the bosses. Traditionally the peak of worker action is the strike, which is a refusal or slow-down (a “modulation”) of productive activity. For (higher-)educational production, we can think about “blockage” of

- classroom practice: refusal to produce subservient workers/refusal to propagate ideology/refusal to enact canonical reproductions/discursive exclusions
- grade submission: refusal to supply grades
- faculty intellectual production: refusal to provide technical support for example to weapons manufacturers...
- etc.

... once production is blocked, workers are in a position to negotiate alterations to work environments and patterns of production/production-practices.

**SUBSTITUTION/PREFIGURATION.** However, the full goal of “revolutionary” syndicalism is not only the REFORM of production, but the TAKEOVER of production, in line with the needs and interests of the workers themselves. Workers in schools can start to develop “THE SEED OF THE NEW IN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.” This full “substitution” of preferable practices for present practices... the subversive insertion of autonomous production of autonomous individuals and communities... is the fundamental recommendation of this series of workshops. I am suggesting that we DO the preferable, ethical, dignified, empowering education that COULD exist... NOW.



## ***CHOKES POINTS / PLACES WHERE WE CAN MODULATE OUR PARTICIPATION IN PRODUCTION:***

**\*\*CLASSROOM PRACTICE** (CONTENT, RITUAL, DISCUSSION, EVALUATION...) is directly productive. The classroom is a “point of production.” Consequently, either blockage or substitution is possible at this point. This series of workshops recommends that we begin thinking about direct action in our workplace: in the classroom.

### **GRADES and SUBMISSION.**

Grade strikes are possible. According to the common conception that is generally dominant, it is the grade that the student works for but also that they purchase from the educational service-providers. Refusal of grades interrupts the provision of the “product” students are “purchasing” with their money and labor. Grade strikes arrest through-put of students, thus constituting a crisis for administration. Control over grades can be autonomized across the classroom. (Students can control their own grades; a class can make democratic decisions about how grading will work and how it will be controlled.)

### **TUITION**

Tuition strikes are possible. A large-scale refusal of tuition would constitute a crisis of educational production.

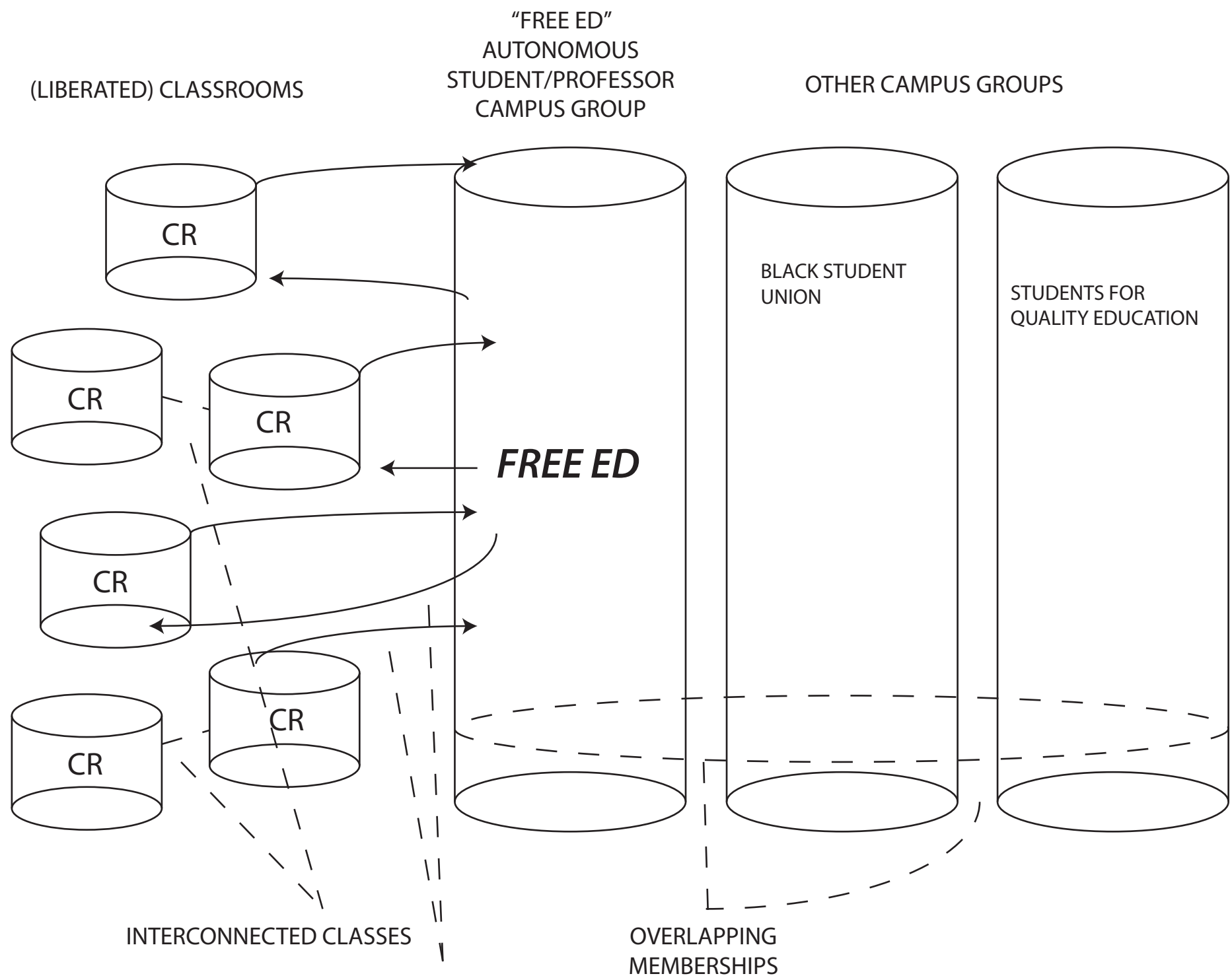
### **DEBT**

Debt strikes are possible. A large-scale refusal of debt repayment would constitute a crisis for the bank-school conjunction.

**FACULTY PRODUCTION:** selection and refusal.

Faculty can (re-)evaluate just what processes they perpetuate through their intellectual production, and select / refuse in line with their overall systemic intentions. This would constitute enlightened intellectual production, vs neoliberal intellectual production.

Faculty and students can pressure intellectuals whose production they oppose.



FREE ED DRAWS  
MEMBERS FROM  
LIBERATED CLASSROOMS  
+ FEEDS MEMBERS  
TO SELECTED CLASSROOMS

PRELIMINARY CONCEPT  
FOR SUSTAINING RADICAL  
TEACHER-STUDENT ORGANIZING  
ACROSS TIME

"CR" = Classroom

## **FREE EDUCATION (Free Ed)**

Free Education is a democratic group of students, professors, and whoever else wants to join. We are interested in educating ourselves according to our own needs and wishes, practicing democratic decision-making, and spreading the practice of egalitarian intellectual discussion connected to practice on our campus. We want to make education free, meaning: make the campus a free space; alter classes and classrooms and curriculum to serve the real interests of students and professors; conduct our own investigations according to our own intellectual and strategic needs; connect intellectual inquiry and group discussion with group action with visible effects; make education a space where liberation and autonomy on the larger-scale is actively pursued.

### **WHAT FREE ED AFFIRMS**

**No hierarchy / Total Equality.** We don't recognize anyone as deserving more respect than anyone else. Nor do we agree that the merit of an individual in any way corresponds to their rank, job position, nor to their gender or race or whatever else. When we meet, everybody is equal.

**Radical, Direct Democracy.** Everybody who is involved in Free Ed, over a period of time, or just for a single gathering, has to have an equal voice in what is done, over time or in a single meeting. It will often be that we have agreed beforehand to certain things—what we'll read, or where we'll meet, or how we'll respect one another, etc... and these need to be assumed in certain ways. But even the degree to which prior decisions are respected and followed has to be open to discussion, every time we meet in whatever fashion. Everything we do, we do on the basis of discussion, group decision and agreement.

**Autonomy.** Free Ed is responsible for itself. Nobody tells it what to do. For this reason we are not a "campus club" in the administrative sense, nor are we a branch of SQE or the IWW, though our membership participates in these groups. We insist on our own autonomy: as self-determining individuals and as a self-determining group we refuse to be directed by anybody else. Further, we aim to develop greater autonomy in students, in workers on campus (including professors—especially "lecturers"), and in the broader society. This is one key basis for our decisions about who to work with, who to support, etc.

**Direct Action.** While we reserve the right to act indirectly at our discretion, we affirm direct action as the fundamental mode in which we operate. Indirect action is acting so as to persuade or leverage others to act in our perceived interest. Direct action is the immediate substitution of a reality we desire for one that we don't like, but which affects us. Radicalizing classrooms, politicizing campus, building student-worker control on campus... is and requires direct action. We are not asking for permission, nor are we hoping the authorities will take care of things. Fundamentally, we don't trust the authorities. Their position makes them suspect; it is always likely they operate so as to preserve their position. A nice administrator may be useful, but they are not to be trusted, and our power will never grow through hoping the bosses have our back. That's wishfulness and self-sabotage.

**Building Power.** Everything we want, we are more likely to get, if others want it too and work with us. Power structures on campuses are indissolubly linked with larger-scale power-structures. If we are

successful here we will just have to deal with larger-scale power... So we need allies. We need more autonomous, self-determining people. We need more autonomous, self-determining circles. If we are serious about transforming circumstances in the directions we desire, and we do aim to be serious, this means we need to build our capacity to act—and this necessitates trying to increase those who will act with us. We aim to build power.

### **WHAT FREE ED DOES**

**RESEARCH/DISCUSSION CIRCLES.** We inform ourselves together. This means sharing reading or media related to democracy, education, student- and worker-control, and then forming a circle to discuss what we've shared. What we read and view etc. may also extend to general analyses of our material, economic and political system, and to general strategic and tactical models for transforming this system. We want to think in order to act; we want our acts to follow from democratic thinking—and thereby to produce intelligent solidarity—and we want our thinking to reflect back on our situation and our prior acts.

We have to have an analysis, both of our circumstance and of our interests, if we want to act on our circumstances so as to advance our interests. We shouldn't just assume we "know" our circumstances or our interests. It takes thought and discussion to achieve an analysis. Free Ed must always be developing and re-working its analysis.

### **READING CIRCLES**

We get together to read together, and we bring along whoever might like to read with us. We read things that are selected by Free Ed, but we also read whatever people are reading in their classes. At a rudimentary level, we are aiming to help one another with reading skills and with understanding. But beyond this, we always intend to expose the political context that is often hidden by "neutral" course materials and course processes. We want to practice "politicizing"—that is, bringing into sharp question—what is allegedly non-political... because in reality, *nothing* is non-political.

### **FORMING CIRCLES ON CAMPUS**

Once we are practiced in the art of raising questions, discussing them democratically, being respectful but also serious, and moving from understanding to action, we aim to replicate these practices across campus. Right now, our campus is thoroughly de-politicized. Nobody stirs things up, nobody engages in group discussion outside of approved confines, nobody messes with the neoliberal process of producing thoughtless employees. We aim to change that.

### **INTERVENING IN CAMPUS EVENTS**

As we are developing a practice of radical, practical and intellectual engagement with our immediate and extended contexts, the realization of this practice requires practical engagement here on campus. Our group attends campus events strategically, with the aim of raising difficult questions and advancing the real, large-scale and self-determined interests of students and workers on campus. We want to swerve thinking and discussion towards real problems and towards real self-determination.

## **TIPPING CLASSES**

We get membership from radical classes, and we aim to produce radical classes. (A radical class is one that exhibits the features Free Ed practices: radical equality, circular discussion, democratic selection of course content and processes, “politicization” of course content through aggressive contextualization—that is, talking about things as they really fit into the real world... of which we have a critical analysis.) Classes can be radicalized in this fashion beginning with professors or beginning with students or beginning with both (that is, a class might start with a Free Ed professor and Free Ed students). It will be difficult to make classrooms *fully* egalitarian, since this requires among other things the redistribution of grading power to the people who receive the grades. This is not impossible, and it has been done, and it should be done. But any movement *towards* an egalitarian classroom, and a politicized classroom, are desirable too. Free Ed people attempting to tip/politicize a classroom can do so by insisting on discussion, on student input into the syllabus and evaluative procedures, on mutual respect between professors and students, etc. Our practice must include ongoing discussion about what works and what doesn’t, along with discussion about what classes exist, what can be tipped, what classes are politically problematic, and so on. We need to strategize autonomist action on campus and across campuses.

## **BUILDING SOLIDARITY WITH OTHER GROUPS AND SPACES**

Free Ed consists in members who are also members of other groups. Insofar as those groups advance the basic goals of Free Ed, we support them, by attending their events, propagating their information, building relations with their membership. The other groups with whom we work can be campus groups or not... On the broadest scale we aim to build coalitions of similar autonomous groups aiming at the radical re-structuring of education and the broader society (that is, the student/worker *takeover* of education and broader society).

## **CAMPUS ACTION**

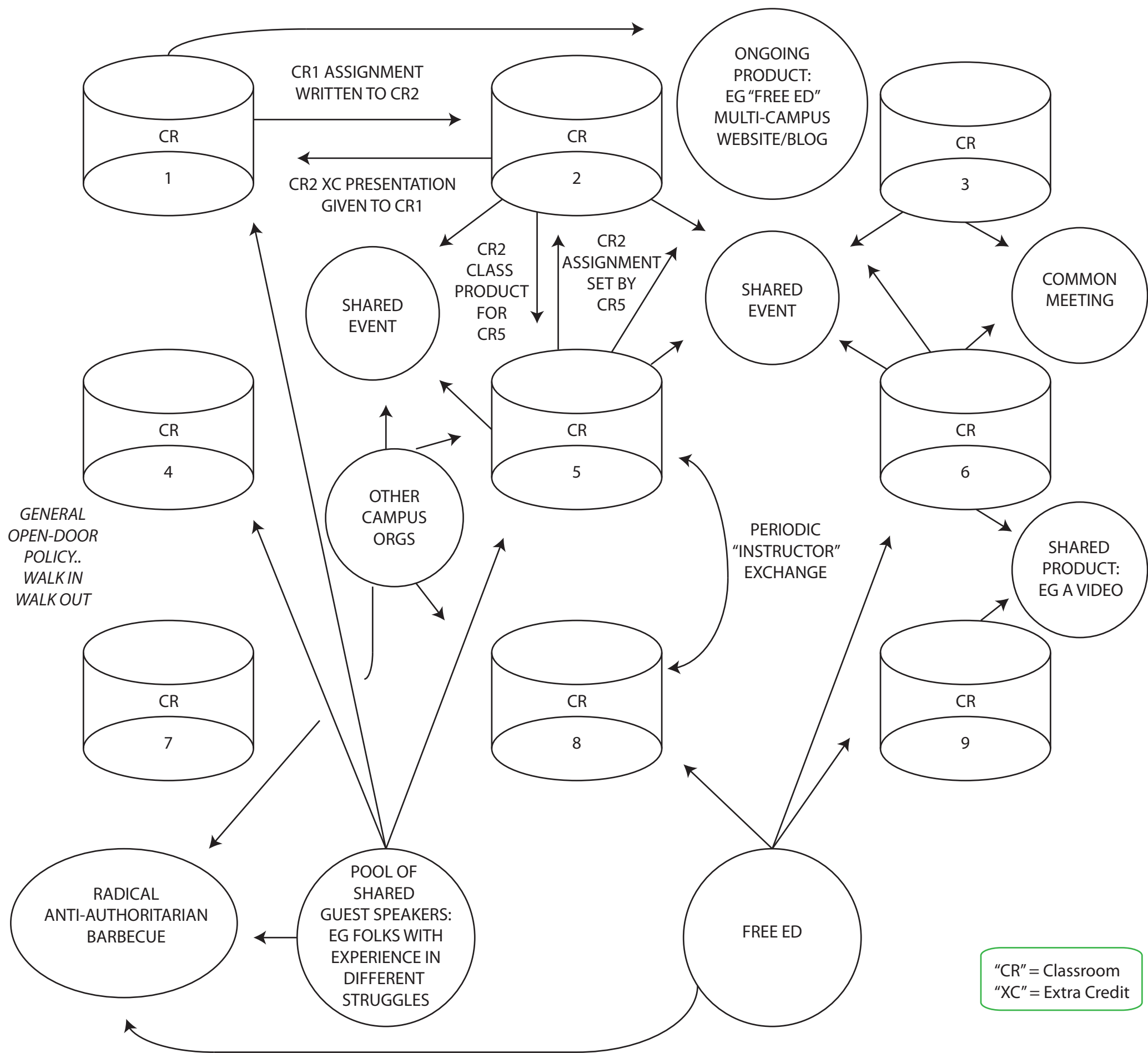
Free Ed may also decide to engage in direct actions on campus, for purposes and by means autonomously debated and selected by the group.

## **CAMPUS ORGANIZING**

The extension of Free Ed’s basic practices—studying, meeting, acting... disturbing, democratizing...—already implies a practice of organizing. We need to talk to other students and professors and workers on campus. We need to find people who share our interests, our impulses, our analyses. We need to persuade those who can be persuaded to come to our view of things, and to work with us. We need to build the numbers of people who will work with us and the capacity of these numbers to do real and compelling work.



**(AN ARBITRARY EXAMPLE): BUILDING RADICAL CLASSROOM NETWORKS**



## PRINCIPLES

### Analytic principles:

- **Education is** (presently) (social) (re)**production**.
- **The classroom** (and elsewhere in academia too) **is a point of production**.
- I see production in three key respects occurring in a classroom:
  - (re)production of **ideology**
  - production of **skills** for function within the present division of labor
  - (contribution to the) production of **informational identity**, in the form of (contribution to the) transcript. (Think how the transcript merges with other forms of informational identification so as to distinguish one person from another, for example in a hiring process. Transcript, police record, credit record... And more broadly web browsing record, military record, fast-track usage record... in order to produce the individual as placeable in division of labor, targetable for surveillance or advertising, etc.)

### Prescriptive principles (anarcho-syndicalist):

- Appeals to others to take action may be legitimate and strategic but will always be insufficient. **Direct action** where we are is the fundamental power we have. Thoreau calls it "casting our whole vote."
- Direct action at the point of production means **substituting a desired reality for the existing reality**.
- **Different substitutions at different locations**. This has to be done and anyway can only be done in certain ways, step by step, depending on what is possible at each concrete point of production at a given point in time. (On the other hand, there must be commonalities).
- **Any substitution** should constitute and be conceived as **an end as well as a means**. All substitutions should substitute the desired reality, if only incrementally or in degree.
- Principle of **habitation**. Any idea, any practice, through repetition becomes integrated into habitual processes of (re)cognition and activity. What you affirm, will later emerge spontaneously to be affirmed again (eg people told "capitalism is the only system that works," when asked about the validity of capitalism, will tend to say "capitalism is the only system that works"). What you practice, you will tend towards again. (Students trained for 13 years to be quiet in class will tend to be quiet in a classroom—though not necessarily elsewhere). Therefore, **whatever is to substitute for existing reality must be repeated**.
- Principle of **experimentation**. Because no one has ever liberated education from neoliberalism at Dominguez Hills in the year 2018, it is not clear what to do. Nor can it be known what combination of substitutive interventions will produce self-reinforcing or systematic effects (extra-classroom/school wide/broader effects), since behaviors, thinking, classroom practice, administrative exploitation, work and study stresses, social fears, class habits, financial constraints, etc... are complex. We

have to experiment, on the three levels of production I list above. **Analyze, substitute intelligently, repeat, step back and observe the consequences. Start again.**

- Principle of Selection and Exclusion. **Retain the interventions that produce interesting or desirable effects; ditch the interventions that don't work or that produce problems. Continue.**
- **Autonomization and Confederation.** Classic anarcho-syndicalism mostly stopped with the idea of the general strike—the blockage of production by refusal of labor at the point of production. Blockage, and more importantly the discovery of the viable mechanisms of blockage, is good. But autonomization, = substitution of the desired productive reality for the existing one... is the full revolution, not a half-measure leaving the existing system intact. **Autonomization of the classroom is the whole goal at this point of production. But this is only one point of production.** To produce blockage and autonomization at larger, systemic levels (more broadly across the university but also horizontally across other dimensions—say, within a certain student residential community, or in connection with campus workers who also work elsewhere) **confederation is necessary.** At the level of the classroom this means **connections with other classrooms.**
- **Confederation means acting together.** Spinoza: a number of elements may be considered a unity insofar as their conjoined action produces a single effect. So **wherever multiple classrooms act in conjunction, extra-class unit(ies) exist and confederation is occurring.** There must be **repetition, experimentation, weeding and selection at this level as well.**
- Autonomy and empowerment of the individual. **The principle of autonomy also applies to students and to lecturers. An autonomous student** is one who **chooses** to study **what** and **as** they study. To be fully autonomous, a student must have a desire to understand whatever it is they are inquiring about. There are tricks to turning on understanding, but until they work, we have a coerced student (and consequently we lack a fully autonomous space). **An autonomous lecturer** is one who **chooses** to study/teach **what** and **as** they study/teach. Most of us would NOT choose to study/teach what we study/teach (for example, repetitious, purely formal, rote syllabi in which there is nothing for us to think about), nor do we much enjoy teaching AS we teach (with disinterested, illiterate students, with massive grading loads, with crappy rooms, etc.). Note that our TT peers suffer less on this front. On the whole, they get smaller classes, more interested students, majors, richer course content. When we **teach an intriguing course which we designed according to our present intellectual questions and our prior training, our teaching work is non-alienated, and it produces us as different in our conceptions and our skills** than we were before the class occurred. While an autonomous classroom requires the conjunction of the interest, thought and action of students and lecturers together (such that we

shouldn't teach in Latin even if we speak it), we lecturers presently have the job, and we have the habituation/training, to construct a syllabus. **An autonomous lecturer constructs exactly the syllabus they want to study, given the constraints** of who will work through that syllabus with them. They must also open to alterations of the syllabus once the class is working through it. **An autonomous classroom** is one in which, starting from a certain syllabus, **lecturers and students together** do the best they can to make the course work for them—that is, to find meaning, interest, and usefulness in the course. Lacking these things, there is no autonomous classroom. If I were a liberal, I would say we have a "right" to think and a "right" to develop at our professorial jobs. But I'm not, so I insist on thinking and developing regardless of what my bosses tell me. And this includes programming and modulating the syllabus as I see fit.

- **Students and lecturers must thus jointly seize the means of educational production.**

## SUBSTITUTING FOR 3 LEVELS OF PRODUCTION

### Substituting for ideology

- **Ideology** can be taught as **actual content**, but also by means of **exclusion of content and imposition of silences**. More broadly, ideology exists as **the roles that we play and as the manners/conduct we affirm as normative vs. scorn/subdue**. (Bell Hooks writes about the Bourgeois character of classrooms, in which we typically disallow emotional outbursts, common vulgar language, interruptions. But these may be preferred modes of conduct from a working class perspective.)
- **Substituting an awareness** of injustice, of systems of exploitation, of possibilities and practices of revolt, for systematic occlusion of injustice and exploitation and systematic denial of the possibility of systemic alteration.... **at the level of actual content, just means selecting good texts and materials.**
- **At the level of non-exclusion**, it may mean **allowing reflective discussion of classroom practices and hierarchies**, and more broadly **allowing free discussion**, perhaps within certain bounds of coherence.
- At the level of the roles we play, I believe we must **entirely refuse** (or refuse to the degree possible given local constraints) the roles the institution hands us. No more **"professor" and "student."** For me, the principle here is to realize **we have a commonality** as people in a room, as potential friends or as potential enemies, which is entirely discrete from our institutional roles—with all their habits, and hierarchy, and alienation. I intentionally **choose friendship (and enmity) over professoring and studenting**. (And even enmity can be intellectual, reflective, and to the benefit of both enemies... that is, there is a friendship to be found under enmity [and perhaps enmities under friendships])
- At the level of **classroom decorum**, the room should be made a **space** according with **the real (mental) comfort and real-world attitudes and**

**comportments of all those present.** This means **allowing working-class language and mannerisms. It means recognizing a lot of lecturer attitudes as bourgeois attitudes**, and either critiquing them or discontinuing them or both.

### Substituting for skills

There is an overlap with ideology in the broad sense here.

- Among the skills/behaviors that are practiced in classrooms are the **habits and detail of subordination and management. In place of these practices, we must substitute equality and solidarity.**
- Classrooms are patently **undemocratic spaces**. But if we can **shift a class into an active mode** where they are willing and ready to discuss and to assert their will, and then we are willing to abide by that will, we will be **practicing democracy**. (The real habit of democracy is a sorely absent reality. \*What if we produced it at the industrial scale?)
- For **practices of fear and retraction**, we need to **seek out courage, confidence and outward engagement, and nurture and develop them.**
- In a **discussionless society**, people need to **practice** in order to be able to discuss. A classroom with no **discussion** perpetuates intellectual torpor and political atrophy.
- Classrooms as they now exist are **very far from free spaces**. But free spaces, or at least more free spaces, exist. A party is a freer space. So is a bar. So is a casual conversation out on the lawn with a few interested students. We should do what we can to **make our classrooms free spaces, within the bounds of respect and concern** for others.

### MY PRACTICES

So what have I done, actually?

- I **take boring, rote, "general education" ideologically-conservative course titles/catalog descriptions and turn them into revolutionary thought bombs**, which do indeed detonate in certain minds. Even very conservative students who nobly resist are pulled into an awareness of alternatives and a clarification of the rationality of those they socially oppose. By this means I do the best I can to produce counter-ideologically. And it's uplifting actually how describing the real world which really exists, versus eg "thought" = "Plato, Descartes, Kant," turns on the intelligence of people who pay attention.
- Of course, the case where counter-ideological-interpellation is least effective is the one where people actively resist caring. So I **make attendance voluntary**. I set up enough blackboard/automated mechanisms so that those who honestly don't care and are just there for credit, and who are going to sit the whole class on their phones disrupting our classroom, can get their beloved "credit" towards their (non-) "education" without my getting in their way. In no way do I wish to be an obstacle to working class people just trying to get a better wage.

**Voluntary attendance produces a classroom of at least potentially voluntary and hence potentially autonomous people. I refuse to "teach" anybody who doesn't want to learn. (I will not be ruled and I will not rule.)** I don't even technically believe it's possible, since on my view learning is not at all the internalization of information, but rather the arousal and the social welcoming of intellect... and finally the following through of thought into action.

- I talk like the working class, and I **welcome working class behaviors** and engagement. I let people laugh and curse and retort—I encourage it. I **make fun of myself and my bourgeois attitudes** while affirming working class aspects of my experience.
- I have been **experimenting with models of democracy** in the classroom, and **encouraging experimental forms of student takeover**.
- To the best of my ability, I **deconstruct the learning situation for my students**, so they **see me for the worker I am and themselves as the often-duped consumer-debtors they are**. **Out of this ruins we discuss and then pursue the possibility of a free classroom, a true understanding, an intellectual and social solidarity.**
- I'm trying to set up connections between some of my classes and others, and between my classes and those of others. The goal is to achieve any preliminary varieties of community and joint action.

AUTONOMOUS CLASSROOM/EDUCATION GROUP

production (eg of media)  
causal actions  
modulation of contexts

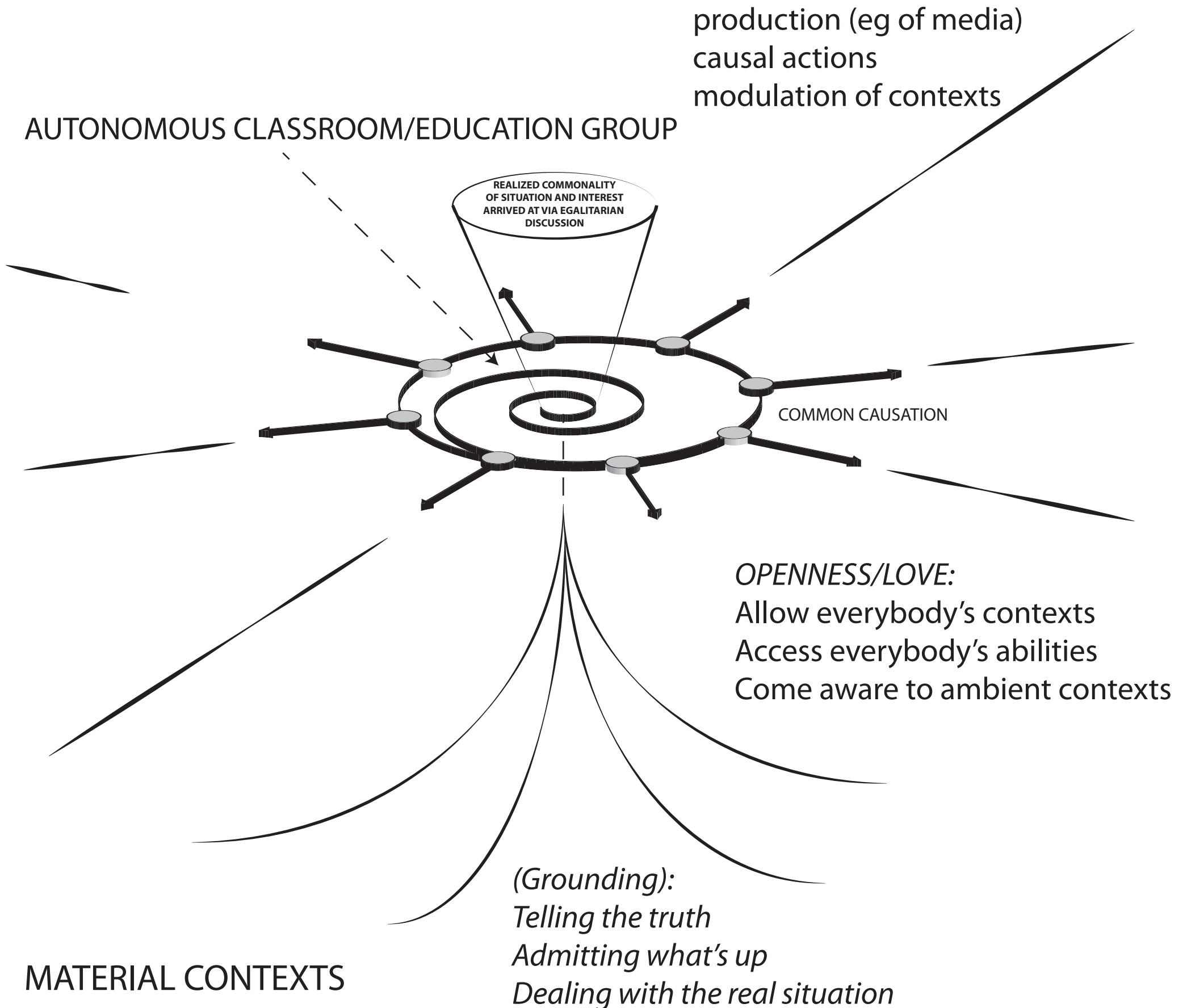
REALIZED COMMONALITY  
OF SITUATION AND INTEREST  
ARRIVED AT VIA EGALITARIAN  
DISCUSSION

COMMON CAUSATION

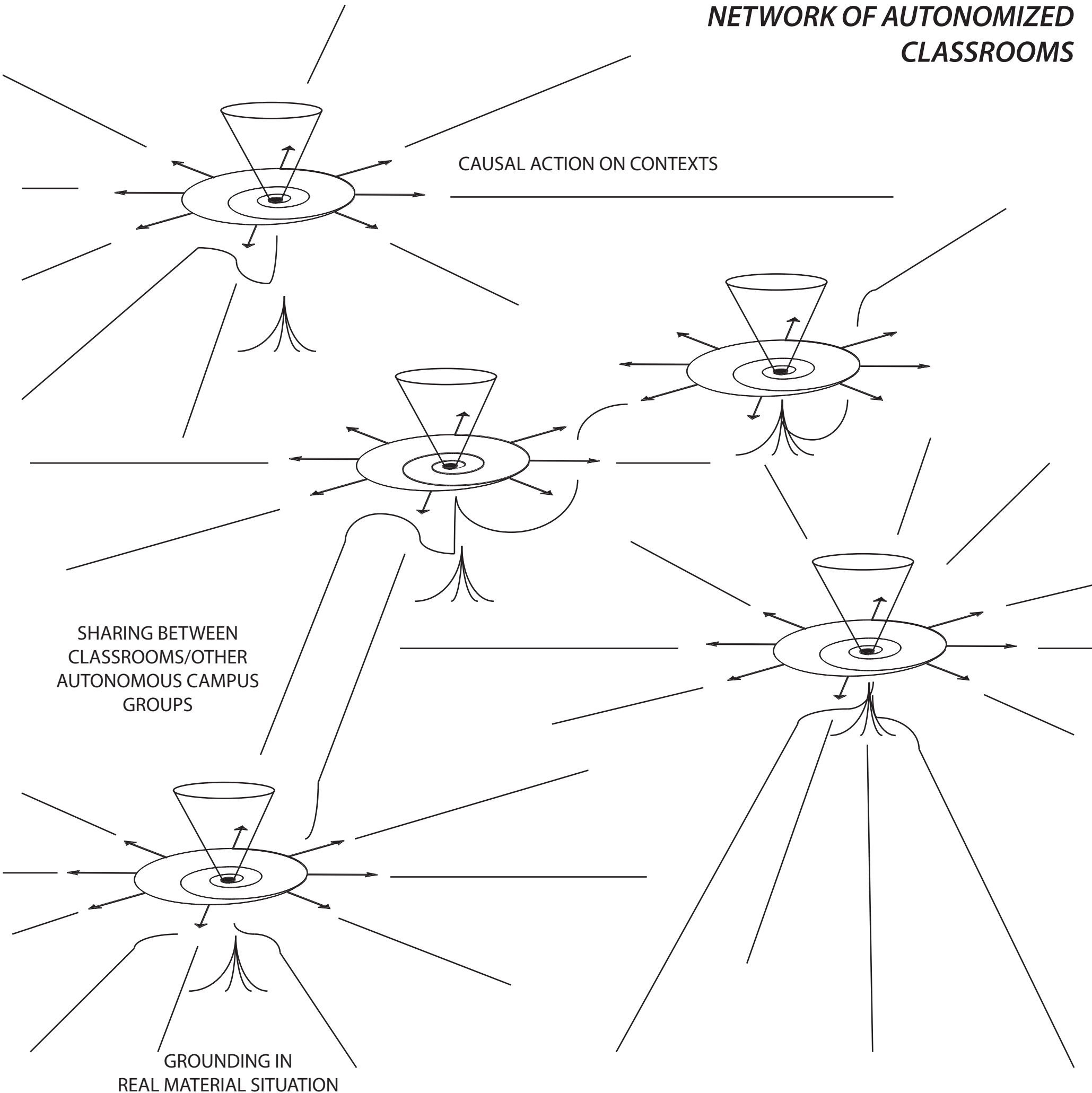
*OPENNESS/LOVE:*  
Allow everybody's contexts  
Access everybody's abilities  
Come aware to ambient contexts

*(Grounding):*  
Telling the truth  
Admitting what's up  
Dealing with the real situation

MATERIAL CONTEXTS



*NETWORK OF AUTONOMIZED  
CLASSROOMS*





# POSSIBLE EXERCISES

- A. Find strangest commonalities
  - B. Find commonalities of wants and fears
  - C. Social/Institutional Power Mapping: Explicate the power structure in the room
  - D. Recognize silent but structuring conditions of the room
  - E. Question the “slogans of the oppressors”: regarding the classroom, university/school, society, economy, politics... on ideological and on structural-process levels
    - Analyze/cascade questions
- Use pursuit of answers as
- discovery of commonality of situation; of interest
- F. You can do the same thing with “liberating slogans.” Same process. Analyze, unpack, cascade... use discussion to move toward commonality.
- G. Use texts as jumping-off points for discussing relations People/contexts...

# A. Find the strangest commonality

- Break into groups of 4-6.
- In a circle, try to see what you all have in common. Realize that sitting in a circle is something in common. Being in this class is something in common. Being at this school is something else in common. What else do you have in common?
- Try to find the strangest, most specific thing that all or most of the people in your group have in common.
- Groups pick a spokesperson who shares conclusions with the room.
- The group who finds the “strangest commonality,” as determined by a vote in the room, wins... I dunno... a carrot or a stuffed animal or a sandwich or whatever.

## B. Find commonalities of wants and fears

- Break into groups of 4-6. In each group, go in a circle and share things you want.
- Start generally. Try to find things everybody in the group wants.
- Also start in the here and now: what do people want *at school? In a classroom?* From their education? From their work on the campus?
- Now get more specific. Try to find the most specific shared wants you can.
- Do the same thing for fears. Start general and get specific, and try to focus on the here and now, classrooms and education.
- Groups pick a spokesperson and share with the room. Basic desires and fears, perhaps as types, are listed on the board.
- From this mapping of what we want and fear, especially with respect to education, can we now identify “shared interests”?
- What are these interests?
- If this exercise works, you are now in a position to begin discussion *how* desires could be fulfilled and fears could be avoided.

## C. Social/Institutional mapping: discover the power relations in the room

- Go around the room. Each person might say who or what, in the school, they think has power over them. Or they might say who or what they have power over.
- Map these things on the board. After everyone contributes, look at the map and discuss it.
- Speak *as if the situation could be otherwise*. Which of these power relations is problematic? How? Why? How could the relation be neutralized, altered or eliminated?
- Are these power relations “necessary”? Necessary *for what reason*? Necessary *for what ends*? Are these the best reasons? The best ends?

## D. Recognize silent but structuring conditions of the room

- Go around the room... Say something you'd never say in a classroom, or do something you'd never do in a classroom.
- Use the board: try to summarize what *types* of things are excluded in a typical classroom. Which are intentionally excluded? Which are unintentionally excluded? Which explicitly and which implicitly?
- Now discuss: which things *should* be excluded? Any? Which? Why? Are there things that are excluded that shouldn't be? What are the effects of the exclusions we're observing? Do they affect different people in the room differently? Is(n't) this a hindrance to equality?

# E1: SLOGANS OF THE OPPRESSORS

## about this room

- Learning requires teachers.
- "Success" in a class is getting an A.
- Students need to know what teachers know.
- The job of teachers is to prepare students for a job.
- Teachers know more than students.
- There is a right "voice" for college writing.
- It is inappropriate to yell or cry in a classroom.
- Professors must always remain professional.
- Students must show respect for professors.

Remember... every declaration is secretly a question.  
And every question contains other questions.

- Break down the question.
- “Learning requires teachers.”
- What is learning?
- Who counts as a teacher?
- Are we saying that *all* learning requires teachers? So is there any learning that does *not* happen with a teacher?
- If there is some learning that can happen without teachers, can all learning happen without teachers?
- Does a teacher have to “teach” for somebody else to learn? Or can the learner just imitate the teacher?
- So can somebody be a teacher without knowing it, just because somebody imitates them?
- But wait, if there’s learning without teachers, how come all education seems to involve teachers?
- Etc.

## E2: SLOGANS... about education

- Education opens the door to your future.
- Education will help you find your calling.
- Education is getting knowledge from knowledgeable people.
- People with degrees are more knowledgeable than people without.
- Education is not political.
- Education is not the "real world."
- 
- "Student success means improving graduation rates and ensuring more students get a degree sooner."
- Calstate.edu
- 
- "College graduates are more likely to experience job satisfaction."
- snhu.edu
- 
- "Earning a college degree could even boost your happiness."
- snhu.edu



# E3: SLOGANS... about society

- The experts need to decide most things.
- Our society is so big that it has to be managed by experts.
- We are a part of the free world.
- Free trade promotes a free society.
- Today the need for security has pre-empted certain freedoms.
- 
- "There is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families. And no government can do anything except through people, and people must look to themselves first."
- Margaret Thatcher
- 
- "Society doesn't have values. People have values."
- Milton Friedman

# E4: SLOGANS... about economy

- Capitalism is the only system that works.
- Things work best when we let the markets decide.
- A healthy economy is a growing economy.
- Capitalism must be regulated.
- Regulations interfere with the natural and beneficial functioning of markets.
- (In capitalism...) "Every individual... neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it... he intends only his own security... he intends only his own gain... [but] he is... led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention." (the common good)
- Adam Smith

## (CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES:)

- Marcos: "The problem is not why the global economy is inevitable, but why almost everyone agrees it is." 313
- "In today's world economy... what is visible is real and consequently true. That, by the way, is one of the tenets of right-wing dogma." 313

# E5: SLOGANS... about politics and government

- America is the greatest country in the world.
  - There must be government, because without it, we would descend into civil war.
  - There must be prisons and police, because without them, we would be overrun by criminals.
  - The United States is a democracy.
  - Representatives act in the interest of all their constituents.
  - Because you vote for your president, you are free.
  - Islamic government is incompatible with progress and modernization.
  - People come to our country because they want a life as good as ours.
  - We are the most advanced civilization ever to exist.
  - The Middle East and Africa are more barbaric and tribal than Europe and the U.S.
- 
- "The military exists to serve the American people, to defend the Nation, and to protect vital national interests." (military.com)
  - "The Los Angeles Police Department is committed to serving the community while protecting the rights of all persons." (Lapdonline.org)
  - "Let us never forget that government is ourselves and not an alien power over us. The ultimate rulers of our democracy are not a President and senators and congressmen and government officials, but the voters of this country." FDR
  - "The border is eventually going to be militarized and defended or the United States, as we have known it, is going to cease to exist." Donald Trump
  - "Some have suggested a barrier is immoral. Then why do wealthy politicians build walls, fences and gates around their homes?" Trump
  - "The Democratic Party is hostile to white men." Pat Buchanan
  - "The media is fake—really, the word, I think one of the greatest of all terms I've come up with—is fake." Trump
  - (About Black Lives Matter): "I think they're trouble. I think they're looking for trouble." Trump

# F. REVOLUTIONARY-EDUCATIONAL SLOGANS

- Real freedom must generate other acts of freedom.
- The teacher's thinking is authenticated only by the authenticity of the students' thinking.
- The classroom is always already political.
- The teacher and the student must become partners.
- Everyone is (/may well be) equally intelligent.
- Truth-seeking requires trust.
- Trust requires integrity. Our actions must match our words.
- Honest communication requires/builds trust.
- Freedom is praxis. There is no freedom outside of activity.
- There does exist common interest in this room. To find it, we need honest communication.
- Whatever is allegedly normal or obvious should be questioned.
- Which side are you on? A teacher has to choose.
- A minority should never tell a majority how to speak.
- Overcoming alienation is growing community.
- Group freedom requires democratic decision-making.
- Everything must be questioned: especially what is most "obvious."
- Any situation in which some individuals prevent others from engaging in the process of inquiry is violence.
- The most immoral thing one can do is have ambitions for someone else's mind.

## G. Using texts or media as jumping-off points for discussion of real relations to present contexts...

- metaphorical mapping: this is how it was there/then— does that match how it is here/now? If it's the same, how? If it's different, how? Which is better? Why?
- (Our present matters. The past matters, and canons and methods matter, only insofar as they are related with the present—
  - insofar as they hide it
  - reinforce it
  - or else
  - explicate it
  - offer possibilities for altering it)
- Always begin and end with the here and now

As a larger circle, or in smaller groups:

QUESTIONING THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM	MAPPING EDUCATIONAL PRODUCTION
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What unstated assumptions do your classes affirm? – Especially about the work-world and about the overall economic and political system? (That is, what do they assume is good, or unproblematic, about the larger world?)</li> <li>• What "truths" or perspectives are assumed as normative/foundational within your discipline/major?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• With what industries is your discipline/major connected? How?</li> <li>• What power relations exist within your discipline, department, classes? How do these power relations compare with power relations in related industries?</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do your classes <i>produce</i>?</li> <li>• What behaviors are reinforced?</li> <li>• What behaviors are weakened?</li> <li>• For example, do your classes increase               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--the posing of students' own questions</li> <li>--self-determination</li> <li>--democratic practice</li> <li>--community?</li> <li>--social solidarity?</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>For Professors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What broader industries and what interests is your intellectual production connected with?</li> <li>• What broader industries and what interests do your colleagues' work integrate with/advance?</li> </ul>
INTERROGATING INSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL IDENTITIES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ARE you your role? Is "student" or "professor" the right name for your deep being?</li> <li>• What parts of the institutional role(s) you are assigned are easy for you?</li> <li>• What parts of the institutional role(s) you are assigned are difficult for you?</li> <li>• What aspects of YOU exceed your institutional role(s)?</li> <li>• What is your interest in maintaining / occupying / coming to identify with this/these role(s)?</li> <li>• What would happen if we abandoned these roles? If we refused them?</li> </ul>	

## DISCUSSIONS/STEPS LEADING TO *INTEGRATION OF REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATIONAL STRUGGLE WITH OTHER ADJACENT AND OVERLAPPING STRUGGLES*

Topics that should be discussed in an autonomized classroom, leading towards networking/confederation with other classrooms/groups:

- What struggles do you know of in your community?
- What struggles has your family been involved in in the past?
- What struggles exist within the industrial sectors where you have worked?
- What struggles exist in your city?
- What struggles exist on your campus?

What are people here in this room struggling with?

How are the problems of people in this room connected with

- the problems of people occupying similar life-contexts
- the problems of people in other such rooms

Tactical democratic decision-making is needed:

What skills or (contextual) knowledges are necessary for struggles

--in your community

--in your industrial sector

--in your city

--on your campus

--that you yourself are dealing with right now



Now democratically construct curricula answering these needs, or seek out people who can help in producing needed skills and knowledges...

THIS IS ***AUTONOMOUS EDUCATION***. LET'S BUILD (OURSELVES AS) WHAT WE NEED.

What struggles are adjacent or overlapping with the ones you consider important?

Who can we find who is involved in those struggles?

Let's bring them here and talk with them, or go where they are and talk with them.

Let's find out what they can use from us, and what we can use from them.

Let's help one another out. *LET'S BUILD REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATIONAL NETWORKS.*

THIS IS ***REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION***. LET'S BUILD REVOLUTION STARTING WHERE WE ARE.

## CONTACT ME:

Matt McGarvey

matthewscottmcgarvey@gmail.com

--Let's link our work.

--Let's share materials and texts.

--I can help you organize a workshop along these lines; or I can come run such a workshop

--Let's take it over.

--(Or whatever else you want to talk about!)