THE POLITICAL-PEDAGOGICAL TEACHER

A Narrative Study on Subjective Limits and Experimental Practices from Dissident and Organised Chilean Teachers

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This research problematises what it means to be a teacher in Chile after 35-40 years subjected to working within an established neoliberal regime. It is focused on the subjective limits that this type of regime imposes on teachers and on some possible ways of struggling and experimenting beyond these limits.

Since the early 1980s, thorough neoliberal policies have reshaped Chilean society. In 2006 and again in 2011, widespread student demonstrations were the first significant social movement and political critique against this neoliberal regime. During this period, teachers were described as an absent subject. However, in 2014 dissident teachers spontaneously asserted themselves inaugurating 'the teachers' spring', which in 2015 involved a 57-days strike, and again 50 days in 2019.

Following a narrative approach, I conducted 35 interviews with 10 leaders and eight grassroots teachers of eight different dissident teachers' organisations. I did a set of three interviews with the grassroots teachers concerning their story, everyday limits and experimental practices as teachers. I analysed the interviews by creating 'personal narratives' and used these narratives to analyse the broader topic of their struggle as organised and dissident teachers.

I argue that the dissident teachers' phenomenon is a struggle in the field of pedagogy, enabling the composition of a political-pedagogical teacher subject. Each chapter of analysis provides support for this argument. First, I analyse the problem of *agobio* as the overarching notion mobilised by teachers to give an account of and delineate the effects of 35-40 years of neoliberalism ('a struggle'). Second, I analyse *political-pedagogical dissent* as the main criticism and critique the dissident teachers have articulated to problematise and disrupt the problem of *agobio* ('in the field of pedagogy'). Lastly, I examine three types of relationship where the dissident teachers are experimenting with political-pedagogical teaching practices ('the constitution of a political-pedagogical teacher subject').

IMPACT STATEMENT

My work has the potential to foreground the epistemic status (H. Zemelman, 2005) of the field of pedagogical policy and highlight the role teachers might play in this specific field. Pedagogical policy, in its multiple levels of articulation, involves a crucial epistemic problem: how we think and construct knowledge of a pedagogical relationship in its broadest sense - a relation between the old and the new (Arendt, 1961).

My main argument is that the current mode of governing teachers treats them as technical workers, limiting their capacity to think about their pedagogical practice. The dissident teachers have elaborated a critique towards this mode of governing based on the politicisation of the pedagogical field as a crucial arena of struggle. This argument enables me to open up questions and lines of inquiry at the different levels where pedagogical relationships take place. For example, the classroom, different educational institutions, the field of research, the pedagogical role of the media, and the broader relationship between generations in a given society, among others.

Regarding the classroom, in schools or universities, live or virtual, the problem is how the relationship between 'a teacher' and 'a student' is assembled and articulated. This is a phenomenological problem in the sense of recognising that a pedagogical policy is always being enacted between these two pedagogical figures. Therefore, for a teacher or a student, this involves the possibility of detaching themselves from a given mode of organising their encounter, becoming critically aware of the pedagogical policy they are subjected to and are subjects of in their daily interactions.

Regarding research, the problem relates to the different forms of producing knowledge of the pedagogical encounter. On a theoretical level, the main impact is to detach from a narrow understanding of pedagogy as the technical act of teaching and critically engage in reflecting on the psychosocial, cultural and political implications of different forms of organising the practices of teaching and learning. On a methodological level, it is important to consider that different ways of researching the pedagogical encounter will produce different ways of describing the teacher-student relationship. For example, observing a class it is not the same as talking or writing about it.

The process of thinking critically about pedagogical relationships has the potential to detach oneself and others from everyday pedagogical enactments and go beyond its phenomenological limits. This is, to think about what society is doing when configuring a

specific mode of relationship between teaching and learning. My thesis contributes to this thinking by describing how a neoliberal pedagogical policy produces *agobio* in teachers, and how a group of teachers is fighting this form of pedagogy and experimenting with different ways of interacting pedagogically. The most important impact of problematising the pedagogical policy of a given order of things is to highlight that the sphere of relationship of teaching and learning that a given society has produced, in its broadest sense, is a historical construction, and as such, it can be thought about, experimented with and re-created in different ways.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Using news headlines, I am going to re-construct and articulate a series of ongoing events regarding schoolteachers in Chile in the period 2014-2019 that constitute the 'starting-point' phenomenon of my research. These extracts refer to the political emergence of what has been called the dissident teachers.

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…'We will introduce to this Congress a project to create a new professional Teachers' Career (TC), working together with the *Colegio de Profesores* towards a new deal, in order to build a more valued profession' [1] . This was one of Michelle Bachelet's major announcements in her first public address to the country on 21st May 2014 in her second government (2014 - 2017) as President of Chile. The Government and the *Colegio de Profesores*, the main teachers' organisation in the country began negotiating a 'short agenda' before the discussion of the TC. In August 2014, Jaime Gajardo, president of the *Colegio de Profesores* and member of the Communist Party, which was part of the centre-left Government Coalition named New Majority [*Nueva Mayoría*], reached a consensus with the Government, stating that: 'from all the recent governments, this agreement is the most complete response to our demands'. He called for a vote among teachers and 55% of the 60.000 teachers who voted were against the agreement. 'We will not negotiate a new agreement with teachers', the Government stated. In September 2014, the OECD published a report on teachers' working conditions at the Government's request. One of its main conclusions was that 'Chilean teachers earn 39% less than the mean earned by teachers in OECD countries'. In November, the Minister of Education, Nicolas Eyzaguirre, travelled with a group of 20 people to Finland to 'learn about their educational model'. The same month Chris Husbands, former director of the Institute of Education, stated in Chile that 'improving teachers' quality is the fastest and most direct way to impact education'. Meanwhile, 'Teachers threaten with an indefinite strike' if the Ministry did not address their 'short agenda' demands. The Government and the *Colegio de Profesores* finally 'signed a new agreement' after two days on strike. However, spontaneous demonstrations against this new agreement took place, with teachers in more than 150 municipalities going on 'strike along the country', the following week. This movement was called 'the grassroots

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[1] For ease of reading, I have put the references of this extract in appendix 1 as 'References of the News Headlines'.

rebellion' and 'the teachers' spring', whereby a branch depicted by the news as 'dissident to the *Colegio de Profesores's* guidelines' emerged and began demanding 'to remain mobilised and to evaluate Gajardo's continuity' as head of the organisation. 'This is the worst crisis in the history of the *Colegio'* said Dario Vazquez, one of the leaders of the dissident teachers, after three weeks on strike. As the headlines read, 'teachers intensify their demonstrations and the Government set as a priority an immediate discussion' of teachers' demands. After a month on strike, Gajardo accepted a new agreement that resulted in a 'new break in the *Colegio de Profesores* [that] exacerbates the conflict'. Thus, the 'TC project was postponed until 2015'. 'Good teachers work with flexible guides and seek their own training' was one of the multiple headlines regarding what it means to be a good teacher that emerged in the media after the conflict. At the end of February 2015, Eyzaguirre stated that 'the TC project is on the oven's door', that is, ready to be sent to the Congress. A couple of weeks later, Valentina Quiroga, the sub-secretary of Education, claimed that 'teachers are the pillar of this reform', adding that the new law was based on the OECD's report. On 21st April 2015, the TC project was presented by Bachelet as one seeking to 'enhance teachers' work'. 'Teachers are the soul of the educational process, and they will become the key players of the reform' said the Minister of Education Eyzaguirre. 'TC will cost US$ 2.300 million, and in 12 years it will include every teacher'. However, 'the TC project doesn't represent us' Gajardo stated those same days in April, planning a 'rising plan of demonstrations', from one day to a week on strike. Eyzaguirre responded that 'TC is an enhancement to the educational reform'. According to one of the intellectuals who supported the new project, the educational economist Alejandra Mizala, the project 'considers all the elements' that international evidence deems relevant to build a new TC, and therefore the project 'is robust'. Meanwhile, 'teachers reaffirm a global and unanimous rejection of the TC project', with opposition starting to mount against it. First, they went on strike; then, after consultation within the *Colegio de Profesores's* branches, 97% of the teachers voted against the project. Thus, on 1st June 2015, an 'indefinite strike' was declared. The strike continued for 57 days, the second biggest teachers' strike in the country since the 59-day strike in 1968, and involved 'more schools than the student demonstrations in 2011'. Many things happened during those 57 days. 'This project is not neoliberal' said Jaime Veas, the person in charge of the new TC, in an attempt to defend it. Eyzaguirre was forced to resign because, as one of the dissident leaders, Mario Aguilar, claimed, 'he never understood our reasons'. In the end, 'the strike was cancelled'. Some of the former student leaders of the 2011 demonstrations, such as Camila Vajello, now an MP of the Communist Party, were

of the view that 'we are in front of a completely different project', supporting the current project. For others, such as Aguilar, this still wasn't 'our Career because it responds to a "business and productivity" logic'. The National Congress approved the new TC in December. In March 2016, Michelle Bachelet promulgated the law saying: 'the educational reform has always sought to secure access to quality education in all its levels. Today we are taking possibly the most important step, by tackling the heart, the main driving force of quality: teachers' work'. Five months later, in August 2016, Adriana Delpiano, the new Minister of Education stated: 'with this new law, teaching is today a more attractive career and, also, the quality of education is improved'. This statement, made at a press conference, announced the distribution and classification of more than 200.000 teachers according to the criteria of the TC. The process called *encasillamiento* or 'pigeonholing' started. '66% of evaluated teachers do not achieve the new "advance level"'; the TC 'classified 42% of teachers in the lower income levels' of the career; 'The TC evaluated only 0,7% of teachers as the best'; 'the TC pigeonholing classified 31% of teachers with a positive mark'. These were the news headlines regarding the categorisation of teachers. An 'Advance' teacher asked why she thought she was classified as such, gave the following answer: 'I am disciplined in my work and I dedicate many hours to the preparation of my teaching. I think it was a recognition for that'. 'My classes are well structured, and I consider my students' abilities and needs. It is not that I have discovered something special. I have worked in this way my whole life' adds an 'Expert I' teacher, in response to a similar question. 'I have the recognition of my colleagues, of my borough, and now the Ministry is telling me that I am a 'beginner' teacher. To me, this is absolutely humiliating', were the words of a teacher classified as 'Early'. One of the headlines two weeks after the publication of the classificatory results read: 'the new law encourages teachers: enrolment for the Teacher's Evaluation rose to 78%'. In this piece, Veas, the person in charge of the new TC, stated that 'the new teachers' career is motivating teachers to progress; and, as it is an explicit frame of development, teachers can define their goals and acknowledge their concrete possibilities to move forward according to their pedagogical experience and results'. On 1st September 2016, the 'dissident teachers united in a single list to take over the presidency' of the *Colegio de Profesores* in November's elections'. 'Left-wing list snatches the *Colegio de Profesores* to the Communist Party' and 'Who is Mario Aguilar? The dissident teacher who beat Jaime Gajardo' were the headlines after the election. In December 2016, one of the first public actions of Aguilar was to criticize the new TC arguing: 'In this project, we have not been heard' and 'the TC involves pedagogical authoritarianism'. During the

year 2017, the year I did my fieldwork in Chile, the dissident teachers were focused on an internal reform of the statute of the *Colegio de Profesores* oriented to its democratisation. Additionally, the political agenda was captured by the Presidential Election that took place at the end of the year. The right-wing candidate Sebastian Piñera (2018 - 2021) was elected for the second time. His first Minister of Education argued in March 2018 that 'The time of the demonstrations has passed; today we want to see the students in the classrooms'. In September, an editorial of an influential right-wing newspaper was titled 'Ineffective Teachers' arguing that teachers were not 'delivering an enriched education to their students'. By the end of 2018, the news read that 'The TC resulted in 82% of teachers having their salary raised' and '60% of teachers say that now they take less work to their homes'. However, the *Colegio de Profesores* denounced that 'the raise of salaries was not the one promised' and that around 54.000 teachers were working in the public system with 'flexible contracts, between fear and labour precariousness'. In March 2019, the *Colegio de Profesores* published a study arguing that 'teachers can work up to 75 hours per week'. In May, Mario Aguilar denounced a change in the curriculum that made optional the subjects of history, arts and physical education, arguing that 'not having a basic common curriculum is a big mistake'. On 3rd June 2019, 'after the break in the negotiations between teachers and the government', 'teachers begin an indefinite strike: "We do not ask for readjustment of salaries but for improvement in our working conditions"', said Mario Aguilar. The sub-secretary of Education, Raul Figueroa, stated 'I do not understand why the *Colegio de Profesores* is on strike, we have had a productive relationship'. At the same time, 'Teachers highlight the "impressive citizen support" after the massive march in Valparaiso'. In the middle of the strike, some of the news reports included, 'Teachers effective in their teaching are a great contribution to society' together with 'Strikes will affect 500.000 pre-schoolers in the whole country'. The sub-secretary Figueroa added 'the only thing that drives these demonstrations is the request for more earnings' and the Minister of Education, Marcela Cubillos, 'rejected to participate in the negotiations with teachers'. However, after three weeks on strike, 'teachers are not wearing away: massive march demands negotiations with Cubillos'. President Piñera explained 'I like teachers when they are doing classes'. 'After 22 days of strike, Minister Cubillos accepts to meet with the teachers'. A headteacher for more than 30 years sent a letter to a newspaper called 'Achilles against the MINEDUC', using the example of Finland, he argues that in the Nordic country the Minister of Education 'defines its role as one of cooperation and not of control'. In the south of Chile, a local newspaper trying to make sense of the

demonstrations states that the local leaders 'emphasise the role of the young teachers on the strike that has been going for five weeks'. Adding that '58% of the teachers from Biobío and Ñuble are under 40 years old', and interviewing one of the young leaders who said 'if you think, it is the same issue. Teachers striking today had their protagonism as students in 2011 defending the public education'. In the meantime, 'How much will the government endure the pressure of the teachers?' On 1st July, after a month of strike, the figures of the main pro-government surveys were released, 'Government management in education suffers a collapse and 69% [of surveyed people] supports the teachers' strike'. Then, 'after five weeks of demonstrations, Minister Cubillos promised an alternative solution to end the conflict'. After 50 days, teachers voted, and the strike was called off becoming, after the one in 2015, 'the second-longest in the last five decades'…

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Together, these ongoing events constitute 'the dissident teachers' phenomenon' and delineate one thread of a complex social fabric that might be called the unsettling educational context of Chile. Chile has been described as the 'first experiment with neoliberal state formation' (Harvey, 2005, p. 7) and the one country where 'a pure neoliberal experiment was put into place' (Robertson, 2008, p. 14) during the early 1980s under the dictatorial civil-military government (1973-1990) of Augusto Pinochet. Additionally, as 'the first nation to engage in a thoroughgoing market reform of education' (Ball, 2008, p. 55) and where the earliest attempts 'to transform education systems through free market principles' took place (Sahlberg, 2016, p. 130). Chile began experimenting with market-based educational reforms that, in the late 1980s, took place in England, and 'became fashionable from the 1990s' (Sahlberg, 2015, p. 163) in USA, Australia, New Zealand, and, in the developing countries in Central and Eastern Europe, former Soviet Europe and Latin America.

The educational context of Chile first became 'unsettled' in 2006 and again in 2011 as a result of the widespread student demonstrations. The 2011 demonstration is considered 'the most relevant social mobilisation in Chile since the restoration of democracy in 1990' (Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014, p. 426). The students involved demanded that education should be not a commodity for profit but a social right, and that the educational system be placed 'beyond the educational market' (p. 431) principles. A new generation of young people led the demonstrations, as one of the leaders of the 2011 movement argued, 'we are a generation which was not born under the traumas of the dictatorship, a generation

with less fear, raised in the post-dictatorship' (Jackson 2013, p. 110, cited in Bellei et al., 2014, p. 436). The first field of society widely problematised through social movements within the Chilean neoliberal society has been education. However, in the intense 'social movement for education' of 2006 and 2011, one of the main actors of the school system, the teacher, was described as 'an absent subject' (Cornejo & Insunza, 2013).

In the early 90s, teachers represented *the* emblematic case of the pauperisation brought forth by the neoliberal policies in the middle-class population (Lomnitz & Melnick, 1991). Then, in the early 2000s, were labelled as the 'Achilles' heel of the education reform' (Bellei, 2001) of the centre-left governments inspired in 'the third way' political ideas. During the 2006-2014 period, when a set of standards-based reforms policies were enacted (Bellei & Vanni, 2015), teachers were characterised as experiencing a contradictory perception about themselves as both the central actor to make changes (heroes) and the social group to blame for the problems of education (villains) (Avalos, 2013). However, in 2014, the absent teachers began to spontaneously assert themselves through what was described as a 'grassroots rebellion' inaugurating the 'teachers' spring' (González, 2015, p. 117). Then, in June 2015, a small number of left caucus groups, some of them outside the leading professional association of teachers, the *Colegio de Profesores*, led the 57-days strike. Among the important dissident organisations leading the strike was the Movement for Teachers' Unity. The national leader of the organisation, Eduardo González, published in May 2015, between both demonstrations, the book called *Stand Up Chilean Teachers! From the neoliberal precariousness to the reorganisation of teachers*. In 2016, a group of the dissident teachers were elected to lead the *Colegio de Profesores*. In 2019, teachers experienced their second massive demonstration in less than five years. The 'starting-point' phenomenon to problematise and research in this thesis is this act of 'standing up' of the Chilean teachers after 35-40 years subjected to work within an established neoliberal regime.

Different dimensions of my research problem are condensed in the set of events I have described using the news headlines: educational reforms and policies labelled as producing something new; the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and other international agencies influence on these processes of change; the centrality of teachers in educational reform discourses; the measurement and classification of teachers' work under a performativity system that uses numbers to govern; the formation of a specific kind of teacher subject that these policies enact; the disputes and struggles over this kind of teacher, among others. My thesis is deeply embedded in the Chilean context. It is about the neoliberal teacher subject formed in its neoliberal education system and

society. However, it is also about teachers, education and neoliberalism in a broader sense. My focus is on the teacher subject as a site to open questions and problematises the neoliberal order of things that has become the norm to understand educational systems and the possibilities that teachers have to change their current state of affairs. As Seddon, Ozga and Levin (2012) state, to address the challenges educators are facing in the present involves looking beyond

> the research that universalizes assumptions about educators' powerlessness in bleak discursive struggles about who can speak and who will be heard. Instead, we suggest it is necessary to examine cases of educators' agency to understand the emerging terms and conditions of 'liquid learning' in which travelling reforms, perpetual learning and the de-anchoring of knowledge traditions engage educators in processes of professional renewal that are remaking education through educational work. (p. 12)

My thesis shares this concern and suggestion. Neoliberalism in Chile has completely changed the ground of experience upon which teachers configure themselves as subjects. The situated local ensemble of the neoliberal policies, as Ong (2007) reminds us, is connected with its 'global assemblage' (p. 5). The idea of neoliberalism as something 'liquid' that 'flows' or 'travels' suggests that local and global phenomena are in complex way interconnected. Therefore, by researching a group of teachers that were formed in 35-40 years of an established neoliberal regime, but have decided to organise themselves and express their dissent, I hope to contribute to the understanding of what it means to be a teacher under a neoliberal regime, the subjective limits that this type of government imposes on them and some possible ways of struggling and experiment beyond these limits.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

The thesis is organised in three parts. **Part One – Teachers as Subjects** examines the dissident teachers' phenomenon and discusses it within the broader scope of problems that gives rise to. In **Chapter 1**, I articulate the current dissident teachers' struggle with the historical formation and governing of teachers in the context of Chile. In **Chapter 2**, I examine the current form of governing teachers in Chile within the broader context of a contemporary discussion on how a Global Educational Reform Movement (Sahlberg, 2011) is producing a particular type of teacher subject, with specific impacts on teachers' subjectivity and particular forms of resistance. Both chapters articulate the phenomenon in a broader context – one historical and local, and the other contemporary and global – thus enabling different question to be formulated. In **Chapter 3**, I briefly describe the main research questions guiding the study.

Part Two – Researching Teachers' Subjectivity describes how the research questions were transformed into research tools that helped produce empirical data. In **Chapter 4**, following the work of Paulo Freire, Hugo Zemelman and Michel Foucault, I present the notions of subjective limits and field of experimentation and, following mainly the work of Judith Butler, the notion of narrative, as my central research categories. The main argument is for considering a subjective limit as a site from where an analysis of the historical limits imposed on oneself can be conducted. From this position, it is possible to study a field of experimentation as a space-time where a set of practices beyond what currently exists as the truth about oneself are taking place, experimenting with what one might be. **Chapter 5** and **Chapter 6** are descriptive in their scope. In the former, I present the methodological design and describe the fieldwork process. In the latter, I describe the major analytical decisions that I made to inform and construct the analytical chapters.

In **Part Three – The Dissident Teachers' Struggle** I present the main theoretical analysis of the thesis. **Chapter 7** is dedicated to the analysis of the problem of *agobio* as the overarching notion mobilised by teachers to give an account of and delineate the effects of 35-40 years of neoliberalism. I build on Zemelman and Quintar's (J. Rivas, 2005) notion of a *pedagogy of the bonsai* to analyse the main strategies that produce *agobio*. A small parenthesis for the word *agobio* that will play a vital role in this work.

> Etymologically, *agobio* comes from the Latin *gibbus* which means hunchbacked and relates to the adjective bulging, 'probably cognate with *cubō* ("bend oneself, lie down")' (Wiktionary). In Spanish it means 'to impose to someone excessive activity or effort, to seriously worry, to cause great suffering'; and also, 'to render, depress or bring down' (RAE). The principal translations of the word are: to overwhelm, oppress, weigh down; burden, fatigue, tiredness, strain, stress, anguish. I will use the word *agobio* because not only it does not have an exact translation in English but also because it is the way Chilean teachers have themselves named their current subjective state of affairs.

Chapter 8 is focused on *political-pedagogical dissent* as the main criticism and critique the dissident teachers have articulated to problematise and disrupt *agobio*. The chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the notion of the political-pedagogical as enabling the formation of the dissident teacher subject. Their dissent involves a combination of two critiques. First, the *pedagogical critique* deals with the failure of the traditional union leaders to understand how the neoliberal mode governing teachers produces precarity and insecurities and, at the same time, provides a way out by following the narrow mode of being as a teacher offered by a technocratic pedagogy. Second, the *political critique* deals with the technocratic pedagogy as a form of pedagogy that fixes the focus of attention of the

pedagogical relationship on an end-result product. The tactic of 'pedagogical validation' is analysed as a way of struggling against the technocratic pedagogy and opening up a field of experimentation. **Chapter 9** is focused on the tactic 'to give of one's time' as an additional tactic used by the dissident teachers to unfold experimental practices. I identify three types of relationships where the dissident teachers are experimenting with a political-pedagogical true discourse (Foucault, 2005): the teachers' relationship with society, with their colleagues and managers, and with their students.

Finally, in the **Conclusion**, I recapitulate the main arguments presented in the thesis. I also offer a discussion of the implications and limitations of the work, formulating connotative questions as a way to signal possible ways for the continuation of this work.

PART ONE – TEACHERS AS SUBJECTS

Chapter 1   The governing of the teacher subject in Chile

This chapter provides historical context to the phenomenon of the dissident teachers in Chile. It argues that since the formation of the Chilean Republic the regulation of teachers has been an important means of governing civil society. The current way of organising Chilean society, which is based on neoliberal principles and policies, has produced its own form of regulating teachers. I will briefly describe the main changes experienced by teachers since their formation as a professional group in the mid nineteenth century, emphasising the transformations they experienced in the second half of the twentieth century. The second argument is that in different moments of the twentieth and twenty-first century, teachers fought to participate more actively in the regulation of their own work and field of experience. The dissident teachers' struggle can be considered as part of these moments. The analysis of the governing of Chilean teachers has both unique and shared elements with the formation, discipline and regulation of teachers in other parts of the world. However, the main literature used in this chapter studies teachers in the context of Chile, together with some analytical tools borrowed from Foucault (2004, 2008). The next chapter will connect the process of governing teachers with a global literature.

Before starting, it is important to clarify briefly the way I understand the notions of 'teacher subject' and 'field of experience of teaching and learning', which will play an important role in this work. Foucault (1988) argues that the subject is not the condition of possibility for experience but,

> it is experience which is the rationalization of a process, itself provisional, which results in a subject, or rather, in subjects. I will call subjectivization the procedure by which one obtains the constitution of a subject, or more precisely, of a subjectivity which is of course only one of the given possibilities of organization of a self-consciousness. (p. 253)

The teacher subject, in this sense, can be understood as a historical mode of reasoning and governing the field of experience of teaching and learning. The work of Hannah Arendt (1961) is useful in delineating how I understand this specific field of experience. She explains that an educator's task is 'to mediate between the old and the new' (p. 193). For her, 'the world', as a human creation, is 'the old', the past and the public domain of life, whereas 'the child', as a human being 'born into the world' (p. 174), stands for 'the new', the future and the private domain of the home. She adds:

> The child requires special protection and care so that nothing destructive may happen to him from the world. But the world, too, needs protection to keep it

from being overrun and destroyed by the onslaught of the new that bursts upon it with each new generation. (p. 186)

Whereas the family is the traditional 'shield against the world' (p. 186) for children, the world is the sphere of life constructed by the public affairs of adults. Arendt considers the school as the institution 'we interpose between the private domain of home and the world in order to make a transition from the family to the world possible to all' (p. 189). The field of experience of teachers is their relationship with the practices of schooling, teaching and learning; the pedagogical encounter between a teacher subject and a student subject. The teaching force of a given society, in this sense, is a segment of 'the world' mediating between the private and the public sphere of the life of children and teenagers. Thus, I do not only understand the 'teaching force' as the collective noun for teachers but also as a *force* for shaping and organising the field of the experience of teaching and learning in different contexts.

The formation and use of teachers to govern civil society

Civilising the population by training normalist teachers

In the mid-nineteenth century, the training and presence of the primary teacher was an important way of shaping the national state after the formation of the Republic of Chile in 1810. The construction of a network of primary schools was established in this period, having literacy as its central focus. As Serrano, Ponce de León and Rengifo (2012a) indicate, 'from 1853 to 1895 primary schools increased from 561 to 1,659 and students from 26,262 to 139,991' (p. 22, my translation[2]). They add that 'the primary school was the first positive right established as such in the history of Chile' (p. 91, mt) and 'established the territorial institutionalisation of the national state' (p. 338, mt). The primary school and the primary teacher were in many places the first regular presence of the state in the territory of Chile. The primary school 'linked, as none other institution, wide segments of the population through a shared symbolic experience. In this sense, it was the backbone of the formation of a modern nation' (p. 22, mt). The importance of the role played by education can be summarised in the name given to the state in this period and during the twentieth-century: *Estado Docente* or Teaching State (Serrano et al., 2012a; M. Zemelman & Jara, 2006).

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[2] From now on, I will use the abbreviation 'mt' to indicate when quotations are my translation.

This process can be linked with the formation of state power and norms to discipline the bodies and regulate the population described by Foucault (2004). As he argues, in the case of Europe, during the eighteenth-century, 'the power of sovereignty' was 'on the retreat' (p. 254) and new forms of power were increasingly 'on the advance' (p. 254). For him, the forms of power articulated around the notion of civil society gave rise to the problem of a 'normalising society' as 'a society in which the norm of discipline and the norm of regulation intersect' (p. 253). The problem, as he puts it, was that 'far too many things were escaping the old mechanism of power of sovereignty, both at the top and at the bottom, both at the level of detail and at the mass level' (p. 250). Therefore, two adjustments were made:

> A first adjustment was made to take care of the details. Discipline had meant adjusting power mechanisms to the individual body by using surveillance and training (…) at a local level, in intuitive, empirical, and fragmented forms, and in the restricted framework of institutions such as schools, hospitals, barracks, workshops, and so on. And then at the end of the eighteenth century, you have a second adjustment; the mechanisms are adjusted to phenomena of population, to the biological or biosociological processes characteristic of human masses. (p. 249-250)

In Chile, the training of a teaching force to normalise the population involved both adjustments working together. The first adjustment not only implied the elaboration of a network of primary schools to train students but above all the formation of *preceptors* or *normalists*, the two names given to the primary teachers trained in the Normalising School [*Escuela Normalista*]. By adding a couple of years of training, a student in this specific type of primary school could become a preceptor and teach in the primary school system. As Serrano et al. (2012a) argue 'the school was the first and only social policy of the liberal state in the nineteenth-century'. (p. 19, mt). From 1865 to 1899, the preceptors increased by 241%, 'from 693 to 2,365' (p. 257, mt). This increment 'was mainly related to female incorporation' (p. 257, mt). Their presence 'was promoted by the authorities who considered teaching as an extension of their maternal role and mainly because they had a lower salary' (p. 258). As Serrano et al. (2012a) explain:

> Schools created new actors and new relationships in Chilean society. The first, without doubt, was the figure of the preceptor, their formation, social profile, increasing feminisation. They were the first professionals certified in a symbolic knowledge [*saber*] who came from working-class segments. They were the heart of the school. (…). In this period, the primary school was the teacher, and it began to acquire a new residence, which is the classroom, precarious but different from home. New objects appeared sent by the central government: desks, papers, quills,

> ink, chalkboards, world maps and, above all, school texts, which were the first prints that circulated massively in Chilean society. (p. 21, mt)

Chilean civil society used the normalising force of the primary teachers to create a space in different parts of the national territory that was 'different from home' called 'the classroom'. The classroom enabled a teacher to teach different *precepts* using a new set of objects and artefacts that helped to shape a new 'shared symbolic experience'.

The second adjustment or the biopolitical form of power (Foucault, 2004) was linked to the formation of the network of primary schools which, as Serrano et al. (2012a) put it, activated the 'need to figure out the degree of literacy of the population' (p. 121, mt). This need gave rise to the importance of measurement and 'to know the territory and the population, the statistics were called the "science of governing"' (p. 18, mt).

The formation of teachers contributed to producing what Foucault (2004) names 'breaks in the domain of life' (p. 225), which create hierarchies within the population by fragmenting it. The clearest one was between primary and secondary education. The first was directed to working class people and the second to the elites. By the end of the century, fewer than 5,000 students attended secondary education, while a little more than 100,000 students were enrolled in primary school (Serrano et al., 2012a). The field of experience of teaching and learning reached mostly the urban cities, where the middle and upper classes of Chilean civil society were settled. The teaching force, in this sense, produced a new educated or 'civilised' segment within the social body that was primarily urban, Chilean and from a middle-upper class. This 'civilised' segment could be differentiated from an uneducated or uncivilised rural, native and working-class fragment of the population (Serrano et al., 2012a).

Developing the population by forming a worker and civil servant teacher

The regulation of the teaching force as a technical and productive subject was an important way, in the twentieth century, to give shape to the project of Chile as an autonomous industrial country that became, as Ruiz and Boccardo (2015) argue, a national consensus during the 1938 to 1973 period. This cycle was led by 'a thriving middle class that aimed to lead the modernisation propelled from the state action' (p. 111, mt). Teachers, as Lomnitz and Melnick (1991) put it, were *the* emblematic example of this middle class produced under the forces of the state.

As the national educational system was in constant expansion, becoming a teacher was one of the best ways for a working-class individual to obtain a secure job opportunity. By the

beginning of the twentieth-century, only two out of 10 children from five to 15-year-old attended school; by 1970, 10 out of 10 were attending primary school and almost four out of 10 secondary education (Serrano, Ponce de León, & Rengifo, 2012b). Therefore, 'teachers provided one of the services most solicited by the population' (Lomnitz & Melnick, 1991, p. 33). As civil servants, teachers had 'a series of rights' such as 'job stability; health care; rights to severance pay (*deshaucio*), a retirement pension, and a pension fund for widows and orphans; and the right to the free exercise of citizenship and to express opinion on political matters' (1991, p. 34).

However, the teachers' relationship with the state-employer was not an easy one. Ivan Nuñez (1990, p. 215, mt) describes this relationship as one of 'unsettled integration' [*integración conflictiva*]. Teachers considered themselves as members of the welfare state; however, at the same time, they 'struggled strongly to participate in the economic benefits' (p. 216, mt) of national productivity. As Nuñez (2007) adds, teachers 'felt they were part of the social base of the welfare state of those years, defending its economic project and democratic policies. The state responded without substantially improving their salaries but guaranteeing civil servant rights such as job security' (p. 156, mt).

The 'unsettled integration' established between teachers and the state-employer in Chile describes the role that teachers began to occupy in the civil society ensemble. According to Nuñez (1990), during the nineteenth-century, the central figure of the teacher was one of an unskilled labourer. Thanks to the Normal Schools and the *Instituto Pedagógico*, the institution formed to train secondary teachers, by the end of the century the first process of professionalisation took place. Nuñez (1990) states that four leading figures composed teachers' identities during the twentieth-century: the worker, the civil servant, the professional and the technician. The first two were the more important ones and can be related to the figures described by Foucault (2008) as the *homo juridicus* and the *homo economicus*. Civil society, Foucault (2008) argues, articulates both subjects. The subject of right possesses 'immediate rights' and can agree to 'relinquishing them' (p. 275) while the subject of interest 'is never called upon to relinquish his interest' (p. 275) and operates by 'an egoistic mechanism' (p. 276).

On the one hand, the worker identity formalises teachers as economic subjects. The main demands were the improvement of their historically low salaries and of their labour conditions (Nuñez, 1990). As economic subjects, the teachers' struggle was with the welfare state.

On the other hand, the civil servant identity articulates teachers as subjects of rights. This identity involved 'important conditions such as job stability, salary scales at a national level, and many other rights that were in favour of teachers' (Nuñez, 1990, p. 209, mt). As Nuñez (2007) argues, during the twentieth-century, the class difference between primary (working-class background) and secondary teachers (middle-upper class background) began to soften because of their common working conditions. Teachers were, 'in a high proportion, employees of the centralised national state that incorporated them into the bureaucratic culture, with its features of uniformity, hierarchy, formalism and performances according to standards. This trait became stronger between the 1940s and 1970s' (p. 156, mt). During the twentieth century, teachers, as subjects of rights, managed to acquire immediate rights that made them feel part of the welfare state, and for this reason, they supported it.

However, the teachers' field of experience produced a more essential social bond that shaped a more communitarian form of identity. As Foucault (2008) states, 'civil society is characterized by bonds which are neither purely economic nor purely juridical' (p. 308). These are communitarian bonds that 'link[] individuals to each other in civil society' (p. 301). They are 'active bonds of compassion, benevolence, love for one's fellows, and sense of community' (p. 302), which makes 'one prefer[] to stay in one's community, even if one finds abundance and security elsewhere' (p. 303). The school and the classroom created an experience that produced communal bonds that were not reducible to economical nor juridical bonds. The relationship between teachers and their students and families were the foundation of these communal bonds. As Azun Candia (2014) argues, primary teachers 'were in permanent and close contact with the miseries and poverty of the people: they lived in the front line of the sufferings of the poorest children and families and, usually, they shared their same conditions' (p. 192, mt). These primary teachers shared a similar working-class background with their students and families, but at the same time, because they had access to the public educational school system, were able to differentiate themselves from them.

In this concrete sense, they experienced a 'sense of community' with their students and their families in a more disinterested way, which began to be formalised throughout the twentieth-century. As Lomnitz and Melnick (1991) state, 'the two concerns of Chilean teachers can thus be observed from the outset: on the one hand, the interest in improving their own living conditions; and on the other, the desire to improve education itself' (p. 35). Improving the education system itself required teachers to struggle to expand and

improve the schools in the country, which in a way was against their immediate economic interests because 'public funding for education was not only allocated to pay the teachers but also to expand and improve the system' (Lomnitz & Melnick, 1991, p. 35).

A competitive population by incentivising an effective teacher

After Augusto Pinochet's coup in 1973, a different way of regulating the teacher was enacted in Chile based on market and competition principles. The dissident teachers emerged in reaction to this neoliberal mode of governing teachers. According to Garretón (2012), neoliberalism 'was imposed through blood and fire (…). It accomplished the double task of revenge and disarticulation of the previous society and of constituting the bases of the foundational regime's project on its economic, social, cultural and political aspects.' (p. 17, mt). The 17 years of dictatorship, from 1973 to 1990, entailed not only brutal repression but the possibility of rebuilding the institutions of the country based on the principles of a group of economists called 'the Chicago boys', who were trained in the University of Chicago by Milton Friedman (Harvey, 2005). The neoliberal revolution of the civil-military alliance enabled what Ruiz and Boccardo (2015) called 'the most re-foundational dictatorship experience of the region' (p. 11, mt).

The modernisation of education was part of a more significant set of market and privatisation reforms that took place in Chile (Garretón, 2012; Ruiz Encina & Boccardo, 2015). The book *The educational modernisation* of Alfredo Prieto (1983), Minister of Education under Pinochet between 1979 and 1982, explains the rationale behind the changes introduced in the new educational system. His arguments aligned with the state-phobia and the central role of families that led the organisation of the new system. A syllogistic argument was built around the family: because families pursue the common good by self-initiative, the state, whose primary purpose is to guarantee the common good, has to assurance that intermediate groups such as families can accomplish their specific goals. Therefore, 'we may conclude that the state has to create every necessary condition for the family to accomplish its specific goal' (p. 14, mt). Society is collapsed and reduced to families and its individuals. The role of the state is re-organised. Instead of its active role, now it needs to protect the family, and it can only act when intermediary groups 'cannot fulfil or when they perform their goals wrongly' (p. 12, mt). This is called a 'subsidiary state', which means the state has a passive role, only activated when individuals cannot solve their problems in the free market. As Prieto argues: 'the subsidiary principle is the

foundation of a truly libertarian society, and it is the best guarantee of the existence of effective individual freedom' (p. 16, mt).

In education, the main interest of the family is to educate their children, having the right to choose the school they consider the best for them. For this reason, the family's right to choose schools becomes a constitutional right in the 1980 Constitution. The problem is that for freedom to choose to be enacted, the system must provide alternatives. The forces of the state were directed to the elaboration of an educational market that provides alternatives of choice. As Prieto (1983) argues: 'For this right to become real, the state has to guard the existence of a mechanism that can provide alternatives of choice (…). Here is one of the foundations of the need for a financial education system that allows parents the exercise of these rights' (p. 25, mt). Four primary policy devices were used to fabricate the market system in Chile: the voucher system, which activates competition by monetising student enrolment; the encouragement of private subsidised schools; the measurement of the quality of education by means of a standardised System of Measurement of the Quality of Education (SIMCE); and the municipalisation of schools. All of them had as a common feature, which was the need to generate 'a self-regulated educational system with less state regulation' and fabricate the means to increase the 'degree of competition' (p. 93, mt) of the system as a whole.

The municipalisation of the schools implied the most explicit transformation in teachers' working conditions. As Prieto (1983) explains, freedom of education was impossible within 'the rigidities of the public system' (p. 88, mt). The municipality, as an intermediate group, was thought of as 'the institution where community participation can unfold better' (p. 78, mt). In 1980, the public sector employed 80% of the teachers' workforce (Cox & Jara, 1989). The municipalisation policy implied the loss of teachers' historic civil servant status and rights, which meant they now worked in the same conditions than any private worker in the country. As Bellei and Vanni (2015) state, the 'free-market approach was argued as a solution to the inefficiency of bureaucratic models and a system captured by interest groups, in particular teachers' (p. 196). Teachers, as Nuñez (2007) claimed they were literally 'thrown into the generic status of "workers", made subject to the standard labour law' (p. 157, mt) or as Lomnitz and Melnick (1991) put it, they were 'thrown onto the labour market, with a considerable loss of prerogatives – job stability, salary increases, social security, and so on' (p. 68).

Additionally, the process of municipalisation meant that teachers' payment was deregulated. As Prieto (1983) argues, this deregulation was done in order to increase the remunerations of the best teachers in a school. The aim was to 'lead to a sort of competition among teachers, which forced them to further training and to a better performance of their functions, in order to qualify for better remunerations or employments' (p. 84, mt). The idea was 'to retain and keep the good teachers and marginalise those whose work is inefficient, inadequate and harmful to the community' (p. 85). Gerado Jofré (1988), advisor of the Minister of Treasury from 1985 to 1989, describes as follows the new way of perceiving teachers:

> If, as it usually happens in the private sector, the teacher perceives that his salary depends on the quality of his services, even at an individual level, and also believes that he will keep his job if he performs his functions efficiently, he will have the incentives to make an effort to his optimal performance. (…). The optimal situation is that the worker – and also the teacher – feels that he can obtain [job] security with his efficiency and dedication, but that unemployment waits from him if he does not provide a quality service. (p. 204-205, mt)

It is not only that the juridical nature of teachers' work, their *homo juridicus*, was transformed by being moved from the status of a civil servant to that of a private worker, but also a new type of teacher subject was enacted. A new ontology based on what Foucault (2008) calls the neoliberal *homo economicus* was imposed on teachers. The historical economic subject of exchange, teachers' need to sell their labour force for money, is reshaped under the notion of an entrepreneur. In neoliberalism, as Foucault states, the *homo economicus,*

> is not at all a partner of exchange. *Homo economicus* is an entrepreneur, an entrepreneur of himself. This is true to the extent that, in practice, the stake in all neoliberal analysis is the replacement every time of *homo economicus* as a partner of exchange with a *homo economicus* as entrepreneur of himself, being from himself his own capital, being from himself his own producer, being from himself the source of his earnings (p. 226).

It is not simply about teachers now selling their services as private workers, because even if they manage to do this, they are now required to perform efficiently and continuously improve their performance, becoming responsible of their own (un)employment. As Cornejo and Reyes (2008) explain, the most evident impact of the dictatorship's new policies on teachers' professional and personal lives was 'the abrupt drop in their remunerations' (p. 87, mt). Economic precariousness and insecurity, a constitutive feature of neoliberalism according to Lazzarato (2009), became the norm for teachers by the end of the 1980s. The dictatorship transformed teachers' system of needs: their main incentive is now to keep their job by becoming an efficient worker.

With the Chilean transition to democracy, which began in in the 1990s and was led during 20 years by four consecutive governments of the centre-left coalition *Concertación*, the economic insecurities started to shift to a new set of regulatory policies. Bellei and Vanni (2015) divided the 1980-2014 period in three moments: school market (1980-1990), market and the state: the third way (1990-2005) and the evaluative state: standards-based reforms (2006 - 2014). The main characteristic of the third way period was 'the intention of re-establishing the state's active role within the market system' (p. 184). 'Despite of the expectations of teachers', as Cox (2003) argues, 'the governments of the transition to democracy made the strategic decision of not reverting both the process of municipalisation and the financial model and mechanism established in 1981' (p. 16, mt). Among the reasons for keeping things as they were was the fear of authoritarian regression. As Bellei and Vanni (2015) state, 'the term 'educational reform' was avoided by Chilean authorities and policymakers and only 'continuous improvement' [was] referred to' (p. 182). They add that the 'only feature during this period that underwent a structural change was the promulgation of a new Statute for Teachers [*Estatuto Docente*], which established special labour and professional regulations for them, particularly in public schools' (p. 182). One of the problems that the Teachers' Statute produced was an internal fragmentation within the teachers' workforce that still exists: only teachers working in the public municipal system were subjected to it; the teachers working in the particular subsidised system continued working under the private workers' code[3]. However, the Teachers' Statute did contribute to set a minimum wage, which implied salary improvements for all teachers (Valenzuela, Sevilla, Bellei, & De los Ríos, 2010).

In the mid-90s, one of the main campaign promises of the new government was an educational reform. One of the four main pillars, according to Cox (2003), was a set of different measures aimed at what was called the strengthening of the teacher's profession. Avalos (2003) has argued that the different actions focused on teachers, i.e., programmes to improve Teachers Education, to train teachers on the new curriculum and to study abroad, were not based on 'an integrated and coherent mid-term policy of teachers' training and development' (p. 559, mt) but were emergent responses to different demands. The social-political consensus and enthusiasm with the educational reform faded away in the

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[3] The school system after the dictatorship was fragmented into three major types of schools: public municipal, private subsidised by the state and private. By 1989, 58.7% of teachers worked in the public municipal system and only 27.1% did it in the private subsidised one. However, since 2010, the majority of teachers work in the private subsidised system (Gonzalez, 2015).

first years of the twenty-first century with what Bellei and Vanni (2015) called the 'impact crisis' (p. 187). As they argue:

> In the middle of 2000, the SIMCE results for fourth grade primary students from 1999 were announced and that was seen to be the first national evaluation of the reform, since these students had been at school under the new curriculum and had been the beneficiaries for the greater part of the reform initiatives. (p. 188).

The results showed no difference compared with the students of 1996. The 'SIMCE was like the GDP of education' (p. 187); therefore, the whole rhetoric of 'educational bonanza' (p. 188) was under a state of 'shock, triggering a public debate that put the educational reform under [ ] crossfire' (p. 188). While the right-wing parties proposed 'to deregulate the teaching profession, give schools greater autonomy and implement an evaluation system with greater consequences', the *Colegio de Profesores* 'called for the reform to be stopped, and advocated a drastic change replacing the market paradigm with a traditional system built around public education' (p. 189).

The 'impact crisis' had two interrelated consequences for teachers. First, teachers began to be thought of as having the principal responsibility for this educational crisis. As Assaél and Pavez (2008) argue, 'the unsatisfactory results of the students from the public system were attributed to the poor quality of teachers' performance' (p. 43, mt). Nuñez (2007) explains that one of the main problems with teachers was that their old civil servant culture had suffered an identity 'shock' with the 1980s neoliberal reform. Bellei (2001) named the problem of teachers as the Achilles' heel of the reform. From his perspective, the reform of 1996 was seen as an important hero (Achilles) of the *Concertación's* governments; however, this hero had one weakness: teachers (the heel). Teachers, according to Bellei, had a 'schizophrenic' (p. 135) relationship with the reform. On the one hand, they 'participated and showed commitment to the programmes' and, on the other hand, expressed 'strong criticism and opposition' (p. 135, mt). The reason behind this divide was an attachment to an old traditional culture.

The arguments around the culture of teachers provide a theoretical support to introduce accountability policies in teachers' work. In the late 1990s, teachers were seen as 'bureaucrats without incentives' (Acuña, 2015, p. 9, mt). As Mizala and Romaguera (2002) state that the problem with the performance of teachers in Chile, 'unlike other professionals' (p. 355, mt), is the uniformity of their structure of salaries, which varies according to their years of service, i.e., 'by considerations external to their performance

and independent of the quality of the teacher' (p. 355, mt). They argued that the statistically significant difference in SIMCE results by type of school,

> endorses the importance to reward teachers who achieve a better school performance among their students. In conclusion, these elements highlight the importance to measure school performance, give transparency to the school system and design incentives' schemes to stimulate teachers to improve the quality of teaching. (p. 358, mt).

The old cultural practices of teachers were resisting the formation of an entrepreneurial teacher subject. This cultural problem was the 'heel' of the reform and the way to solve it was by creating a set of policies of evaluation, measurement, accountability and incentives of teachers' work. For Beyer and Araneda (2009), active supporters of this way of regulating teacher's work, these policies involve linking teachers' salaries not only to their competences but also to the learning outcomes of the students. As they state, 'the insistence on linking payment to teachers' performance is not arbitrary. An effective teacher has a way superior impact on the learning of their students than an ineffective one' (p. 412, mt).

The different evaluation and measurement policies around teachers enabled a way of putting numbers and labels to the level of efficiency of teachers' work. As Beyer and Araneda (2009) explain, teachers classified in Chile as 'outstanding' in the Teachers' Evaluation policy 'can manage for their students to achieve an increase of 0.34 standard deviation in the SIMCE (…) in comparison to teachers classified as unsatisfactory' (p. 414, mt). Their argument is that effective teachers improve the learning of the students and the competitiveness of the country, not only in an economic sense, but also in the international educational table leagues like the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which are relevant measurements for the country's competitiveness in OECD and other international rankings.

Teachers' status shifted from public workers who had certain job security as civil servants during the twentieth century to private workers who, in the last 35-40 years, have had to increasingly show evidence of their efficiency and productivity in order to obtain job security.

Teachers' struggles for participation in the governing of civil society

During the twentieth and twenty-first century, Chilean teachers have found, in different moments, the possibility of struggling and participating in the way they are being governed

as teachers. Very briefly, I will describe five different moments where teachers have tried to self-organise their own field of experience.

The Struggle for the Compulsory Primary Education Law (1889 - 1920)

One of the main resolutions of the First National Congress of Pedagogy held in 1889 was the struggle for a law for compulsory primary education. Finally promulgated in 1920, the first political policy promoted by teachers took them 30 years of struggle. As Zemelman and Jara (2006) explain, the importance of this very concrete demand is that it is linked to the creation of the first organisations of teachers in the country such as the Association of National Education (1904) or the Federation of Teachers of Primary Education (1915). Even though the expectations placed in the law were to a great extent unfulfilled because 'in many places the Law of Primary Education was dead letter' (p. 53, mt), it 'remained in the collective imaginary as one of the first social laws coherent with the principles of greater participation, justice and social equality of the XX century' (p. 52, mt). This law, which sought to make primary education compulsory, was the first political struggle of teachers in Chile for participation in the governing of the field of experience of teaching and leaning; this is, expanding the possibilities of the population to participate in the field of experience of teaching and learning.

The Integral Education Reform (1927 - 1928)

The 1920 to 1940 period is a significant moment for Chilean teachers. It is a period where they not only had a leading role in the formation of educational policies at a national level but they also elaborated an original and critical pedagogical discourse regarding their own field of experience as teachers by adapting the progressive educational ideas of the *New School* movement. As Zemelman and Jara (2006) state, the revolutionary years between 1917 and 1918 contributed to 'legitimise the reformist demands, among them was the "New School" progressive movement' (p. 56, mt). A professional conception of teachers' work, as Nuñez (1990) explains, emerged in this period. The most emblematic example was the Integral Public Education Reform of 1927-1928, based on a progressive pedagogical approach and led by primary teachers organised in the General Association of Chilean Teachers (GAT) formed in 1922. As Zemelman and Jara (2006) argue, they demanded a 'total reform of the education' (p. 56, mt), adding that:

> Even though the 1927-28 education reform was aborted almost the same day it was launched, due to the way it developed and its main content, it was one of the most significant reforms of the twentieth-century. It was the product of a decade of discussion during the 1920s at the centre of the teaching profession. (p. 56, mt).

Moreover, its radicalism was based on its attempt to produce 'a deep change in the pedagogical methods' (p. 64, mt). The reform elaborated a substantive critique to the disciplinary pedagogical method of Chilean education. As the leading journal of the GAT, *New Paths*, argued in 1925, 'the current school organisation can be characterised in one word: coercion. The school confines students physically, intellectually and morally to direct their faculties in a specific direction' (cited in M. Zemelman & Jara, 2006, p. 65, mt). The GAT defended the idea of a pedagogy forming students to think critically as free subjects.

It was one of the first times teachers struggled against the way pedagogy was organised and defended their need to conduct pedagogical research and experimentation (Acuña, 2018). Among the vigorous exponents of what was called the experimental pedagogical approach was the Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral, a primary teacher for more than 20 years (1900-1925) and Nobel Prize in Literature (1945). In the decade of the 1920s, the *New Path* journal published several conferences given by Mistral on the subject. In 1925, the following words appeared as comments to one of Mistral's conferences:

> We must kill the pedagogical dogma, but we must be aware of not creating new ones. The theoretical discussion must walk along with practical experimentation. Then, we will remember the saying: it is easier said than done [*otra cosa es con guitarra*]. There is no reform possible if it is only done in the assembly, we must go to the field of experimentation; we must transform the idea into action. (Nuevos Rumbos, 2 de junio de 1925, in M. Zemelman & Jara, 2006, p. 66, mt)

Leonora Reyes (2014) has analysed in detail GAT's reformist ideas. She explains that, even though it was never hegemonic among teachers, their pedagogical ideas were an essential thread in the educational debate of the period. Their view of education not only struggled against the conservatives who did not want to expand education but also with the liberals and economic nationalists that thought that education needed to be centrally ruled from the state. As Reyes states, the GAT 'project dismissed the state monopoly of public education, proposing a school project governed by the community, based on a local and original version of the New School trend' (p. 27, mt). Even though the reform of 1927/28 was defeated, and a period of conservative counter-reform came after the crisis of 1929, the experimental ideas of the GAT were disseminated more widely. For example, a few secondary schools, as Mistral recommended, became experimental ones during the 1930s and 1940s (M. Zemelman & Jara, 2006).

It is in this sense that Nuñez (1990) argues that the failure of the professional ideas of the primary teachers had a significant effect on teachers' identity. In the 1930s, he explains, two 'proposals for a reorganisation of teachers' work competed' (p. 207, mt), a professional

versus a technical one. The primary teachers led the first one with the educational reform of 1927-28. He states, 'on top of the frustration for the defeat of that professional project, since 1929 and framed under an authoritarian counter-reform, a "technical" proposal of teachers' work was developed' (p. 208, mt). Thus, teachers' work was normed, hierarchically organised and 'the "professional" identity was cut off of its development with the defeat of the GAT and with the frustration of the 1928 reform' (p. 212, mt). Only in the second half of the 1950s, a new professional proposal emerges, led by a group of young secondary teachers. However, it was an elitist project, which 'presented itself as against a "worker" identity' (p. 213, mt) and teachers' syndicalism. Their project was to form the *Colegio de Profesores*, an idea supported by the right-wing parties of the period but that did not find enough support to succeed.

The experimental pedagogical policy was confined and reduced to technical guidelines. As Nuñez (1990) argues, the professional ideals of the New School progressive movement were confined in a group of 'distinguished pedagogues of the professional elite' with the task 'of translating the modern pedagogy' (p. 211, mt) into pedagogical practices. This 'elite of specialist' produced a 'technical teacher's work centred on methodological recipes, which were in fact the result of the vertical transference of the new pedagogical knowledge' (p. 212, mt) to the schools.

The Democratisation of Teaching and the ENU (1970 - 1973)

Strikes and unionism became more and more relevant during the twentieth century. As Nuñez (1990) states, 'in the 60s and especially in the 1970-73 period, the definition of teachers as workers increasingly spread. By the end of the period, the notion of "worker of education" becomes dominant and even official' (p. 217, mt). Teachers, identified as workers, pursued their own particular interest in improving their working conditions by going on strike

> in 1951, 1952, 1957, 1960, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1966 and 1968. The strike in 1961 extended for 56 days. The one from 1968 for 59 days. The strikes during this period were hard, unfolding an increasing spiral of radicalisation and repressive responses from the State. (…). The conjunctural economic crisis of 1967 unleashed a teachers' strike in 1968, the longest strike in the history of the teachers' profession. (p. 218, mt)

As Candina (2014) argues, during the 1960s and 1970s, the idea of a unique union gained momentum and support. In 1970, with the socialist Salvador Allende as president, the Unique Union of Teachers' Workers [*Sindicato Único de Trabajadores de la Educación* (SUTE)] was formed. The SUTE led the two main projects of education of the *Unidad Popular*

government: The Democratisation of Teaching and the *Escuela Nacional Unificada* (ENU) or Unified National School project. The first project, approved in 1973, created the Education Councils as local spaces where different members of the school community participated 'in the direction, administration and governing of the educational and cultural services' (Decreto 224, 1973 in Cornejo & Reyes, 2008, p. 81, mt). One of the main policies was the Education Workshop, which involved practices of research and experimentation, reconnecting with the ideas of the primary teachers of 1927-1928. The second project, the ENU, was a report that intended to change the old nineteenth-century school system by arguing that 'there will no longer be an education branch for the upper class, another for the middle and another for the working class, but only one school where every Chilean will be educated' (MINEDUC, 1972 in Cornejo & Reyes, 2008, p. 81, mt). However, all of these projects of change were interrupted by the coup on 11th September 1973. As Nuñez (2003) explains, for some, the ENU is still one of the reasons that legitimised the coup of 1973. For others, it is still a source of inspiration.

As Lomnitz and Melnick (1991) argue, after the coup, 'the regime questioned the term *educational worker* and proposed to recognise the professional nature of the educator' (p. 37). Accordingly, one of the first actions of the civil-military government in relation to teachers was dismantling the SUTE and, in October 1974, creating the *Colegio de Profesores*. This was done in order 'to produce an organ to control teachers and their practice in the country together with keeping them away from the definition of "workers", one that had clear left connotations' (Candina, 2014, p. 198, mt).

The Pedagogical Movement (1996 - 2007)

During the dictatorship years (1973-1990), the Association of Teachers of Chile (AGECH), founded in 1982, was created to fight against the neoliberal policies and reorganise teachers. In 1985, the organisation decided to dissolve and participate in the first democratic elections of the *Colegio de Profesores*, which were won by Osvaldo Verdugo[4]. In the early 1990s, as Cornejo and Reyes (2008) argue, the economic working conditions of teachers were their focus of struggle, 'the majority of teachers' social achievements before 1973 were abolished, so "labour conditions" demands assumed considerably more relevance

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[4] The *Colegio de Profesores* has had four presidents since 1986, the first three elected for three or four consecutive periods. The Christian democrat Osvaldo Verdugo (1986-1995); the left-wing independent Jorge Pavez (1995-2007); the communist Jaime Gajardo (2007-2016); and the dissident Mario Aguilar (2017-2019).

than "pedagogical issues'" (p. 87, mt). However, because Verdugo was a militant of a party of the governing coalition, as González (2015) explains, the 'organisation lost its autonomy, becoming a conveyor belt of the government interests' (p. 42, mt).

The appeasement and partnership of this first democratic leadership with the government, which also happened with the next two future leaders, resulted in a change in the leadership of the *Colegio de Profesores*. From 1996 to 2007, a left-wing and old union leader, Jorge Pavez, led the *Colegio de Profesores*, shifting the focus of teachers' demands from 'the salary demand' to a 'technical political dimension' (González, 2015, p. 46, mt) of teachers' work. Pavez was critical towards the new policymakers who 'consider that the only space for teachers to participate as professionals is in the school and the classroom; whereas, the definition and control of policies belongs to the technicians of the ministry and the politicians' (Assaél y Pavez, 2001, p. 9-10, in Cornejo & Reyes, 2008, p. 64, mt). The response of the *Colegio de Profesores* to this lack of participation was the creation of a Pedagogical Movement, the main agreement of the National Congress of Education held by teachers in 1997. One of the conclusions of that Congress was:

> The strengthening of public education depends on the capacity for struggling and negotiating not only in the labour-union field [*reivindicativo laboral*] but also in the educational pedagogical field. It was concluded that educational-pedagogical thinking must be constituted to legitimise the task of teaching and position the *Colegio de Profesores* as a valid actor in the debate and implementation of education policy. (Cornejo & Reyes, 2008, p. 111, mt).

The Pedagogical Movement was an attempt to reconnect with the experimental endeavours of teachers in the 1920s, 1970s and with some resistance practices that took place in the 1980s. However, after a decade of trying to foster pedagogical research, in 2007, the pedagogical movement was in 'crisis' and suffered a 'breakup' (Cornejo & Reyes, 2008, p. 123, mt). One of the reasons that contributed to the breakup was that the leaders of the pedagogical movement, after the impact crisis of SIMCE (Bellei & Vanni, 2015), assumed a leading role in the discussion of the Teacher Evaluation policy. That discussion ended in 'a movement from resistance to agreement' as Beatrice Avalos and Jenny Assaél (2006) put it. They were both key members in the Teachers Evaluation policy negotiations from the government and the teachers' side, respectively. They argue that there were 'two opposite poles (…). One recognises accountability and incentives as a force for change and the other banks for trust in the strength of teacher professionalism. The Chilean system incorporates both perspectives in a tense form of agreement' (p. 264). This movement from resistance to an agreement not only produced a new partnership between

the *Colegio de Profesores* and the government that contributed to the 'breakup of the Movement' (Cornejo & Reyes, 2008, p. 123, mt) but also resulted in a shift in the leadership of the *Colegio de Profesores*. In 2007, the communist Jaime Gajardo became the President of the institution with a discourse against the teachers' evaluation policy and demanded improvements in salaries and recognition of the historical economical debt produced by the municipalisation process in the 1980s, when teachers lose part of their retirement pension resources.

The Dissident Teachers (2014-15 - 2019)

The secondary student demonstrations of 2006 and the university student demonstrations of 2011 were not only a turning point in the educational debate of Chile (Avalos, 2010; Bellei, 2015; Bellei & Cabalin, 2013; Bellei et al., 2014; Hernandez, 2019; Orellana & Miranda, 2018; Ruiz Encina, 2013; Williams, 2015), but also of the internal political alliances of the country as a whole (Ruiz Encina, 2015). Regarding the educational debate, Bellei and Vanni (2015) state that 'the student movement was able to break the inertia about an educational policy that had avoided questions on the structural changes required by the school system because of political stalemate' (p. 190). Both movements opened a space for the elaboration of a 'new architecture': a new education law, new institutions based on a 'standards-based reform' (p. 191); and new accountability policies, which implied a new classificatory system for the schools based on their results in the SIMCE (Assaél, Acuña, Contreras, & Corbalán, 2014). As I argued in the introduction, in the 2006 and 2011 demonstrations, teachers were described by Cornejo and Insunza (2013) as an absent subject of the educational movements.

The 2011 conflict produced an educational momentum against profit in education and in favour of free, public and quality education for all, the main mottos of the demonstrations (Bellei et al., 2014). Thus, the central campaign promise of the left-centre Government of Michelle Bachelet (2014-2018) was an educational reform that would abolish market-oriented structures and reinstate the view of education as a social right (Programa de Gobierno Michelle Bachelet, 2013).

The *New Majority* coalition signalled a change from the old *Concertación* third way coalition by, for the first time since the return to democracy, including the Communist Party and other smaller left-wing parties. Four major changes were proposed and enacted in different laws but with effects that are still too premature to weigh. First, in the tertiary system, a new free education model over the old market system has been established. In the school

system, and this is the second element, the de-municipalisation law will replace the 356 municipalities that run public education for 70 new Local Educational Services in a progressive process (2018 - 2030). Third, the new inclusion law bans the practices of student selection, profit-making and fee charges in public and private subsidised schools. Fourth, the law for a New Teaching Career Policy (TC) includes 30% of increment in teachers' salaries, an increase of 10% in hours for non-teaching duties, a new mentoring process for new teachers and possibilities of continuous training along with the career. All these improvements are part of a new design of teachers' careers throughout their professional life where teachers are distributed and classified in five levels of performance: Initial, Early, Advance, Expert I and Expert II.

The government counted on the support of and an alliance with the *Colegio de Profesores* led by Gajardo, whose party was now a member of the government coalition. Before discussing the TC, a 'short agenda' of five demands was negotiated between the *Colegio de Profesores* and the government. Gajardo supported the deal reached, once again a leadership moving from resistance to agreement. However, a grassroots and spontaneous movement of teachers rallied and called for a strike against this deal. This movement was called 'dissident' because they were mainly against Gajardo's uncritical partnership with the government. After a couple of weeks on strike, they won a better deal. In 2015, the negotiation for the new TP began. Teachers were on strike for 57 days, the second-longest strike of Chilean teachers after the one held in 1968. One of their main demands was to stop *agobio* and even though they managed to change some elements of the new TC, they did not feel it was their career (Moreno, 2016).

In the heat of the 2014 protests, the name of the campaign that articulated the concerns of the dissident teachers was 'For a New Education: to Dignify the Teacher Career' (Insunza, 2014), the same name that in 2016 was adopted by the electoral list of the dissident teachers who won the Presidency of the *Colegio de Profesores*. As Lomnitz and Melnick (1991) argue, at the end of the 1980s, 'the demand most frequently mentioned in recent times by the profession – through the *Colegio de Profesores* – is the recovery of dignity, both of the profession and of the teacher'. (p. 68). The problem of dignity, 25 years later, is still current.

The dissident teacher subject is the focus of this thesis. As I will expand in Chapter 5, in 2017, I interviewed some of the members of the organisations leading the 2014/2015 movement. However, the movement has not stopped. In 2019, a new strike that lasted 50

days took place. Teachers' absence described in 2013 (Cornejo & Insunza, 2013) has become a presence. To understand better this subjective change is the central epistemological curiosity leading this research. This dissident presence, I would like to argue, expresses dissent against the way teachers have been governed for the last 35-40 years of neoliberalism. As can be seen in Table *1*, there is a strong continuity of the main demands of the *Colegio de Profesores* in these years.

Table 1 – Main Demands of Colegio de Profesores 1989, 2014 and 2019

	1989	**2014**	**2019**
The labour-union field	• Job stability • Fair pay • Access to further training	• Fixed-term contract to teachers under a temporary contract • Retirement incentive bonus • Increase of the Minimum Teaching Income • Reparation of historical debt	• Job stability • Reparation of the historical debt • Salary and gender discrimination
The pedagogical field	• Participation in the formulation of education policies.	• Stop agobio	• Labour *Agobio* • Participation in the educational project of the country
	Lomnitz and Melnick (1991, p. 33)	Thielmann and Delgado (2016, p. 21)	González (2019)

The demands grouped in the labour-union field relate to a teacher subject understood mainly as an economic subject struggling to gain back the labour rights they used to have as civil servants. These struggles have historically been important for teachers. However, in this research, I am especially interested in the demands of the pedagogical sphere. In this field, the particular interests of teachers, for example, their aim to stop *agobio*, but also the previous demands of making primary education compulsory or developing an experimental pedagogy, can be related to the communal interest of participating in the organisation and regulation of the field of experience of teaching and learning. In other words, they demand participation in the governing of the social bonds experienced in the pedagogical encounter.

Chapter 2   The global-local neoliberalisation of teachers' subjectivity

In this chapter, I examine the neoliberal form of governing teachers in Chile, considered in the previous chapter in relation to an international and global reform movement (Sahlberg, 2011) that has become a consensus in terms of organising and regulating the field of experience of teachers. As Meg Maguire (2009) argues, 'there is sometimes a tendency for northern-hemisphere researchers to concentrate on northern-hemisphere cases, frequently the UK, the US and Australia, that then stand as a proxy for the "global world".' (p. 65). In this chapter, I make use of much of the enormous corpus of the northern-hemisphere 'global world' research literature, with the aim to articulate the dissident teachers' phenomenon with these global trends.

The chapter is divided into four sections: first, I describe what Sahlberg (2011) refers to as the Global Education Reform Movement (GERM), delineating subjectivity as my theoretical approach from which to research this movement. I then discuss the way GERM has used teachers' subjectivity as a significant site to deploy its pro-market principles, suggesting the elaboration of a particular type of teacher subject. Then, I highlight three major impacts on teacher subjectivity as subjects of knowledge, power and ethics. Finally, I describe some ways in which teachers are engaged in collective and individual modes of struggle and resistance, highlighting the importance of considering subjectivity as a key site of struggle (Ball, 2015).

The subjectivity angle of the global education policy space

The tendencies of development and professionalisation of teaching that I have described in Chapter 1, and as seen in Seddon, Ozga and Levin (2012), have similarities with what has taken place the European welfare state. As the authors argue, professionalisation 'took the form of state professionalism that encouraged the collectivization of labour in nation building (…), particularly in human service work that supported socially reproductive labour in largely feminized fields of work (e.g. teaching, nursery and social work)' (p. 12). Their main focus, however, is on how 'these national practices of educational work are disturbed by travelling reforms: globally mobile ideas, policies, people and goods (…) which requires educators to navigate and negotiate these shifting terms and conditions of work' (p. 4).

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, as Mundy, Green, Lingard and Verger (2016) state, allowed 'the emergence of a new global policy *space*' (p. 4) characterised

by '*finance driven reforms*' (p. 4) and '*competitiveness driven* changes to education systems' (p. 5). Sahlberg's (2016) notion of GERM brings together this complex combination of globalisation and neoliberalism. He acknowledges Chile as the site of one of the earliest attempts 'to transform educational systems through free market principles' (p. 130) but argues that it was the *Education Reform Act* (ERA) of 1988 in England that 'became the most well-known and globally [sic] research act of its kind' (p. 130), inspiring 'other large-scale school system reforms in North America, Europe and Asia-Pacific' (p. 130).

The five main features of GERM according to Sahlberg (2016) are: competition and choice, standardisation of teaching and learning, focus on reading, mathematics and science, corporate models of change, and test-based accountability. GERM has had different impacts on schooling, such as: the limitation of opportunities to cooperate, share ideas, and help one other; the elaboration of linear processes where risk-taking in teaching and learning becomes unlikely; the ethos of schools has become academic rather than comprehensive; schools run according to measured results narrowing the purpose of school education; the distance of teachers from the moral purpose of their profession; and the increase on teaching-to-the-test practices (see p. 138-139).

With the end of the cold war, market ideas have found in the twenty-first century a new way of being assembled. Jenny Ozga (2008) calls this new ensemble the 'knowledge economy', which involves a 'policy meta-narrative that assumes and requires the commodification of knowledge in a system of global production, distribution and exchange' (p. 265). A country's competitiveness no longer depends solely on its level of industrialisation but also on the level of knowledge of its economy. The success of a country is linked to the effectiveness and improvement of the human capital of its population. This is one of the reasons Aihwa Ong (2007) considers that 'neoliberalism's metaphor is knowledge' (p. 5); that is, knowledge organised by the principles of market freedom.

Knowledge and education are key sites to achieving economic growth and competitiveness (Ball, 2008; Ozga, 2008). This process involves, as Ozga (2008) puts it, a governance turn in the way the state operates. Ball (2008) argues this turn involves changes in the 'forms and modalities of the state (…) from rowing to steering, from direct to indirect forms of control, from prescription and direction to contracting out and performance management' (p. 213). Governing by numbers is a major trend of the governance turn in the field of education. Its aim, as Ozga (2008) argues, is to promote 'the collection and use of

comparative data on performance as a way of controlling and shaping behaviour' (p. 266). This is, a 'shift from centralised and vertical hierarchical forms of regulation to decentralised, horizontal, networked forms' (p. 266).

Governing teachers by numbers implies that education has redefined learning as capable of being measured, compared, managed, improved and, therefore, efficiently delivered. Table leagues, benchmarking and comparison, as Ozga (2008) claims, are 'core governing processes across a "learning society" shaped by economic reforms, citizenship obligations, employability and the use of OECD policy tools in education' (p. 267). She is referring to standardised tests such as the PISA or the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS).

The focus on learning was one of the conclusions of the *World Conference on Education for All* that took place in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, sponsored by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank (WB). One of the main components of the Education for All framework is 'a focus on learning'. As stated in the final report of that meeting:

> The thematic roundtable on improving primary education in developing countries shifted the debate from promoting access and equity, to boosting quality, further arguing that quality improvements were central to assuring demand and increasing the efficiency and holding power of schools. Boosting quality means moving the focus from simply providing inputs and counting participation and completion rates to enriching the learning process and measuring learning acquisition and performance. (UNESCO, 1990, p. 27)

The shift in the education debate concerns the mode of regulating the relationship between society and education: from access and completion rates to measuring learning. The focus on 'boosting quality' relates to what some scholars have called the twentieth-century's educational revolution (Baker, 2014; Esteve, 2006). Baker (2014), for example, explains that this revolution 'proceeded through a stepwise pattern, first of access to primary schooling, then by the opening up of secondary schooling, and lastly in the expansion of tertiary education' (p. 23). He also adds that this 'progression began in wealthier nations and since the middle of the twentieth-century spread globally with less and less time between each stage of educational development' (p. 24). According to Roser and Ortiz-Ospina (2018), 'while only 12% of the people in the world could read and write in 1820, today the share has reversed: only 17% of the world population remains illiterate. Over the last 65 years the global literacy rate increased by 4% every five years – from 42% in 1960

to 86% in 2015[5]. Today, globally, 9 out of 10 students will finish primary school, learning how to read and write[6] (UNESCO, 2016). Worldwide, children from about 4 to 11 years old are experiencing the practice of schooling in their respective sociocultural contexts. Therefore, regulating the teaching and learning process is one of the major debates in education policy.

However, the regulation of learning through numbers keeps the privatisation agenda of the knowledge economy hidden (Ball & Youdell, 2007). This is what the notion of GERM makes manifest. For Ozga (2008), for example, 'the quality debate is not about quality' (p. 269) because the problem of boosting quality is framed as 'cost-effective and contributing to knowledge economy agendas' (p. 269). In this sense, critical voices of this agenda, like Ozga (2017), argue that 'education policy should not be driven by performance data' (p. 1). Ball (2010) adds that the economic rationality of the market that guides these 'trends and moves' can create the conditions for 'the gathering of a perfect storm'. For this reason, Ball (2015a) also warns against 'the tyranny of numbers' (p. 299).

The problem, as Sahlberg (2016) suggests, is not that 'competition, choice, standardised testing, or accountability' are harmful *per se*, but that 'the evidence is very clear that market-based education policies that rely on these elements of GERM are the wrong way' (p. 142) to offer quality education. Sahlberg (2015) speaks about a 'Finland vs the GERM' (p. 166) conflict, adding that 'unlike the Chilean system, among many others today, the Finnish system had not been infected by market-based education reforms that typically emphasize competition between schools, high-stakes standardised students-testing policies, and privatizing public school' (p. 168). The Chilean educational system, in his view, is almost a replica of GERM. Ironically, the same performativity results of PISA that have been used to spread GERM have made visible 'the Finish miracle' (Sahlberg, 2010). However, the active schools' communities and teachers' professionalism of the Finish education system are not features 'spread' by GERM, thus exposing the political nature of a discourse that hides its agenda of privatisation (Ball & Youdell, 2007).

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[5] From the website Our World in Data, based at the University of Oxford https://ourworldindata.org/literacy, retrieved on July 2019
[6] In 2014, the global adjusted net enrolment rate was 91% for primary education, 84% for lower secondary education and 63% for upper secondary education. Rates which varies considerably according to the income of the countries. In high-income countries, the same three levels are 97%, 98% and 92%, respectively, and in low-income countries, they are 81%, 65% and 40%, respectively (UNESCO, 2017, p. 182).

The problem of how GERM policies and practices travels around the world is a critical education policy discussion (Ball, 2008; Peck & Theodore, 2010). The emphasis can be placed on the idea that this global movement is an uncontrolled disease infecting national systems. Little (2015), for example, argues that GERM 'infects education systems globally and has changed the very nature of education' (p. 3). If this is the case, teachers unions, for example, can be seen as 'the Penicillin to the GERM', as Mayle (2015) states. This way of framing the problem highlights what Foucault (1982) calls a domination struggle in the sense of a relation of force that acts 'directly and immediately on others' (p. 789). It is what Ong (2007) calls the 'economic tsunami' or Neoliberalism with big 'N', which 'collapses multiple socio-political values into a single measure or structure' (p. 4), in this case GERM, and produces 'globalized uniformity', 'de-contextualization', 'homogeneity', 'unified set of policies', a 'standard neoliberal state', and structured 'geographical entities'.

If GERM is framed as a domination struggle, teachers are placed in a subordinated position. Even though, in my opinion, an intense domination struggle is taking place, to see the problem of GERM as a struggle occurring in the site of subjectivity, as Ball (2015b) suggests, prompts me to examine the problem with the aim to understand the phenomenon of dissident teachers in Chile. The subjectivity angle of the problem, following Ong (2007), implies that GERM, as a 'global assemblage' or neoliberalism with small 'n', acts as a 'migratory technology of governing that interacts with situated sets of elements and circumstances' (p. 5). Ong (2007), Peck and Theodore (2010), with this way of understanding neoliberalism, stress the idea of a global space that enables multiple directions and constants 'flows', 'travels', 'journeys' and 'mobility' of policy. This mobility, Ong (2007) argues, needs a 'space' to be assembled. The field of experience of teachers constitutes such a space. GERM acts in the contextual filed of experience of teachers in different parts of the world creating a local ensemble of GERM. Thus, GERM can be seen as interacting, as Ong (2007) puts it, with 'situated political regimes' (p. 5), producing an 'openness to unexpected outcomes' (p. 5) and 'mutating configurations of possibility' (p. 4).

The set of practices a teacher considers ethical and possible to be performed in the field of experience of teaching and learning configure the site for a subjective struggle (Ball, 2015b). As Foucault (1982) explains, this struggle involves an action 'which ties the individual to himself and submits him to others in this way' (p. 781), adding that it is an 'action upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise in the present or the future' (p. 789). What is considered valuable and/or necessary in the field of experience

of teaching and learning is part of this struggle. As Ball and Youdell (2007) argue, the neoliberal form of governing education constitutes 'a new moral environment' where 'a culture of self-interest' (p. 52) is promoted. This way of articulating the problem, as Pignatelli (1993) argues, enables us to relate the phenomenon of the dissident teachers to their 'project of freedom' or their practices of self-formation. The way teachers are currently being governed is not only by 'direct and immediate' relationships of power but also, as Foucault (1997a) claims, by a 'relation to ethics through which we constitute ourselves as moral agents' (p. 262).

Shaping the subjectivity of global teachers locally

Teachers around the world are being subjected, in different ways, to the global trends of privatisation governed by numbers. Mary Compton and Lois Weiner (2008), both teachers' union activists, edited the book *The Global Assault on Teaching, Teachers, and their Unions: Stories for Resistance.* As they have argued, Compton's position in 2004 as President of the English National Union of Teachers (NUT) gave her 'the unique opportunity to visit teachers' conferences all around the world.' (p. 3). In places as distant socially and geographically as South Africa, Australia, Canada, Germany and Brazil, she recognised a global trend: '[t]hough the titles and acronyms of policies differ from one country to another, the basics of the assault are the same: undercut the publicly supported, publicly controlled system of education, teachers' professionalism, and teacher unions as organizations' (p. 4). They argue that this global trend is based on a new global consensus, the idea that 'private corporations and entrepreneurs are much more able to make education work for the poor than teachers, communities, and their elected representatives in government'. (p. 5-6). Meg Maguire (2009), elaborating on a sociology of the global teacher, argues something similar:

> Contemporary teacher education reform, and concomitantly the construction of a 'new' teacher for the 'new world order', is predicated on a range of suppositions: that schools have failed in the past, owing, in some part, to inefficient and incompetent teachers, and that policymakers and governments are best placed to determine what makes an 'effective' teacher and a 'good' school. (p. 60)

This process is described by Susan Robertson (2016) as the 'thick' global governance of teachers' work. She refers to a historical shift, from thin to thick, of the governing capabilities of international agencies such as UNESCO and OECD. From 1945 to 1990, this governance was 'thin', in the sense that the nation and teachers' professional organisations still had a strong voice in shaping the terms of the education debate. However, in the 1990s a new set of actors (OECD, the WB, and a small group of global

educational firms) began not only to frame the requirements of being a good teacher, as previous organisations such as UNESCO have tried to do, but also to shape 'the ongoing realization of this through these new systems of data-driven, direction-given assessment and accountability' (p. 287). The teachers' mode of being, therefore, shifted to a 'thick' area of concern.

What is at stake in this mode of governing, according to Ball (2003), is the 'soul of the teachers'. He highlights the performative dimension of the teachers' reforms, i.e., new technologies which rest on 'monitoring systems and the production of information' (p. 216), and warns us of 'the terrors of performativity'. By providing proxies of individual or organisational performances, these technologies seek to frame what it is to be a 'good' or 'bad' professional. As Ball states:

> As such they stand for, encapsulate or represent the worth, quality or value of an individual or organization within a field of judgement. The issue of who controls the field of judgement is crucial. One key aspect of the current educational reform movement may be seen as struggles over the control of the field of judgement and its values. (p. 216)

Governing teachers by numbers creates new ways of being a teacher. This is achieved, as Ball (2003) argues, 'by providing new modes of description for what we do and new possibilities for action' (p. 222). These governing technologies are both de-regulating and re-regulating what it means to be a teacher, i.e., 'teachers are "deprofessionalized" and "reprofessionalized"' (p. 218).

Performativity is about linking statistical proxies related to some form of teaching or learning with teachers' performance, in order to make assumptions about the field of judgment of teachers' work. For example, the longitudinal statistical study of Sanders and Rivers (1996), following the learning standardised results of students from year 2 to year 5, reports that 'the single most dominant factor affecting student academic gain is teacher effect' (p. 6). These type of studies have helped to create a strong discourse regarding the importance of improving the quality of teachers. For example, based on the work of Sanders and Rivers (1996), as well as on other similar studies, the OECD (2005) argues that 'the broad consensus is that "teacher quality" is the single most important school variable influencing student achievement' (p. 26). It also claims that 'as the most significant resource in schools, teachers are central to school improvement efforts. Improving the efficiency and equity of schooling depends, in large measure, on ensuring that competent people want to work as teachers' (p. 18). The WB (2012) moreover suggests that there is a

'growing focus on the need to strengthen the teaching profession to ensure better education results' (p. 1). Teachers are thought of as a factor, a variable or a resource for 'boosting quality'.

The political agenda of GERM has constructed a strong discourse about teachers' centrality in improving quality. As Robertson (2016) argues, the 'thick' way of governing teachers meant that 'an emerging view began to circulate and settle: that the key strategy of top performing education systems around the globe was recruiting top teachers and keeping them in the system' (p. 280). This is what Marianne Larsen (2010) has called 'the teacher centrality discourse'. She explains that this type of discourse is 'preceded by a discourse of blame and derision towards teachers' (p. 220). Under this type of discourse, teachers are perceived as incompetent, lazy and ignorant, and as somehow responsible for a kind of moral crisis that a country might be experiencing. The discourse of 'blame and derision against teachers for societal ills' (p. 223), argues Larsen, is a common precedent to educational reforms where teachers are seen, in a completely opposite and contradictory way, as central to performing and achieving change. Carla Fontdevila and Antoni Verger (2015) have analysed the doublespeak of the WB, arguing that, on the one hand, the WB 'frequently portrays teachers as part of the problem concerning quality education that many countries face' (p. 4) and, on the other, it 'considers teachers as a very important piece in the quality education puzzle' (p. 4). Teachers are at the same time the problem and the solution of the education difficulties in this global discourse, becoming both heroes and villains, as Avalos (2013) puts it.

An example of how a set of policy devices enacts the global teacher is TALIS (OECD, 2014): 'a large-scale international survey that focuses on the working conditions of teachers' (p. 5). OECD (2014) states that 'while the survey offers a wealth of information to education policy makers, it can also be seen as a global "selfie" by teachers: a snapshot, taken by teachers themselves, of what they believe, how they work, and how they feel about the work they do.' (p. 7). In the 2018 version of TALIS (OECD, 2019), under the subtitle 'What do teachers want?', the report describes the results of a question asked 'for the first time' that 'asks teachers to rate the importance of a number of priorities if the education budget were increased by 5%' (p. 7). Beyond the results, what is interesting with regards to the 'selfie' or 'snapshot' metaphor is that promotes the idea that the data produced is a self-generated picture of teachers taken by 'themselves' about what they believe, how they work and even how they feel about their work. However, there is something paradoxical about a 'selfie' taken by someone other than one's self, and where

one is invited to talk, through a survey, about priorities that are predefined and de-contextualised. The problem, of course, is not statistics and the production of data *per se* but, as Ball (2003) puts is, the struggles over different forms of controlling the field of judgement over what it means to be a good teacher.

Another concrete example of a global technology shaping the global teacher is the Educational GPS, also from the OECD, as analysed by Robertson (2016). As she states, the main problem of this specific technology is that,

> as a guidance tool for countries and their education systems [it] suggests a degree of agency on the part of the user, as choices can be made around what to look at. However like all GPS devices, it has a preferred route based on assumptions about what the terrain looks like, and what the direction of travel should be. The fact that there are alternative routes to be taken, or indeed routes to be taken that are not built into this system and which are perhaps more effective at delivering quality teaching and learning, is made invisible. (p. 287)

The control over the fields of visibility and judgment of what it means to be a good teacher is a critical aspect of how GERM governs the field of experience of teachers.

Impacts on teachers' subjectivity

Following Foucault (1997a), the analysis of the impacts of GERM on teachers' subjectivity can be organised in three ontological domains: i) impact on teachers as subjects of knowledge, ii) impact on teachers as subjects of power, and iii) impact on teachers as ethical subjects (p. 262).

Subjects of knowledge: teachers as evidence

The field of experience of teachers, the way they relate in their everyday practice with their students, colleagues and themselves, is increasingly organised by a diverse set of data and test-based accountability devices that are currently hegemonic in the field of the truth about what it means to be a good teacher. Today, a good teacher is an effective teacher. The control of the field of what is considered knowledge about teachers is the first impact on teachers' subjectivity. The effective teacher is an ontological result of the control exerted over the field of truth.

Controlling the field of truth is a way of controlling the way teachers think and act with regards to education. For example, Hargreaves (2010) studied 300 secondary schools in England that were part of a project with a 'highly collaborative' approach where 'two thirds of the schools improved at double the rate of the national secondary school average in just

2 years' (p. 149). The collaborative approach elicited an 'immense enthusiasm from educators' (p. 149). However, the way teachers managed to improve was by 'engaging with and adopting short-term strategies that yielded immediate results (…) in order to deliver the government's narrowly defined targets and purposes measured by test scores and examination results' (p. 150). The 'short-term strategies' are effective for improving in relation to the field of truth that governs what it means to be a successful school.

In the case of the dissident teachers, the 2014/2015 demonstrations were against a new TC policy that involved the elaboration of a new policy device used to produce truths about teachers. The new classificatory system produced headlines such as: '42% of teachers are classified in the lower income levels' (Guzmán & Bustos, 2016, mt). Teachers, as subjects of knowledge framed by the proxies of their performance, are reduced, as Ball (2015b) argues, 'to a category or quotient' (p. 5), they are made evidence in this game of truth.

Subjects of power: the loss of control over the work process

As Foucault (1997d) explains, power relations are 'strategic games between liberties' (p. 299), where what is at stake is precisely the control of others' liberties. To play this game, different sorts of 'technologies of government' are used. When the game constrains the other's practices of freedom to a point where liberty is reduced to its minimal expressions, the strategic relations become a 'state of domination'. In the case of teachers' practices, they have been reduced to a point that they have loss the control over their work process.

This form of domination involves a complex process of reshaping teachers' work. Ozga has dedicated part of her life's work to the analysis of how this form of domination has been enacted. Her work, *Teachers Professionalism & Class: A study of Organized Teachers* (Ozga & Lawn, 1981) is considered by Martínez (2001) as one of the first studies of the process of teachers' work. Here, Ozga and Lawn (1981) address the conflicts between professionalism and unionism, arguing that teachers were facing a process of proletarianisation with a double impact: first, they were becoming vulnerable in relation to their job stability and, second, this process 'also involves a loss of control over the work process, a loss of definition by the worker of the essential elements of the task. Thus, the teacher's broad self-image as an "educator" is eroded and his/her function as processor stressed' (p. 143-144). Ozga (1995), 14 years later, argues against managerialism as a way of regulating the teachers' workforce that has changed 'the locus of control' (p. 34). Managerialism produces a division between the manager and the managed, with the latter

seen as a 'flexible, deskilled, part-time labour force' (p. 35). However, she adds, 'there are invidious consequences for all teachers, managers and managed, in the acceptance of externally constructed agendas that contribute to loss of control over the meaning and purpose of work, which is the essence of deskilling' (p. 35). Ozga (2017), 36 years after her first study on teachers' work, argues against 'the dominance of comparison' (p. 2). She considers that both policymakers and researchers are 'largely persuaded that data use results in improved performance. This needs to be challenged', adding that 'comparative data reduce the complexities of national and local education practices through their selection of key indicators on the basis of which schools may be compared' (p. 2). By warning against and strongly criticising 'dataveillance' (data and surveillance), Ozga not only shows that an intense form of dominance of teachers has continued in recent years but has also become more sophisticated, for example, by a 'constant collection and monitoring of data on an individual that enables the operation of predictive profiling' (p.1).

The loss of control over the work process involves a transformation of teachers' identities and an increase of teachers' malaise and suffering. Ball and Youdell (2007) state that technologies of government such as 'targets, accountability, competition and choice, leadership, entrepreneurism, performance-related pay and privatisation' (p. 45), lead to a transformation of teachers' identities, from headteacher to manager and from teacher to technician, generating 'increased emotional pressures and stress related to work; increased pace and intensification of work; and changed social relationships' (p. 46). The increased emotional pressure relates to the problem of teacher malaise, suffering and sickness. Regina Penteado and Samuel de Souza (2019) have recently analysed 12 publications on this topic. They used the notion of 'psychic load' to analyse the relation between the workers' own projects and the prescription 'of a precise operative mode' within a work organisation, arguing that the psychic load 'increases when freedom decreases – that is, an authoritarian organisation increases the psychic load' (p. 144). From this point of view, a teacher's suffering relates to the lack of freedom in their everyday work:

> When the worker does not have freedom to rearrange his operative modes to find the gestures that allow pleasure or reduce the psychic load of work, (…) then feelings of displeasure, tension and suffering appear, and energy is reduced – fatigue (non-specific translation of physical or psychic overload) ends up having a somatic interpretation. (p. 144)

The notion of *agobio* relates to this description of 'psychic load'. As González (2015) claims, the neoliberal policies that have been in place for the last 35-40 years have had serious implications for the Chilean teachers: i) job insecurity related to flexible contracts, ii)

intensification of teachers' work which involves taking work for home, iii) 'the development of illness as an effect of the somatisation of the pressures we are exposed as teacher' (p. 49, mt), for example, 46,2% of teachers suffer from dysphonia, 44,3% of irritable bowel syndrome and 41,8% of stress, among other illnesses, and iv) an excess of classroom hours, between 1.089 to 1.203, when the mean of OECD is between 769-881. He adds:

> The combination of these elements has radically modified the collective and individual identity of teachers, at least in the following aspects. First, the narrative of individual success and meritocracy (where there is a will there is a way [*el que quiere puede*]) creates the idea of superiority among some teachers that have performed well in a specific performance test. Second, consumerism, everyday malaise, authoritarianism, individualism and distrust among teachers and between teacher and students, prevail. Third, teachers' actions, both pedagogical and industrial, face a massive crisis of social legitimacy. (p. 50, mt).

Agobio becomes a somatic interpretation of the rearrangement of a teacher's identity as neoliberal *homo economicus* (Foucault, 2008) who does not have control over the process of their work. Thought of as mere subjects of interest, as Feldfeber (2007) argues, 'teachers must become a "professional market" of themselves, which [market] rules are defined by the state' (p. 446, mt) under the logic of comparative data used to control their everyday practices.

Ethical subjects: ontologically insecure

Ethics, for Foucault (1997a), refers to 'the kind of relationship you ought to have with yourself' (p. 263). He distinguishes four significant aspects of this relationship: i) the ethical substance, called by the Greeks *aphrodisia*, 'the act linked with pleasure and desire' (p. 264), related to the 'aspect or part of myself or my behaviour which is concerned with moral conduct' (p. 263); ii) the mode of subjectivation: 'the way in which people are invited or incited to recognize their moral obligation' (p. 264); iii) self-forming activity: 'what are we to do (…) in order to behave ethically?' (p. 265); and iv) *telos*: 'which is the kind of being to which we aspire when we behave in a moral way' (p. 265). The practice of taking care of oneself, as a critical ontology upon oneself (Foucault, 1997f), relates to these types of practices.

Being regarded as evidence, in addition to not having control over the process of one's own work has led to a complicated and detrimental relationship with themselves as teachers. As Ball (2003) puts it, teachers feel that they are 'being constantly judged in different ways, by different means, according to different criteria, through different agents

and agencies' (p. 220). They need to constantly prove that they are good teachers and are constantly asked to improve as effective teachers. The devices used to verify their self-worth, however, have their own self-forming activity and *telos*, for example, to raise this or that standard, to improve this or that quotient, because of this or that punishment or incentive. The problem is that the overregulation and control over the field of judgment of teachers' work produces strong 'feelings of uncertainty and ambiguity' (van den Berg, 2002, p. 612) and a 'high degree of uncertainty and instability' (Ball, 2003, p. 220), unfolding ontological insecurities (p. 220) and ontological dilemmas (p. 222). This insecurity is related to the problem of teacher malaise, suffering and sickness. As Penteado and de Souza (2019) argue, one of the main effects of this is that 'teachers, as caregivers of the students, have little aptitude to take care of themselves!' (p. 45).

In the Chilean context, I distinguish three significant impacts of the absence of space-time to take care of oneself. The first is the adherence to the ethical principles of the different technologies of government as one's own ethical principles. For example, during the ethnographic work I have conducted in schools (Acuña, Assaél, Contreras, & Peralta, 2014; Assaél et al., 2014), I met a teacher who dedicated extra time to preparing her students to perform well in the SIMCE (described in Chapter 8). It was an ethical stance for her that her students performed well in the test.

A second impact is what Pardo (2013) identifies as a critical disaffection, or what Rojas and Leyton (2014) refer to as a submissive attitude 'deploying a semantic of pain: obligation, fatigue, anxiety, exhaustion, without alternatives' (p. 219, mt). Cornejo and Insunza (2013) have also identified this as the absence of teachers in the education debate. Similarly, Acuña, Contreras and Assaél (2019) named it the silent subjective position of teachers in teachers' meetings. In different ways, these studies show that the teachers' experience is detached from, and critical of the ethical principles of the technologies of governing by numbers but, at the same time, they feel that it is not possible to change them. This hopelessness produces a mode of subjectivation of a never-ending need to endure and to cope. Teachers are ethically detached from their practice and become silent, submissive, absent or disaffected.

A third impact is the teachers' abandonment of the profession, as an ethical response to taking care of oneself through leaving an occupation that is producing *agobio*. In its most critical case, abandonment unfolds as the impossibility to continue working because of occupational burn out, an intense work-related anxiety (Foladori, 2007; P. Guerrero, 2008).

However, in a less psychosomatic way, as Avalos and Valenzuela (2016) have estimated, around 40% of young teachers (under 30) have abandoned teaching by the end of their 5th year. Gaete, Castro, Pino and Mansilla (2017) continued this line of research by interviewing primary teachers that have left teaching. They reported that the central reasons for leaving are salary, working conditions (stress, workload) and what they call 'deprofessionalisation' (p. 134, mt), referring to a lack of autonomy.

These three different impacts discussed above are enmeshed in the everyday experience of teaching. The mode of governing teachers in the last three decades, both worldwide and in Chile specifically, has reduced the teacher subject to evidence, with teachers ultimately having no control over their own field of experience, and without economic and ontological security. The dissident teacher subject seems to be an original response to these impacts that, at first sight, does not 'adhere' to this way of being governed; they are neither silent nor submissive, absent or disaffected; and they are not thinking of abandoning their profession. This prompts some specific questions: what is enabling the dissident teachers to elicit a different response to the problems they experience in their everyday life as teachers? Is the practice of dissent creating an experience in which a different form of teacher subject emerges?

Resistance, care of the self and dissent

In the current state of the teaching profession, feeling, acting and thinking differently as a teacher seems very difficult. Teachers' everyday experience seems severely limited, with neither space nor time to exercise one's freedom. As Maguire (2009) argues, 'whatever one's explanation of what is propelling international educational reform-making (globalisation and/or neo-liberalism), dominant discourses emphasising the economic aims of education currently seem to have displaced alternative discourses' (p. 59). As Larsen (2010) states, the centrality of the teacher discourse

> suppresses alternative modes of thinking and acting, making impossible the articulation of other ways of thinking about and acting to improve schools. How then can we begin to question or trouble a discourse that elevates the status of the teacher? How then can we open up spaces to think and act otherwise? Indeed, where are the spaces for different viewpoints, ideas and opinions about teachers today? (p. 224)

My thesis strongly resonates with these last questions. I hope that the experience of the dissident teachers may be able to identify and promote new possibilities for teachers to feel, think and act with regards to their own self and profession. I also share the concern

expressed by Encarna Rodríguez (2015a) about the relevance of (re)imagining public education. She considers that GERM, as a neoliberal global imaginary, 'has silently but efficiently privatized our educational imagination' (p. 9), adding that 'pedagogically, my main concern with these policies has been their lack of democratic imagination' (Rodríguez, 2015b, p. 16). Working with 'a surprisingly anachronistic pedagogical simplicity' (p. 16), she adds:

> What is really at stake in these policies is not just the risk of weakening the relationship between education and democracy, as important as this is, but, more importantly, our own ability to *imagine* this relationship within the public referents that current policies are so efficiently erasing. (p. 17)

The school, as a public institution where democracy is experienced as an ethical *telos* or aspiration, is an imaginary limited by the current relations of force organising the practices of teaching and learning. However, as Foucault (1982) reminds us:

> Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free. By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments, may be realized. (p. 790)

Even in a intense form of domination, there is 'the possibility of recalcitrance', 'the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom' (p. 790) which may open up the possibility 'to imagine and to build up what we could be to get rid of this kind of political "double bind," which is the simultaneous individualization and totalization of modern power structures' (p. 785). This problem is addressed by Paulo Freire (2013), in dialogue with Antonio Faundez, as the problem of the 'reinvention of power' (p. 121, mt). For him, 'it is impossible, for those who pretend to reinvent power, not to use their imagination, not to use their creativity' (p. 121, mt).

Teachers are, in different ways, struggling against becoming neoliberal teacher subjects and, in doing so, are trying to reinvent the current relations of power to which they are subjected. I will mention at this point a few forms of these everyday struggles. The first is that of collective and organised resistance enacted through more traditional union actions. I will consider the new challenges these practices are facing. Then, I will address some individual practices of refusal as a way of caring about oneself and resisting these trends. Finally, I will briefly consider the Chilean dissident teachers.

Collective resistance

Collective struggle organised through teachers' unions is still the primary way in which politicised teachers attempt to resist neoliberalism. As union activists, Compton and Weiner (2008) state that:

> Teachers are in a war being fought over the future of education, and though at times it might seem as though we are losing the war without firing a shot, we have a potentially powerful weapon in our hands – our solidarity and organisation into powerful teachers unions. (p. 6)

The global assault on teachers implies the existence of a direct war against their unions too. Compton and Weiner (2008) recognise a 'tremendous potential force' (p. 6), for example, in the Educational International Organisation of teacher unions and its 29 million members worldwide. However, they also acknowledge that they 'are a long way from achieving an equivalent global coherence' (p. 7), as GERM has. As Stevenson (2015) argues for the case of the NUT in England, 'state strategies have been focused on marginalizing the teacher unions, and in particular, closing down the spaces in which collective barging may take place' (p. 616), adding that this has prompted the union to refocus its work on three strands of action:

> First is a commitment to lay member activism and in particular, a focus on developing workplace organisation. Second is a more explicit focus on political organizing in which the case for public education is set against a neoliberal narrative of privatization (…). The third element (…) is a commitment to coalition building whereby the union has sought to build alliances with parents and community groups, other teachers unions, and the labour unions more widely. (p. 616)

As Stevenson (2015) adds, 'the development of a more decentralized and fragmented school system' (p. 621), for example through the growth of academies, results in thinking about new collective strategies for a new workplace scenario. Maguire, Braun and Ball (2018) have analysed the perspective of some union representatives in their workplace, identifying three level of resistance: the day-to-day concerns, such as problems with students behaviour; the in-school-management, such as problems of bullying and heavy workloads; and the broader socio-political problems 'such as inequality in schooling' (p. 8). It is in the second and third level that resistance is more likely to become more overt and collective. They add that 'reps' are particularly critical towards 'policy enthusiasts', people 'who often led teams responsible for making policies "work"' (p. 10), because, usually, 'policy work can be taken up and embraced more for its career-enhancing potential than pedagogic potential' (p. 10).

Similarly, González (2015) argues that, in the case of Chile, the three main transformations concerning teachers' work that have occurred as a result of neoliberalism are: first, a juridical 'objective and structural fragmentation' (p.117, mt) between teachers who work in the private and public system; second, 'the hegemony of the private sector' in terms of student enrolments and teachers' workforce employed; third, 'teachers' identity has been redefined based on neoliberal cultural norms such as individualism, consumerism, rejection to organise, de-politicisation, a-criticism, individual and private malaise' (p. 118, mt). In a fragmented, privatised and individualised context it makes sense to refocus the work of unions on the lay members and the workplace organisation. The problem, as one union representative quoted by Stevenson (2015) explains, is that 'it eats into a lot of my time and a lot of that time I do not have. And it's not an easy position to be in. It is a stressful position to be in when you are trying to placate people's concerns' (p. 617). The union representative is not a traditional union leader with full-time dedication to their union work but a teacher who, along with running 'the A-level in Literature', is the school rep, and who deals with the constant fear of 'management reprisals' (p. 617).

The juridical division between types of schools in Chile, and the fact that since 2010 the majority of teachers are employed by the private subsidised sector (González, 2015), has a correlation with their possibilities to be organised. Some figures are useful in understanding some of the problems teachers are facing in terms of their organising collectively. In 2017, 235,527 teachers were working in 11,749 schools, teaching 3,5 million students from primary and secondary schools. The majority of schools (49,9%), students (54,6%) and teachers (45,3%) are part of the private subsidised system (Centro de Estudios MINEDUC, 2018).

The private and private subsidised sectors are barely organised and highly fragmented. Lizana and Bastías (2016) argue that the private sector is subjected to a 'hyper-fragmentation' (p. 10). There are 6,483 schools in the private sector (Centro de Estudios MINEDUC, 2018). One stakeholders can run one or a chain of schools. The unions, when created, act at the level of the workplace organisation. Lizana and Bastías (2016) state that in 'the year 2015 a process of awakening of consciousness took place in the workers of the private sector, who after decades of exploitation and silence dare to raise their voice' (p. 10, mt). In different school communities, they add, 'trade union organisations are emerging, articulating different people such as teachers, assistant of education, managers, etc.' (p. 10, mt).

Even though the organisation in the public sector is stronger than in the private, teachers' participation is still weak. For example, in the 2013 elections, around 80,000 members were inscribed in the *Colegio de Profesores* (35% approx. of the teachers' workforce in 2013). Of this, only 27,833 (12% approx.) participated in the election. Of the 27,833 who participated in the election, 90% worked in the municipal sector (Cornejo & Insunza, 2013). In 2016, after the 2014/2015 demonstrations, the participation in the elections rose to 48,407 (from 12% to 22%) (Colegio de Profesores de Chile A.G., 2016). The *Colegio de Profesores* is the principal space of organisation for teachers who work in the public sector. Since the early 1990s, it has been the leading political and public voice of teachers, recognised by the different governments as the only legitimate organisation of teachers for negotiating with.

The trend of teachers who, having been subjected to decades of neoliberal policies, are now resisting its policies, is occurring in different places. The website www.teachersolidarity.com, founded by Mary Compton, is useful for following teachers' struggles around the world. As stated in its 'about' section:

> Education in almost every country in the world is subject to the grip of neo-liberal education 'reform' which is slowly starving out public schooling, promoting privatisation, destroying teacher professionalism and aims only to produce a minimally educated workforce, which can read instructions and advertisements but is discouraged from thinking critically about the world.

> Teachersolidarity is an independent website which records the resistance to such reform of teachers, their unions, communities and researchers, who are fighting to defend public and democratic education.

My work shares this political-ethical concern. In 2019, it is possible to see in the website, articles of union actions against different neoliberal policies taking place in Tunisia, China, Zimbabwe, the Philippines, Mexico, Oakland, the Netherlands, England, New Jersey, New Zealand, Brazil, Wales, Costa Rica, Greece, the US (e.g., Los Angeles) and Chile. The US has had some emblematic movements, like that of the Chicago Teachers (McAlevey, 2016), which in 2012 had their 'largest strike of the new millennium' (p. 101). Another example is the teachers' movement from Los Angeles in 2019, which as Weiner (2019) argues, in their 'recent victorious strike' can become an example for teachers around the country to 'roll back free-market education reform'.

One thing that these protests have in common is their clear anti-neoliberal narrative and, as Stevenson (2015) puts it, the emergence of 'antagonistic relationships' (p. 616) with neoliberal policies. As the work edited by Gawain Little (2015) shows, the target is GERM, and the objective is to build resistance and solidarity. There is a similar aim in the book

Flip the System. Changing Education from the Ground Up, edited by Evers and Kneyber (2015), where they dedicate the first part of the book to 'a global problem: accountability, privatization and control' (p. 9).

As these cases suggest, since the 2010s, teachers are more aware of the importance of resisting GERM. This is also the case of the dissident teachers. For example, the book published by González (2015), as its title suggests, aims for a change in teachers' attitude and labour conditions: *Stand Up Chilean Teachers! From the Neoliberal Precariousness to the Reorganisation of Teachers*. However, it is not clear how this process of reorganisation of teachers is being formed from the dissident teachers' point of view.

Individual care of the teacher self

From the perspective of an individual teacher, one way to resist the governing by numbers is what Ball and Olmedo (2013) call 'irresponsibility as resistance' (p. 88). By analysing a set of emails exchanged between teachers and Stephen Ball over the problem of performativity, the researches focused on 'the teacher who stands alone in their classroom or their staff common room' (p. 85). They argue that teachers 'are burdened with the responsibility to perform, and if we do not we are in danger of being seen as irresponsible' (p. 88). Teachers become irresponsible if they 'fail to re-make themselves in 'the image of the market'' (p. 91).

For the teacher who stands alone, it may be possible, by the process of self-writing involved in the email exchange, to explore 'the possibilities and impossibilities of transgression' (p. 94). This practice contributes to the identification of how relations of power work 'inside and around' (p. 86) teachers, making possible to recognise, for example, 'two regimes of truth' in opposition: 'one produces measureable teaching subjects, whose qualities are represented in categories of judgement. The other is vested in a pedagogy of context and experience, intelligible within a set of collegial relations' (p. 92). This translates to two systems of value where 'results are prioritised over processes, numbers over experiences, procedures over ideas, productivity over creativity' (p. 91). These teachers, by acting 'irresponsibly', are questioning and resisting the responsibilities of the performativity regime. This irresponsibility can bring them 'back into the sphere of the *political*, as an actor who takes up a position in relation to new discourses and truths and looks critically at the meaning and enactments of policy' (p. 92).

These ideas are further developed by Ball (2015b), who argues that refusing the truth told about ourselves, taking care of ourselves by doing critical work on what those truths are

saying and doing, and by speaking fearlessly one's own truth to others, can configure a politics of refusal. The starting point for a politics of refusal 'is the site of subjectivity', from where it is possible to struggle 'over and against what it is we have become, what it is that we do not want to be' (p. 15).

The dissident teacher of Chile

The teachers' demonstrations of 2014 took place as a spontaneous collective rebellion against an agreement that the head of the *Colegio de Profesores* reached with the government. A group of teachers labelled by the press as 'the dissident teachers' emerged and, the next year, they led the 2015 strike. Except for Mario Aguilar and the organisation he led, the rest of the dissident organisations did not play a leading role within the *Colegio de Profesores*. This changed in 2016, when members of different dissident organisations were elected as representatives for municipal, regional and national positions in the *Colegio de Profesores*, appointing Mario Aguilar as its President. These organisations are small, anti-neoliberal, and of a similar type of lay member activists to what Stevenson (2015) describes in the case of England. Their primary focus is on the workplace organisation, usually located in a specific territory and meeting outside the school setting. I will expand on the specific characteristic of these organisations in Chapter 5.

The dissident teachers' phenomenon, in this sense, is a contextual and specific response to the global impacts described above. As a mode of struggling, it has the potential to bring together the collective and the individual forms of resistance.

Chapter 3   Research Questions

I have articulated the phenomenon of the dissident teachers with two different forms of problematisation: one historical and local, the other contemporary and global. Here, I will reconstruct the main problems of my research and formulate the three research questions that will guide my work.

I have argued that the Chilean civil society has strategically used teachers as a force to govern. First, the field of experience of teaching needed to be institutionalised by building a network of schools and training teachers. Once institutionalised, teachers have been strategically used to train and discipline the individuals and the population in specific ways. The organisation of the field of experience of teaching and learning in a specific way involves using teachers' subjectivity. The most basic form in which this field of experience is organised is the space-time of the classroom. From this point of view, the way in which the field of experience of teachers is organised and regulated changes the mode of subjectivation of teachers, and therefore, it also changes one of the ways by which society regulates the relationship between the old and the new, as Arendt (1961) puts it.

The point seems quite obvious, but it is very important for the research questions of this thesis: the teacher is not a historically stable subject. The way the field of experience of teachers is organised affects and configures different forms of teacher subjects. The neoliberal way of organising the field of experience of teachers, what Ozga (2008) calls governing by numbers, is not a natural but a contingent and hegemonic form of governing teachers. The dissident teacher subject is a form of resistance to the neoliberal way of experiencing teaching in Chile in the last 35-40 years. For a long time, the main modes of subjectivation that teachers have made visible in this neoliberal regime has been adherence, critical disaffection, or the abandonment of the profession. However, the 2014/2015 political conjuncture made visible a different mode of relating to and processing their own field of experience. My first research question can thus be phrased as follows: how is a dissident and organised teacher subject elaborating its everyday experience as a schoolteacher subject?

I have also argued that Chilean teachers have tried to participate in the organisation and regulation of the field of experience where they work. However, the current form of governing teachers, both globally and locally, has reduced them to evidence, with no control over their own work, and subjected to economic precariousness and ontological insecurity. Resisting this form of governing teachers is not easy. Nevertheless, teachers

have found, in different parts of the world, ways to do it. The dissident teachers' phenomenon is the way in which the Chilean teachers are fighting against the impacts of neoliberalism on their profession. To become an organised and dissident teacher can be thought as both an individual and a collective form of resistance. I am particularly interested in what sort of limits make it difficult for a teacher to resist, respond critically and challenge the current governing of their work. Therefore, my second research question is which kinds of subjective limits are experienced by dissident and organised teachers in their everyday professional practice?

Lastly, I argued that teachers' demand to stop *agobio* is one example of an attempt to participate in the regulation and organisation of their field of experience. The phenomenon of the dissident teachers emerged in relation to the notion of *agobio*. In this research, I am not only interested in exploring the limits that are currently confining and subjecting teachers to a particular mode of being as teachers, but also in exploring the possibilities of feeling, thinking and acting differently as teachers. In other words, I aim to examine the possibilities to transgress the limits imposed on teachers, participating in the elaboration of a different type of teacher subject. My final research question is thus which type of experimental practices, beyond the everyday limits subjecting teachers, are being unfolded by dissident and organised teachers?

PART TWO – RESEARCHING TEACHERS' SUBJECTIVITY

Chapter 4   Categories of research

This chapter examines the two main research categories of the thesis: subjective limits and experimental practices. Both categories put the focus of this research on the possibilities not only to resist a neoliberal order of teaching and learning, but also to experiment with different forms of being as a teacher. Additionally, I introduce narrative as a more operational category through which to apprehend the subjective movement beyond the limits. These three categories help organise and give form to my empirical research. Moreover, they give an account of my positionality towards the research in a theoretical-epistemological sense, this is, the way I am understanding subjectivity can be researched.

Subjective Limits

The work of Paulo Freire has been a significant influence on the way I understand the notion of subjectivity. Especially his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2005), written during the years 1965-1970, while he was exiled in Chile. In this work, the 'banking' concept of education is defined as a contradictory relationship between a 'narrating Subject (the teacher) and patient, listening objects (the students)' (p. 71). He works with the subject-object duality. Freire's work was based on a precise political strategy, i.e., to teach peasants to read and write in order to be able to cast their votes in Brazil. It was a strategy to disrupt a relationship of oppression and subordination. Moreover, his work was written against the 'revolutionary leaders' who were carrying out a 'message of "salvation"' (p. 95). Freire's works with a historical, situated, contextual and concrete subject that could be taught by a dialogical pedagogy where a reconciliation between the teacher and the student poles could happen 'so that both are simultaneously teachers *and* students' (p. 72).

The third chapter of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is where Freire explains in detail his precise pedagogical strategy. It is in this chapter where I have found the most relevant categories for research and where the notion of a subjective limit for Freire can be re-created. He argues that the dialogue between an educator and a group of people needs to be based on the research of their 'generative themes' which 'inaugurates the dialogue of education as the practice of freedom' (p. 96). The object of this investigation is 'the thought-language with which men and women refer to reality' (p. 97). The ontological claim of Freire is that humans 'exist in a dialectical relationship between the determination of limits and their own freedom', calling 'the situation which limits them: the limit-situations' (p. 99). According to Freire, only a limit-act taking place in the concrete historical present in which

the limit-situation is embedded can produce a transformation in reality, creating new limit-situations, 'which in turn will evoke new limit-acts' (p. 100). A historical epoch, for Freire, is 'a complex of ideas, concepts, hopes, doubts, values, and challenges in dialectical interaction with their opposites', contained in what he calls the 'historical themes' of the present.

These themes can be defended, resisted, mythicised, and so on. They 'both contain and are contained in *limit-situations*; the *task* they imply require *limit-acts*' (p. 102). When themes are 'concealed by the limit-situation', 'humans are unable to transcend the limit-situations to discover that beyond these situations – and in contradiction to them – lies an *untested feasibility*' (p. 102). In this sense, limits, Freire (2005) argues, can be perceived as 'fetters or as insurmountable barriers' (p. 99). In the second case, nothing can be done; therefore, there is no point in unfolding a limit-act and one 'act[s] to maintain the status quo' (p. 102). However, if perceived as a 'fetter' between who one is and who one might become, people 'begin to direct their increasingly critical actions towards achieving the untested feasibility implicit in that perception' (p. 102). Freire adds, 'the fact that individuals in a certain area do not perceive a generative theme, or perceive it in a distorted way, may only reveal a limit-situation of oppression in which people are still submerged' (p. 103). A generative theme, then, is generative precisely because it enables the possibility for a human being to '*emerge* from their *submersion* and acquire the ability to *intervene* in reality as it is unveiled' (p. 109). This practice is based on an 'attitude of awareness' (p. 109) which results from a historical awareness of the limit-situation, what Freire calls *conscientização*.

My reading of Freire was enriched by the encounter with the work of the Chilean sociologist Hugo Zemelman. Zemelman's (1997, 2005, 2007) notion of subjectivity is based on the experience of the failure of the socialist government of Salvador Allende. In 1970, at 40 years old, Zemelman was the head of the department of sociology at the Universidad de Chile. After the coup, he was forced into exile. He went to Mexico, where he spent the rest of his life. In order to understand the failure of the thousand days of Allende's government, Zemelman, a militant of the socialist party until his death in 2013, refused to blame the right-wing parties and the US intervention as *the* sole explanation for the failure. For him, the analysis also needed to attend to the subjectivity of the left militants. His intellectual project was based on a critique of the Marxist notion of history by means of the recuperation of the historical subject, which involved re-thinking the relation between history and subjectivity from a Marxist and Phenomenological perspective.

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In an interview trying to give an account of his life endeavours, Zemelman (2010) argues that the problems he wanted to address were related to the difficulties of understating the present that left militants faced then and now. In those years, he states, 'the present did not have a presence'. He makes a strident critique of the limits of critical thinking arguing that, in those years, people who considered themselves progressive and critical thinkers thought that the political party or the union were in charge of making the changes that they could not perform in their own personal lives. The problem of the absence of the subject in the discourse is a crucial way for Zemelman to understand the failure of Allende's government. How was it possible that an 'I' could hold a revolutionary socialist discourse in public but, privately, perpetuate classist, sexist, racist practices? This is the epistemic-political problem from where Zemelman brings the notion of subjectivity forwards. One of Zemelman's (1997) major criticisms is related to the effect that a narrow category, such a 'class' and its subsequent theory of history, imposed on the subject. The narrow category of 'class' was limited to economic parameters, reducing history to the result of a mechanical struggle between economic subjects.

The subject, for Zemelman (1997), needs to be conceived as the different modalities by which people are grouped in spaces with certain force to create something within society. These different modalities express the movement across space-time of both the individual and the collective, 'either on the level of the family, a network of primary relationships, a certain territory, or other major collective entity' (p. 22, mt). As such, the subject stops being considered as a simple economic function and begins to be conceived 'as ramified in multiple spaces and times, according to the amplitude and heterogeneity of the collective nucleus and its possible articulations with others' (p. 26, mt). The subject, in this sense, is 'situated' [*colocado*] in a historical present. Subjectivity, then, cannot be limited, as a category of thought, to situations already established and controlled. On the contrary, 'because it is part of the process of historical elaboration of the social, it cannot be a function of any time-space scale insofar its role lies in the elaboration of its own time and space coordinates. This means, the formative social subjectivity consists of a specific articulation of times and spaces' (p. 24, mt).

The historical subject is a contextual mode of relating with the present. In this sense, by relating subjectivity and history, for Zemelman (2005), the notion of history is one that is 'not closed, but rather the expression of a process, i.e., of the movement of history as results of the relations between multiple subjects and their respective practices' (p. 10, mt). He adds:

> This opening of the subject based on its position on the historical present involves the need to distinguish a form of thinking circumscribed by the use of closed semantic universes from the subject efforts to position itself historically. In this second case, by breaking with these limits, it becomes possible to address realities not contained within theories; which suppose the need to open thinking to the resignification of the concepts with which we are constructing knowledge. (p. 10, mt)

Subjects become an epistemic possibility, this is, 'angles from where the elaboration of thinking and knowledge can be read' (p. 11, mt). The problem of subjectivity, from reading Zemelman, is not only a problem about an activist type of research but also about a particular way of constructing knowledge and ways of thinking that circumscribe and limit the subject to a closed reading of their own present.

To address this latter problem, Zemelman (2005) introduces the distinction between theoretical thought and epistemic thought. Thinking, for him, 'is a posture [*postura*], an attitude that each person can construct in relation to oneself in the face of the circumstances that one wants to know' (p. 65, mt). The problem is precisely, before using a concept full of meaning, to ask oneself 'how can we situate ourselves [*colocarnos*] before what we want to know?' (p. 65, mt). The difference between these types of thoughts lies in how they relate to the reality that someone wants to name and know. As he explains:

> In theoretical thinking, the relation established with the external reality – with externality, to put it in more correct terms – is always thinking with content. For that reason, the discourse of that thinking is always a predicative discourse. This means a discourse that attributes characteristics. This discourse cannot stop making affirmations about reality, because theoretical thinking is the one that makes affirmations upon what is real (…). Whereas, when we talk about epistemic thinking we are referring to thinking without content, and that is what is sometimes difficult to understand. How is it possible to think without content? (p. 66, mt)

In order to elaborate his notion of epistemic thinking, Zemelman (2005) follows the work of Popper, Bachelard and Lakatos, arguing that 'the centrality of epistemic thinking is on the question, not on the statements [*predicas*], not on the attribution of characteristics' (p. 66, mt). However, the problem is how to give to the question such a status that enables thinking to be 'placed' [*colocado*] in front of circumstances without anticipating statements upon them. The tendency of always putting names to things is one that needs to be avoided. Zemelman states that the main precaution is to avoid two significant risks: 'one, not to give old names to new things; and two, to think that because they do not have a name at the moment in which they arise, they are unnameable' (p. 67, mt).

The circumscribed mode of thinking works mainly through 'theoretical concepts', an epistemic mode of thinking through 'categories'. Categories, argues Zemelman, do not have a unique signification, but several possible contents. They are 'possibilities of content, not a delimited content identified with a clear, unique signification' (p. 69, mt). For example, in natural science, the notions of force, mass, and energy. Alternatively, in social science, notions such as power, subject, dynamics, conflict. These categories 'are not concepts with a unique signification; they can have multiple significations' (p. 69, mt), and will differ according to the author or theoretical lens one uses to understand it.

The notions of generative themes (Freire) and epistemic thinking (Zemelman) include a form of thinking that attempts to disrupt what Antonio Gramsci (1971) called 'hegemony', i.e., 'the "spontaneous" consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by dominant' (p. 12) relations of force. The more traditional way of understanding relations of forces corresponds to 'coercive power', i.e., 'enforce discipline on those groups who do not "consent" either actively or passively' (p. 12). Both Freire and Zemelman are less interested in the struggle against coercive power and more in the one against hegemonic forms of consensus. Both generative themes and epistemic thinking are ways of enabling dissent. A dissent, in this sense, is the *emergence* (Freire) or the *posture* (Zemelman) than enables us to become aware of the limits that are subjugating the subject.

I have briefly described the notion of subjective limits which I brought with me to London. Since my arrival, I have been working mainly with the ideas of Michel Foucault. His work has enriched the notion of subjective limits in several ways. For example, with the notions of episteme (Foucault, 2002), the relation between confinement and freedom (Foucault, 2006), productive forms of power (Foucault, 1995), and the distinction between the discipline of individual body and regulation of the population (Foucault, 2004, 2008). These, among other sets of distinctions, have been important for me in problematising the way I understand the notion of subjectivity.

In Freire's (2005) work, the submerged subject is characterised as being subjected to a 'limit-situation of oppression' (p. 103). The oppression-freedom relation is, for Freire, equivalent to a negative-positive relation of force. Reality oppresses and freedom generates. In that sense, a 'generative theme' enables the subject to emerge from an oppressive reality. Foucault's work enables us to see how a field of visibility, a 'thematic universe' in Freire's words, can create a space of truth and restraint where the subject can construct its own

sense of freedom. This is the case, for example, of the asylum where the most visible symbol of justice became the straitjacket instead of the chain 'showing that in madness, the experience was no longer of an absolute conflict between reason and unreason, but rather of a play – always relative, always mobile – between freedom and its limits' (Foucault, 2006, p. 439). It is in the ways reality limits one's own possibilities that Foucault's work offers a subtler set of notions. The subject, both as an individual and as a population, is not only oppressed but also formed by productive forms of power that individualise and regulate oneself and ourselves. This is, 'power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production.' (Foucault, 1995, p. 194)

Moreover, the productive field of visibility, an *epistemic* field, has contributed to a further understanding of Zemelman's notion of epistemic thinking. It can be argued that epistemic thinking is about restoring a sense of contingency and openness to the present. Foucault and Zemelman, in some sense, are doing similar work but in different directions. For example, madness, knowledge, power or sexuality are categories of thought that have been historically filled with content. From an archaeological-genealogical perspective, the work is to uncover how these categories have been historically filled in in order to awake its 'immobile soil' (Foucault, 2002, p. xxvi). However, from an 'epistemology of the potential present' (H. Zemelman, 2007, p. 180, mt), the work is to evoke the multiplicity of meanings that such categories could be naming. In both cases, there is an attempt to recognise the contingency of the present by an exercise of critique. Though one is oriented 'to uncover the deepest strata' (Foucault, 2002, p. xxvi) shaping the present whereas the other to recognise in the present 'a way to advance towards the virtual as a horizon of possibilities' (H. Zemelman, 2007, p. 135).

I have never found in Freire's work a reference to Foucault or vice versa. Therefore, to my understanding, they did not read each other's work. However, Zemelman (2007), following Castoriadis, mentions at some points Foucault as part of a group of thinkers who explore 'processes without subjects'. He is trying to distinguish his approach from two 'lineages' of European thinkers. First, embodying the idea of 'processes without subjects' is the 'dynasty of the Levi-Strauss-Althusser-Foucault' (p. 125, mt), where the subject is the effect of relations of power and domination. Second, postulating ideas that 'reabsorbed the subject completely into the social dimension, particularly in language', resulting in a subject of the Unconscious that 'does not speak but that is spoken (…), is the lineage of Lacan-Barthes-Derrida' (p. 126, mt). This critique is similar to the one that can be found in other

authors who are trying to recover the historicity within the Marxist tradition. For example, in *Envisioning Real Utopias*, Erik Olin Wright (2010), writes that 'some theories of society come close to affirming this kind of totalizing view of social reproduction' (p. 26), adding in a footnote 'the theoretical framework for analysing power and domination elaborated by Michel Foucault sometimes comes very close to this view of totalizing, untransformable power relations' (p. 27). Later on, he adds 'certain interpretations of the work of Foucault, for example, sees domination as penetrating so deeply into the fabric of everyday life that there is virtually no room for transformative resistance' (p. 190).

I think that these readings miss the point I have made that Foucault's work was focused on recovering the mobility of the historical *epistemic* ground. If our mode of thinking about the present is grounded, as Foucault (2002) states, in a 'silent and apparently immobile soil' (p. xxvi), it is difficult to resist. The archaeological-genealogical work enables us to restore to our thinking 'its rifts, its instability, its flaws' (p. xxvi). Besides, these critiques also neglect Foucault's later work, where he recognised that he had put 'too much' emphasis in his early works on some modalities of power and domination. For example, in a lecture given in 1982, he argues that his objective 'for more than twenty-five years has been to sketch out a history of the different ways in our culture that humans develop knowledge about themselves: economics, biology, psychiatry, medicine, and penology.' (Foucault, 1997c, p. 224). He calls these different forms of knowledge 'specific "truth games" related to specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves' (p. 224). Then, he identifies four major types of technologies: of production and manipulation of things; of signs systems to signify and symbolise; of power or domination 'which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject' (p. 225); and of the self,

> which permit individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thought, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (p. 225)

He states that his attention has been mainly focused on the last two technologies of domination and the self, adding:

> Perhaps, I've insisted too much on the technology of domination and power. I am more and more interested in the interaction between oneself and others, and in the technologies of individual domination, in the mode of action that an individual exercises upon himself by means of the technologies of the self. (1997a, p. 225)

In other later interview regarding his work, Foucault (1988) explains:

> I tried to locate three major types of problems: the problem of truth, the problem of power, and the problem of individual conduct. These three domains of experience can only be understood in relation to each other, not independently. What bothered me about the previous books is that I considered the first two experiences without taking the third one into account. (p. 243)

Adding that his aim 'was to reintroduce the problem of the subject which I had more or less left aside in my first studies' (p. 253). The early work of Foucault works with a subjected or determined subject and not with an autonomous subject.

It is in his later work with the technologies of the self that the possibilities for the subject to transform him/herself became an object of analysis. In this sense, his latter endeavours enable the re-construction of a more precise relation with the work of Freire and Zemelman. Coming from different traditions, the problem of freedom is the one that links all three authors. For example, in Foucault's 1984 article *What is enlightenment?*, he argues that modernity can be envisaged 'as an attitude rather than as a period of history', i.e., 'a mode of relating to contemporary', 'like what the Greeks called an ēthos' (1997f, p. 309). Following Kant, he argues that this attitude unfolds the possibilities of analysing ourselves as free and autonomous subjects who are historically determined and not mere 'cogs in a machine'. However, this process of analysis is not oriented towards an 'essential kernel of rationality' as Kant suggests, but towards 'the "contemporary limits of the necessary," that is, towards what is not or is no longer indispensable for the constitution of ourselves as autonomous subjects' (p. 313). Foucault calls this attitude a 'critical ontology of ourselves' which 'may be characterized as a limit-attitude' (p. 315). That is, a process of analysis and reflection upon the frontiers or limits of 'what is given to us as universal, necessary, obligatory'; a process which considers those singular, contingent and arbitrary 'events that have led us to constitute ourselves and to recognize ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking, saying' (p. 315). A limit-attitude is then a way of criticism which 'consists of analysing and reflecting upon limits' (p. 315).

The subject, as a subject elaborated by the historical limits imposed on one, is the site from where a limit-attitude as a practice of liberty can unfold. Therefore, there is a dual-task here: a 'historical analysis of the limits imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them' (Foucault, 1997f, p. 319). Work that is 'not seeking to make possible a metaphysics that has finally become a science' but 'to give new impetus, as far and wide as possible, to the undefined work of freedom' (p. 316). This practice of liberty implies work done within one's own limits that does not seek to annul one's reality but to open up the 'difficult interplay between the truth of what is real and the exercise of freedom' (p.

311). Confronted with this 'difficult interplay', 'the high value of the present is indissociable from a desperate eagerness to imagine it, to imagine it otherwise than it is, and to transform it not by destroying it but by grasping it in what it is' (p. 311). In an interview, Foucault (1997b) gives additional clues about this work done on the limits of ourselves. Thought is

> what allows one to step back from this way of acting or reacting, to present it to oneself as an object of thought and to question it as to its meaning, its conditions, and its goals. Thought is freedom in relation to what one does, the motion by which one detaches oneself from it, established it as an object, and reflects on it as a problem. (p. 117)

Yet, for a domain of action or behaviour to enter the field of thought, several elements need to have made this domain 'uncertain, to have made it lose its familiarity, or to have provoked a certain number of difficulties around it' (p. 118). Even more, when such a thought finally intervenes, it does not assume a 'unique form' as a direct result or necessary expression of these difficulties, 'it is an original or specific response – often taking many forms, sometimes even contradictory in its different aspects – to these difficulties, which are defined for it by a situation or a context' (p. 118). Actually, most of the time there are different responses proposed to one single set of difficulties and what makes them all possible at the same time 'is the point in which their simultaneity is rooted; it is the soil that can nourish them all in their diversity and sometimes in spite of their contradictions' (p. 118). This common soil is 'the general form of problematization' (p. 118) which transforms various difficulties and obstacles of a practice 'into a general problem for which one proposes diverse practical solutions' developing 'the conditions in which possible responses can be given' (p. 118).

The general form of problematisation relates to Freire's generative themes as contradictory responses 'proposed to a single set of difficulties'. When a generative theme or a general problem unfolds for a subject, a historical consensus loses its familiarity. As a provocation, the criticisms or problematisation enables the creation of dissent, from which the limits to a practice of freedom for the subject can be analysed. From this point of view, the dissident teacher subject is bringing forward a dissident thought regarding its own everyday field of experience as a teacher. This dissident thought, if it is not theoretical but epistemic, has the potential to enact a process, as Foucault (1997b) puts it, 'by which one detaches oneself' from 'what one does' (p. 117). A subject, as Foucault (1997f) adds, can thus 'experiment with the possibility of going beyond' (p. 319) their subjective limits.

Field of Experimentation

In the scenario that a subject is engaged in a process of critical thinking about him/herself, then a field of experimentation might unfold. Freire (2005) notion of generative themes is useful to delineate the subtle difference. The idea of the elaboration and discussion of a generative theme is that people 'not only critically reflect upon their existence but critically act upon it' (p. 109). Freire (2005, p.87-124) outlines the whole process of decoding and coding involved in the elaboration of a set of generative themes (e.g. a sketch, a photograph or a few spoken words presenting an existential problem, among other examples). After a generative theme is elaborated, the subsequent 'decoding dialogues in the "thematic investigation circles"' (p. 117) takes place, where a 'testing action' (p. 113) should be provoked that unfolds the perception of the 'untested feasibility laying beyond the limit-situations' (p. 116). As an example of this process of a decoding dialogue, Freire recalls:

> In one of the thematic investigations carried out in Santiago, a group of tenement residents discussed a scene showing a drunken man walking on the street and three young men conversing on the corner. The group participants commented that "the only one there who is productive and useful to his country is the souse who is returning home after working all day for low wages and who is worried about his family because he can't take care of their needs. He is the only worker. He is a decent worker and a souse like us." (p. 118)

Relations between 'earning low wages, feeling exploited, and getting drunk' and 'the need to rate the drunkard highly' are possible connections to be made. Freire suggests that 'a moralistic educator, sermonizing against alcoholism' (p. 119) will fail to see these connections. He adds that 'the dialogical nature of education begins with thematic investigation' (p. 119). This type of dialogical research implies a relation between subjects and their own way of perceiving reality. The decoding dialogue around a generative theme inclines the perception and knowledge of the limits 'towards awareness of reality and towards self-awareness' (p. 107) where the field of untested feasibility becomes apprehensible. If it does, then experimental practices or testing actions are inaugurated.

In his later works, Freire (1995) will call epistemological curiosity a kind of curiosity that is not spontaneous but a 'serious and rigorous' one through which 'we can approach the world and ourselves. We ourselves are objects of our knowledge and of our act of knowing' (p. 72). That is, a kind of curiosity that is provoked by questions. In order to ask questions, Freire (2003) adds, you need to feel some kind of freedom and 'without limits, there is no freedom' (p. 39). The problem of educators is precisely 'how to establish limits, what do

they really mean, and which ones among all are the ones that have to be established' (p. 39) in order for a question to have the possibility to unfold.

This epistemological curiosity relates to Zemelman's (2005) idea that 'the centrality of epistemic thinking is the question' (p. 66, mt). It is also similar to Foucault's (1997e) notion of curiosity. In an interview of the 1980s, Foucault criticises the stigmas that Christianity, philosophy and science have created around curiosity, adding that for him, curiosity 'evokes "care"; it evokes the care one takes of what exists and what might exist (…); a certain determination to throw off familiar ways of thought and to look at the same things in a different way' (p. 325). Moreover, when Foucault (1990) gives an account of what motivated him to take some risks and shift the direction of his 1984 books on the history of sexuality, he argues that was curiosity, 'not the curiosity that seeks to assimilate what it is proper for one to know, but that which enables one to get free of oneself' (p. 8)

Confronted with a generative theme, an epistemological curiosity unfolding questions about the truth of what is real and familiar for us has the potential to emerge. These questions can be filled with 'what exists' and 'what it is proper for one to know' or with 'what might exist', enabling in the latter case, 'the knower's straying afield of himself' (Foucault, 1990, p. 8). In one of his last books, *The angel of history: determination and autonomy of the human condition*, Zemelman (2007) works on this problem in some depth. Here he rephrased his intellectual project as one related 'to discussing the freedom of the subject', which relates to going beyond the limits of knowledge. That is, the possibility of a 'subject without characteristic' able to place itself in 'the vastness of oneself and one's world' and 'in the presence of what one does not know' (p. 13, mt). Even though he does not say it in these exact words, it can be inferred that this epistemic 'Benjaminian' subject is the paradoxical 'angel of history' placed between determination and autonomy. The 'subject without content' (p. 13, mt) is then a mode of 'placing oneself facing a reality that still does not have a name. Hence the first problem is giving priority to the name's gestation before than communicating its content' (p. 134, mt).

It is concerning this problem, how the subject places him/herself in the presence of a moving present, that language becomes a crucial site of struggle. Zemelman (2007) distinguishes between limited and epistemic forms in which the subject might unfold through language. Following Nietzsche, among other authors, he relates the epistemic mode of thinking with connotative, metaphorical and poetical forms of language. Metaphor, as Nietzsche puts it, 'is a language being born, a language which is becoming,

but still is not' (2000, p. 47, cited in H. Zemelman, 2007, p. 88, mt). Thus, as Zemelman argues, 'the problem is about breaking from a dominant conception of what is clear or what identifies us' (p. 141, mt). Zemelman's problem is to recover the possibilities of a more complex subject in the sense of a subject placed in the present with a broader capacity to name their own circumstances. As he puts it, 'there is always something beyond what is defined by the limits that put us in front of a double reality: the given reality and the virtual reality' (p. 167, mt). Whereas denotative and colloquial languages privilege the given reality, symbolic languages privilege virtual reality: 'we are thinking in poetry, which, as a language, can represent virtual worlds still not socialised as living spaces; but it is an invitation and a challenge to adventure to them.' (p. 167, mt)

The field of experimentation as a field to act in relation to one's given historical limits involves not only a way of doing but a way of talking about and naming a given order of things. When we talk, argues Zemelman (2007), we are not only communicating, but we are continually creating meanings at least in two ways: i) re-signifying some of the given meanings, ii) creating other meanings to display [*mostrar*] new possibilities of worlds. These are the potentialities of a type of language of what might exist. 'It seems clear that the languages of the virtual are languages that contribute to the enrichment of subjectivity, as far as its practice is a challenge for the subject' (p. 167, mt). He states:

> The use of language is located between a communicative function and other constitutive of the need to say (as is exemplified by literature, but particularly in poetry). In the first case, predominates an assertive or determined mode of declaring, writing or explaining. This fits with the syntactic level, which modes can be translated to mechanical mechanisms (…). On the other hand, when we speak about the constitutive functions of language, that we make equivalent to the idea of opening the world, the modes of expressions are not denotative because, instead of specifying an object, what is privileged is suggesting, evoking, or imagining contours [*contornos*]. Here the form is not syntax but rather composition. (p. 181, mt)

The denotative and connotative use of language relates to the use of substantives and verbs in our ways of thinking 'what exists and what might exist' (Foucault, 1997e, p. 325). For Zemelman (2007), a connotative use of language needs 'to think in verbs [*pensar en verbo*]', 'a form of thinking centred on the verb, that having had a great presence in the classic languages such as ancient Greek, has gradually been lost' (p. 142, mt). This way of thinking, 'supposes breaking the parameters in order to open the horizon of what is possible. In this consists of the epistemology of the potential present' (p. 180, mt). It is interesting to think

that the later work of Foucault was precisely one engaged with the more verb-based ancient Greek language.

Verbs imply a particular determination to act that evokes the idea of will and freedom. As Foucault (1982) argues, 'at the very heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom' (p. 790). A limit-attitude provokes the familiar relations of force in which one is embedded unveiling that 'the self is not given to us' which has 'one practical consequence: we have to create ourselves as a work of art' (Foucault, 1997a, p. 261). Our ontological limits are a historical imposition, and critical self-awareness of these limits open a field of experimentation where a work of self-elaboration can be practised. What might exist by unfolding an experimental and creative practice could be easily closed up if, as Zemelman (2007) states, awareness is not put into the connotative use of language as a way not to specify and communicate whatever one is elaborating but as a way to suggest, evoke, or imagine its present potentialities.

From this point of view, the dissident teacher subject, placed in its present, can unfold practices of self-formation in an experimental field that could open up the horizon of what is possible by practising certain awareness in the use of their language. Instead of using a denotative language trying to fill with content the unfamiliar subjective position of being free of oneself and one's familiar practices, the point is to ask some questions and try to use a more evocative and verb-based connotative language to compose potential experiences of experimentation as a horizon of possibilities. This involves a way of doing the analysis aware of not closing the evocative potential concerning how the dissident teachers are speaking about their subjective limits and experimental practices.

Narrative

The empirical problem that the two previous categories of research pose is how to produce data about a subject who is unfolding an experimental practice? I have found the notion of narrative a useful one to address this problem. In her book *Giving an Account of Oneself*, Judith Butler (2005) challenges the idea of a subject who 'seeks to reinstall its mastery and unity' (p. 64) by means of a coherent narrative. As she puts it, 'I am concerned with a suspect coherence that sometimes attaches to narrative, specifically, with the way in which narrative coherence may foreclose an ethical resource – namely, an acceptance of the limits of knowability on oneself and others' (p. 63). However, she acknowledges that 'no one can live in a radically non-narratable world or survive a radically non-narratable life' (p. 59).

Therefore, 'the purpose here is not to celebrate a certain notion of incoherence, but only to point out that our "incoherence" establishes the way in which we are constituted in relationality: implicated, beholden, derived, sustained by a social world that is beyond us and before us' (p. 64). For Butler, the account one gives to oneself is always given in relation to an other, 'I give an account of myself *to you*' (p. 50). The problem is that the narration always fails because there is always something obscure in one's narration:

> In this sense, a story is being told, but the "I" who tells the story, who may well appear within the story as the first-person narrator, constitutes a point of opacity and interrupts a sequence, induces a break or eruption of the non-narrativizable in the midst of the story. So the story of myself that I tell, foregrounding the "I" who I am and inserting it into the relevant sequences of something called my life, fails to give an account of myself at the moment that I am introduced. (p. 66-67)

The break or the eruption of the non-narrativisable relates to unconscious forces. The question is then, as Butler (2005) puts it:

> The "I" finds that, in the presence of an other, it is breaking down. It does not know itself; perhaps it never will. But is that the task, to know oneself? Is the final aim to achieve an adequate narrative account of a life? And should it be? Is the task to cover over through a narrative means the breakage, the rupture, that is constitutive of the "I," which quite forcefully binds the elements together as if it were perfectly possible, as if the break could be mended and defensive mastery restored? (p. 69)

On the one hand, if the subject of research is well attached to the historical consensus of what exists, then to ask for their account of themselves could be a way to apprehend the ways in which someone is attached to a historical consensus. On the other hand, if the focus were to understand the obscurer or "incoherent" aspects of this 'well attached subject', maybe a methodological tool sensitive to the points of opacity and the breaks or eruptions of the non-narrativisable aspects of the subject could be more pertinent, e.g., to use a free associative research strategy (Lapping, 2011). However, the subject I am interested in this research is not one well attached to the historical consensus of the truths of what it means to be a teacher. This thesis works under the assumption that the dissident and organised teachers are critical towards the historical consensus of what it means to be a teacher. What sort of narration is being captured when working with this type of subject? Is the dissident teachers' "I" involved in a process of narration that binds or unbinds?

Concerning this problem, the notion of true discourse is useful to understand the narrative exercise I am pursuing. In *The hermeneutics of the subject*, Foucault (2005) problematises the notion of knowing oneself with what the ancient Greeks called the care of the self. He argues that *askesis* was the term with which a set of practices around the culture of the self

were designated and the metaphor of the athlete was a common one to connote this term in those times:

> We must train like an athlete; the latter does not learn every possible move, he does not try to perform pointless feats; he practices a few movements that are necessary for him to triumph over his opponents in the fight (…). Like a good wrestler, we should learn only what will enable us to resist possible events; we must learn not to let ourselves be disconcerted by them, not to let ourselves be carried away by the emotions they may arouse in us.

> Now what do we need in order to keep our control in the face of the events that may occur? We need "discourses": *logoi* understood as true and rational discourses. Lucretius speaks of *veridical dicta* that enable us to ward off our fears and not let ourselves be crushed by what we believe to be misfortunes. The equipment we need to face up to the future is an equipment of true discourses. These are what will enable us to face reality. (p. 498)

If the dissident teachers are unfolding a limit-attitude, being critical towards what it means to be a teacher, they are already engaged in a fight and in need of an equipment 'to face up to the future'. They are struggling in the site of their subjectivity, as Ball (2015b) would put it. The problem is that 'virtual reality' (p. 167), as Zemelman (2007) argues, can be experienced 'as a horizon of possibilities' (p. 135, mt), which connotes an unknown and ungrounded reality. For grounding themselves in the 'virtual reality' and 'ward off' their fears, it can be argued, they have been elaborating 'true and rational discourses'. I am working with a teacher subject that could be thought of as engaged in a process of ontological unbinding, and, for that reason, I am interested in how they are holding – or better, creating a ground, by elaborating a set of 'true and rational discourses'.

Some characteristics of true discourses as an 'equipment' are, first, that they provide the self a social reference from where to position oneself, 'what we are in our relation to the world' (p. 499). Second, in the case that we suffer an unexpected event or misfortune, true discourses are like a medicine, a good friend, an internal voice or the 'appropriation' of an accepted truth that helps us 'to deal with all the vicissitudes of life' (p. 499). Third, one appropriates a true discourse through different practices, where 'memory obviously plays a major role here; not in the Platonic form of the soul that discovers its original nature and homeland however, but in the form of progressive exercises of memorization' (p. 500). Practices like listening, writing or giving an account of oneself, enable one to exercise one's memory of 'what one has learned' (p. 500). True discourses provide a relation between a learned-memorised truth and the subject, as Foucault (2005) states:

> There is then a whole set of techniques whose purpose is to link together the truth and the subject. (…) it is a question of arming the subject with a truth that he did

not know and that did not dwell within him; it involves turning this learned and memorized truth that is progressively put into practice into a quasi-subject that reigns supreme within us. (p. 501)

In this sense, if narratives 'are part of the process of sense-making while also focusing on social and cultural processes', as Ann Phoenix (2008, p. 74) puts it, I am interested in how the accounts dissident teachers give of themselves work as a learned and memorised truth that gives sense to what they are elaborating as what it means to be a teacher subject. If they are able to experiment in relation to this truth, this means that they are practising a narration of themselves that provides them with a temporal and spatial social reference, the possibility to appropriate an accepted truth about themselves and the opportunity to exercise their memory of who they are. Ivor Goodson's (2006) recommendation that, in narrative work the idea is 'to get the life storytellers to rehearse their story with us, with as little intervention as possible' (p. 17), has been for me a feasible way to consider Zemelman's (2005) suggestion to give an epistemic status to questions instead of filling them with theoretical content. The idea, then, has been to try to create a methodological device that enabled the dissident teachers to rehearse their story with me.

In this methodological device I intended to place myself as the other to whom the dissident teachers were going to give an account of themselves. The idea was to activate a space of relationality where the narration of their dissident 'I' as teachers could be rehearsal. My otherness, as I argued in Chapter 2, shared the ethical-political concerns of resisting the current way of governing teachers and struggling for opening up spaces to think and act differently as teachers. Reflecting on my ethical and political attachments with teachers have contributed to create my own narrative work of why am I researching teachers. This narration opens different layers of the problem Lapping (2013) poses as 'which subject, whose desire?'. Here I would like to say that the story I have been telling myself is that teachers, schoolteachers I had as a student and people such as Freire or Zemelman, have been vital for me to get in contact with the practice of reading and writing, and the world of the humanities and the social sciences, which is a world that I love. I think that teachers have the potential to open worlds for their students because I have had that experience. That is my 'narcissist attachment' (Lapping, 2013, p. 369), or to put it in my own words, a sense of gratefulness that I feel towards the abstract potential of teachers. In the next chapter, I continue reflecting on some of the ethical and epistemological issues of establishing a relationship with teachers from a positionality of ally.

Therefore, the empirical question I needed to solve was what type of story rehearsals I was going to ask the dissident teachers to practice through a narrative exercise. My research questions lead my focus of analysis. As dissident and organised teachers, I was interested in opening a 'space of address', as Butler (2005) puts it, for them to narrate:

1. Their story as everyday schoolteachers
2. Their story about the limits they face in their everyday practice as schoolteachers
3. Their story about the possibilities to experiment beyond or transgress these everyday limits

The first theme acts as what Alexandra Georgakopoulou (2006) would call a big narrative, a story that 'prioritises a unified, coherent, autonomous, reflected upon and rehearsed self' (p. 128). The second and third topics are an attempt to engage with a form of small narrative exercise in the sense of moving 'from "what does narrative tell us about constructions of self?" to "how do we *do self* (and *other*) in narrative *genres* in a variety of *engagements*?'" (p. 128). By asking the dissident teacher to give an account of their own subjective limits and ways to experiment beyond them as teachers, I expect to engage with the problem of how they are struggling in the site of their subjectivity in a less coherent and more fragmented way. As Phoenix (2008) argues, the two last topics have as their focus types of 'accounts that construct emotions, worldviews, character or events in ways that illuminate why particular accounts are produced in particular ways – i.e., on sense-making processes' (p. 76). The point, by asking them to narrate themselves is, as Butler (2005) puts it,

> not to expect an answer that will ever satisfy (…). The ethical stance consists (…) in asking the question "Who are you" and continuing to ask without any expectation of a full or final answer. The other to whom I pose this question will not be captured by any answer that might arrive to satisfy it. (p. 43)

The narration of themselves as dissident teachers is not a 'final answer' but rather a rehearsal of their ongoing process as experimental subjects and a way of making sense of themselves as teachers in their dissident subjective position.

These three 'spaces of address' constitute my research objectives:

1. To explore the narrative of the dissident teachers as everyday schoolteachers.
2. To explore and describe the dissident teachers' narratives about the limits they face in their everyday practice as schoolteachers.
3. To explore and describe the dissident teachers' narratives about their possibilities to experiment or transgress their everyday limits.

Chapter 5   Methodological device and fieldwork

This research is a form of qualitative research that has both an exploratory and descriptive scope. Exploratory in two different senses: empirically, this is the first research that has as its focus of analysis the subjectivity of the dissident and organised teachers of Chile. Theoretically, in the sense of exploring how the categories of *subjective limits* and the *field of experimentation* can enable the study of teacher subjectivity. Descriptive in the sense that I want to provide a systematic account of the limits and ways to go beyond them that can be analysed from the angle of the dissident teacher experiences in their everyday work as teachers. I worked with eight dissident teachers' organisations and two types of teachers (leaders and grassroots of the organisations). The methodological device was composed of three phases. I present first the dissident organisations, then each one of the three phases and I end the chapter with a brief reflection about my relationships with the teachers and my own positionality in the research.

The dissident organisations

The fieldwork took place between March and May 2017 in Chile. The following Table 2 synthesises the dissident organisations I worked with.

The process of the research was as follows: I sent emails to the public leaders of organisations (3, 7) or to people I knew were part of the organisation (1, 2, 5, and 6) in December 2016, telling them about my project and asking them three things. First, if they knew any other relevant dissident organisation of teachers that could be considered. Second, who from their organisation could be considered a 'founder, leader, main intellectual' to interview. Third, if they could help me to get in contact with two members of their organisation (a man and a woman) that were currently working in a school and were not the 'founder, leader, main intellectual'. Organisation 4 appeared in the responses to the first question. Other organisations were mentioned, but only CET was mentioned by more than two people.

Organisations 1 and 2 are the oldest, the first formed after the 2006 student protest, and the second after the 2011 student protest. They are more consolidated organisations in the sense of the number of members, having a presence in the national directory of the *Colegio de Profesores*, and having members from almost every region of the country.

Table 2 – Dissident Teachers' Organisations

Organisations	Founded	Presence in the country	Approx. number of members	Elected positions at the *Colegio de Profesores*
1 **REF** Movimiento por la Refundación Gremial y Pedagógica or *Movement for the Union and Pedagogical Re-foundation*	2007	National	50	Yes
2 **MUD** Movimiento por la Unidad Docente or *Movement for Teachers' Unity*	2012	National	100	Yes
3 **CON** Construyendo Movimiento Docente Organizado or *Constructing Organised Teachers Movement*	2015	Santiago	25	Yes
4 **CET** Colectivo Educar y Transformar or *Collective To Teach and Transform*	2015	Valparaíso	15	No
5 **MA** Frente de Profesores Movimiento Autonomista or *Autonomist Movement Teachers' Front*	2016	Santiago, Valparaíso, Rancagua, Concepción, Valdivia	20	No
6 **IA** Frente de Profesores Izquierda Autónoma or *Autonomist Left Teachers' Front*	2016	Santiago, Concepción, Valdivia	10	Yes
7 **AD** Acción Docente or *Teacher' Action*	2016	Santiago	15	Yes
8 **PRETeC** Profesores Reflexionando por una Educación Transformadora en Ciencias or *Teachers Reflecting for a Transformative Education in Science*	2009	Valparaíso	15	No

The organisations 3 to 7 function more as caucus or "collectives", i.e., smaller organisations that work more horizontally, usually with a coordinator or speaker. They were formed during or after the 2014/2015 teachers' demonstrations. Organisation 3, 6 and 7 gained presence in the *Colegio de Profesores* when some of their members were elected in 2016 as council's rep for the *Colegio de Profesores*. These organisations are usually located in one city, with a couple having a presence in more cities, but with just a few members in each.

Organisation 8 is a different type of organisation. It is a group composed of schoolteachers, preservice teachers and university teachers, the latter, from *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso,* that have been working together since 2009. They gather to reflect on their teaching practices as people who teach and research science. I found out about this organisation in my PhD thanks to Paulina Bravo, a Chilean biologist who is doing her PhD at the IoE. She is part of the group and has been a member of PRETeC since its beginning.

Talking to her at the end of 2016 about her work with PRETeC, I got the feeling that the organisation was dissident, not in a political sense, but more in a pedagogical one. I considered that it could be interesting to include this organisation to have a different type of dissent represented in my study.

The approximate number of active members in the first seven organisation is 235, representing 0,1% of the more than 235,000 schoolteachers in Chile. It is important to remember this because the focus of this thesis is not the subjectivity of a random teacher in Chile, but of an organised dissident teacher.

Phase one: dissident leaders

During the first phase of the study I worked with the founders, leaders or main intellectuals of the eight dissident teachers' organisation. The work I did with these teachers was focused on the contextualisation of their organisations, their political diagnosis about teachers' problems and the main political actions they were promoting. The idea was to capture a well-structured narrative or, as Phoenix (2008) puts it, a 'canonical narrative' about the 'current consensus about what it is acceptable to say and do in their local (…) cultures' (p. 73) as dissident teachers. This canonical narrative, as Goodson (2006) argues, referred to 'the collective aspiration' (p. 9) of these teachers organisations.

I interviewed 10 people considered founders, leaders or main intellectuals of these eight organisations. Only with the leader of Organisation 8, I had a long conversation about PRETeC that was not recorded. As a group, I knew they had written some papers about their own history and aims (e.g., Grupo PRETeC, 2016). I asked the other nine people to sign an informed consent form that, among other things, stated that 'I understand that if any of my words are used in a report or presentation, they will be attributed to me'. Offering the possibility to sign the same consent but stating '(…) they will **not be** attributed to me'. I told them that they should think about the interview as a conversation with the press and, if they wanted to say something more 'off the record', I could always put the recorder on pause. Eight of the nine accepted the first condition. One teacher asked to sign the second consent, and I have changed his/her name here. All interviews took place in a location, day and time of their preference.

I had an interview guide with three broad topics and sub-questions:

Topic 1: History and characteristic of the organisation

- Can you tell me the story of the organisation's origin?
- How do you organise yourselves?
- How many members compose the organisation?
- Where in the country do you have a presence as an organisation?

Topic 2: Diagnosis

- What is the main problem of teachers today according to the organisation?
- What is the vision the organisation has of being a teacher in Chile today?
- What does it mean to be with *agobio*?
- Who are the main allies and enemies of the organisation?

Topic 3: Possible changes

- How does the organisation think that the problems enunciated above can be changed?
- What are the main political actions the organisation is trying to put forward?

As can be seen, the interrogated subject is 'the organisation', that is the reason I asked them to speak as if they were talking to the press. The focus of this set of interviews was the more public discourse of the dissident organisations of teachers. Table 3 synthesised some characteristic of the interviewee leaders, constituting the main empirical data produced in phase one.

Regarding their roles in their organisation, the ones I have labelled as 'leaders, speakers and coordinators' (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7) were formal roles within the organisation. In the case of the 'informal leaders' (5, 6), they were identified by one member of the same organisation as someone relevant to interviewing. The case of the 'intellectual friend' (4) was mentioned in the interview with Alejandra as someone who could be useful to interview because he was close to the organisation, providing intellectual support.

Regarding their roles as teachers, Mario, Eduardo, Javier, Elizabeth and Jorge achieved positions in the 2016 elections in the *Colegio de Profesores*. Mario and Silvana were not working as teachers because of their new positions as head of the *Colegio de Profesores* and Director of Education of the Valparaiso Council, respectively. Eduardo had very few hours in a secondary school. Victor and Elizabeth were working around 30 hours a week as teachers and Javier was the head of the Technical Pedagogical Unit (UTP) of a secondary school in the council of Santiago. Alejandra, Ana Maria and Jorge were currently unemployed and looking for jobs. Corina worked at the university in an academic position.

Table 3 – Main Empirical Data Produced in Phase One

Organisations	Phase 1	Age	Role in the organisation / Role as teacher	Date	Audio
1 **REF**	Mario Aguilar	60	Leader / President of the *Colegio de Profesores*	May 12	21:56
2 **MUD**	Eduardo González	40	National Speaker / Member of National Directory of *Colegio de Profesores* (Treasury)	Apr 12	37:04
				Apr 20	58:05
3 **CON**	Javier Insunza	35	Leader / Head of UTP in a Secondary School in Santiago and President of the Council of *Providencia* branch of the *Colegio de Profesores*	Mar 14	1:08:56
4 **CET**	Alejandra Perez	35	Speaker / Currently unemployed	Mar 21	1:04:24
	Victor Figueroa	40	Intellectual friend / Full-time teacher in a Secondary School at Valparaiso	Mar 30	42:13
5 **MA**	Ana M. Santos	25	Coordinator / Currently unemployed	Mar 16	1:01:30
	Silvana Saez	55	Informal Leader / Director of Education of the Valparaiso Council	Mar 21	1:06:45
6 **IA**	Elizabeth Contreras	60	Informal Leader / Full-time teacher in a school at Valdivia and Treasurer of the Council of Los Rios's branch of *Colegio de Profesores*	Apr 11	2:44:04
7 **AD**	Jorge Muñoz	35	Leader / Currently unemployed and member of the Council of La Florida branch of Colegio de Profesores	Mar 13	1:15:50
8 **PRETeC**	Corina González	40	Coordinator / Scholar at the Biology Institute of the *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaiso*	Mar 21	Lunch talk

Seven interviews were done in March, three in April and one in May 2017. Alejandra, Victor, Silvana and Corina's interviews took place in Valparaiso, 78 miles from Santiago. Elizabeth's interview was done in Valdivia, located 521 miles to the South of Santiago. The other five interviews took place in Santiago, where I was based.

There were three age groups: First, Mario, Silvana and Elizabeth, aged between 55 and 60, born before the dictatorship (at the end of the 1950s or beginning of the 1960s), where the older group. Then, Eduardo, Javier, Alejandra, Victor, Jorge and Corina, all aged 35 to 40, born in the dictatorship (at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s), were the more predominant group. Finally, Ana Maria, age 25, born post-dictatorship (at the beginning of the 1990s), was the youngest. She just has finished her BA studies and searching for her first job as a teacher.

The average time of an interview was one hour and six minutes, and in total, I recorded 11 hours of audio with this group of teachers. All these audios were sent to a third person to be transcribed.

Phase two: grassroots dissident teachers

During the second phase I worked with the main subject of my thesis. I define them as teachers with three characteristics: i) members of a dissident teacher organisation, ii) currently working in a school, and iii) not the founders, leaders or main intellectuals of their organisation. My idea was to work with grassroots teachers or lay activists of these organisations to let them rehearse their story with me 'with as little intervention as possible', as Goodson (2006, p. 17) suggests. The second phase of the design consisted of a set of three individual interviews with one member of each one of the eight organisations who met the three criteria outlined above.

Regarding the three individual interviews, each one had a specific focus. The first one was about their personal story and trajectory as teachers; the schools where they have worked, and how they got involved with the dissident organisation they belonged. At the end of this first meeting, I gave them a notebook and asked them to take as many notes as possible regarding any moments or situations when they had felt constrained or limited as a teacher in their school workplace. The focus of the second interview was on unfolding these constraining and limiting situations by following their own writing. At the end of that interview, I asked them to do a similar exercise, but regarding moments where they had felt they had gone beyond the limits we had just analysed. Thus, the third interview was focused on the possibilities of going beyond and transgressing these limits.

In each case, the interviews were recorded and I asked them to sign an informed consent form that offered them, among other things, confidentially. All their names and any other relevant information that could lead to their identification (such as the name of the schools where they had worked or were working) have been anonymised by using pseudonyms.

The way I contacted these eight teachers followed a snowballing procedure with three type of contacts: first, direct contact. Maria is the only one of the eight teachers with whom I have direct contact. I have known her since 2013. We have been working together on the campaign against standardised tests called Alto al SIMCE, fact over which I will reflect at the end of the chapter. I asked her to participate, and she was one of the first people I interviewed because I felt more confident with her. Second, through someone that gave me their contact. This is the cases of Flor, Lis, Victor, Hugo, Pedro and Jacinto, with whom I got in contact with by asking another person I knew in their organisations. Third, through someone whom I did not know, and I met in the fieldwork. Alejandra, with whom I was put in contact with, gave me Rosa's contact.

I wrote all of them an email inviting them to participate in a reflexive dialogue about their everyday work as a teacher. I positioned myself as someone critical towards the ways in which the TC imagined the elaboration of a new teacher as one being 'pigeonholed' and presented the purpose as 'to try to research and better understand the dissident perspective of teachers'. I told them the main aims of the research and that the invitation implied 'three conversations'. Finally, that, if they were interested in participating, I could meet them anywhere that suited them. The eight agreed to participate. Table 4 presents some characteristics of the grassroot dissident teachers composing the main empirical data produced in phase two.

Table 4 – Main Empirical Data Produced in Phase Two

		Age	Speciality	W.E	S.W.	J. O.	I	Day	Audio
1 **REF**	Flor	45	Music	24	5	2015	1	Apr 5	00:27:53
							2	Apr 12	00:32:13
							3	Apr 17	00:44:45
2 **MUD**	Lis	39	History	11	1	2015	1	Apr 25	01:49:25
							2	May 2	0:50:22*
							3	May 9	01:33:21
	Maria	27	Physical Edu.	2	2	2014	1	Mar 28	00:52:24
							2	Apr 4	00:57:07
							3	Apr 13	00:46:19
3 **CON**	Victor	31	History	9	2	2016	1	Apr 26	00:49:02
							2	May 3	00:58:40
							3	May 10	01:13:54
4 **CET**	Rosa	36	History	9	4	2014	1	Mar 31	01:40:48
							2	Apr 21	01:24:54
							3	May 19	01:40:18
5 **MA**									
6 **IA**	Hugo	32	History	5	4	2016	1	Mar 23	01:10:47
							2	Mar 27	00:49:21
							3	Apr 3	01:02:50
7 **AD**	Pedro	29	History	1	2	2016	1	Apr 4	00:54:32
							2	Apr 12	01:20:41
							3	Apr 18	01:01:31
8 **PRE**	Jacinto	27	Biology	2	2	2013	1	Apr 6	01:42:04
							2	Apr 13	01:47:21
							3	Apr 20	01:32:18
Mean		**33**		**8**	**3**	**2015**			**00:59:23**

The first thing to highlight is that I could not interview anyone from organisation 5 (MA). The main reason being that, for different motives, the majority of their members did not work at a school level. Therefore, and considering that organisation 2 (MUD) is the biggest organisation in terms of members, I decided to select two cases from this organisation.

The interviews were mainly conducted in April. In all cases, except with Rosa, the interviews were done with no more than a week apart. In the case of Rosa, there were around 20 days or more between each interview. Jacinto and Rosa were the only two that I interviewed in Valparaiso; the rest took place in Santiago.

The guide for the three interviews consisted of just one question asked at the beginning of each interview, and one question asked at the end of the interview.

First Interview. Being a teacher

- At the beginning: Can you tell me your story as a teacher and in which moment of this story you became a member of the dissident organisation that you are a part?
- At the end: For our next meeting, can you write down in this notebook the limits that you experience in your everyday life as a teacher?

Second Interview. The limits of being a teacher.

- At the beginning: What limits did you write down?
- At the end: For our next meeting, can you write down the ways in which you feel you have gone beyond and transgressed these limits?

Third interview. The experimentation and transgression of the limits of being a teacher

- At the beginning: What possibilities to transgress/experiment/go beyond these limits did you write down?

Lis, Maria, Victor, Rosa, Hugo and Jacinto made use of the notebooks. Flor and Pedro told me that they had used them, but they forgot to bring them with them to the interviews. The following are examples of their notebooks. As can be seen in Figure 1, some of them, such as Rosa, just wrote a small topic with a subtitle that she then expanded in the interview. In other cases, such as Hugo, he wrote with more detail about his limits and experimentations.

Figure 1 – Examples of Notebooks
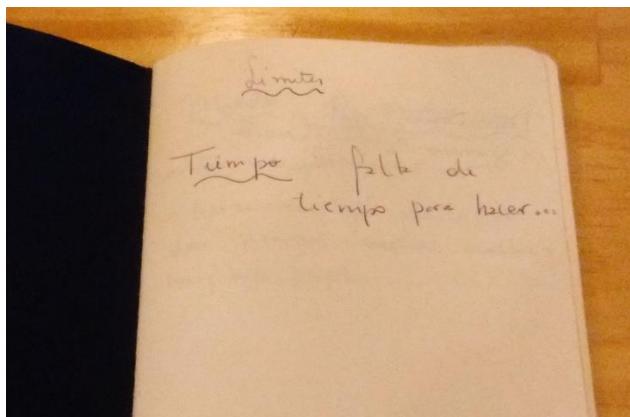
Rosa's first limit: 'Time:
the lack of time to do…'
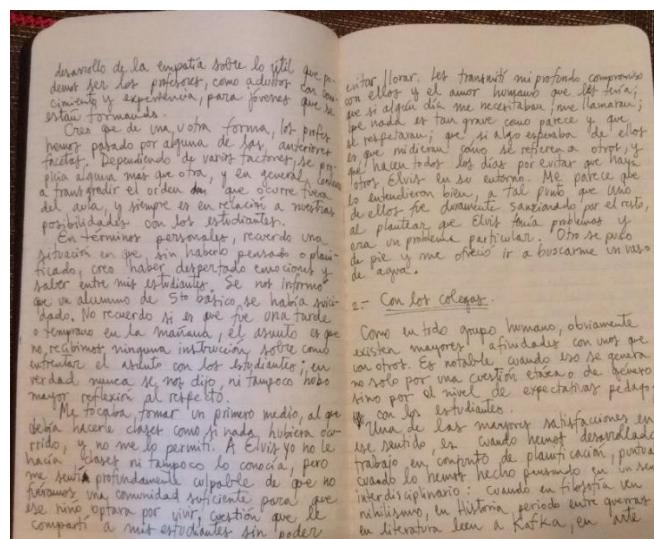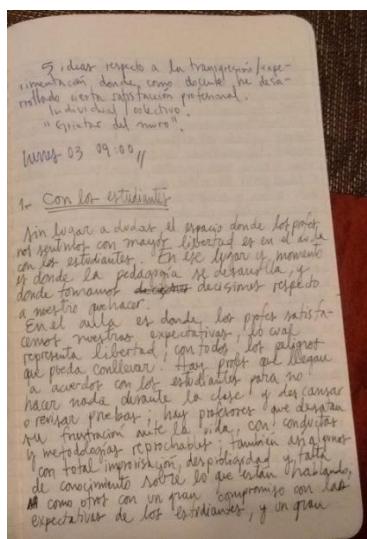
Hugo's first transgression: 'With the students'

The majority of the interviewees were born during the dictatorship years (1973-1990). A few just before or just after, as Flor, the oldest, who was born in 1972, and Maria and Jacinto, the youngest, who were born in 1990. The mean age of the eight of them is 33, which, as can be seen in Table 5, corresponds to a hypothetical person born in the middle of the 1980s. This abstract teacher subject of 33 years old was still at university for the 2006 secondary student demonstrations (21 years old), was in his/her first job experience for the 2011 university student protests (26 years old), and had around 5 years of work experience when the 2015 teachers' demonstrations took place (30 years old).

Table 5 – Age of Teachers by Year of Birth

Born	**2006**	**2011**	**2015**	**2017**	Cases
1972	34	39	43	**45**	Flor
1980	26	31	35	**37**	Lis, Rosa
1985	21	26	30	**32**	Hugo, Victor, Pedro
1989	17	22	26	**28**	Maria, Jacinto

However, in each particular case, things are different. Their years of work experience vary in each case and relates to their own story. For example, even though Victor and Rosa have the same years of work experience (W.E), they have five years of difference. This is because Rosa, as she explains, had a child and interrupted her studies. The same happens regarding the number of schools they have worked in (S.W.), having each story its own peculiarities. For example, Lis has worked for 11 years in the same school, and Hugo, with five years of experience, has worked in four different schools.

They joined their organisations (J.O.) mostly during or after the 2014/2015 teachers' demonstrations. Jacinto's case is different because PRETeC began in 2009 through an academic path, and he joined the organisation while he was still studying at university in 2013.

I sought to have a sample of four men and four women. As I have said, I asked for a man and a woman when contacting the organisation. Because I did not receive all the contacts at the same time, I was able to have in mind this criterion when inviting people to participate. I did not take into account their subject speciality as a criterion. Therefore, the fact that five out of eight are history teachers is just by chance, in the sense that I had not asked for their subject specialism beforehand. Additionally, Flor, Maria and Jacinto were music, physical education and biology teachers respectively. Even though all but Maria were trained to work at the secondary level, Flor, Rosa and Maria worked at the primary level.

The average time of an interview was 59:23 minutes. In total, I recorded 27 hours and 44 minutes of audio with this group of teachers. I only had technical problems with one interview, the second one with Lis, where the batteries of the recorder ran out, and I missed around 45 minutes of the interview. I transcribed each of these audios.

Finally, I told the eight of them that I was going to send them a 'personal narrative' as a way for them to have a document with their own story. All of them agreed to receive their 'personal narrative', on which I will expand in the next chapter.

Phase three: the workshop

The third phase consisted of one group interview with the same teachers as phase two. The purpose of this meeting was to reflect from a dissident and collective point of view about some common features about the limiting situations and experimental practices that they identified in the previous interviews. For this meeting, the idea was to bring some preliminary analysis of these common features.

The workshop took place on a Saturday morning of May in the Centre for Advanced Research in Education (CIAE) at Universidad de Chile, where I used to work. CIAE is located in the centre of Santiago, making it a convenient place to meet. Maria, Flor, Hugo and Jacinto participated in the workshop.

I divided the workshop into two main sections: limits and experimentations. For both sections, I did a preliminary analysis of the limits and experimentations that the eight of them narrated during the interviews. Using similar or the same names given by the eight of them, I organised and presented 34 limits and 27 experimentations. I wrote each limit with a red pen and each experimentation with a green one. In the end, the table looked like Figure 2.

Figure 2 – End of the Workshop Session

I sent the audio of the workshop to a third person for their transcription.

The following Table 6 summarises the empirical data produced in each phase:

Table 6 – Summary of the Empirical Data Produced

	Interviews	Recorded Audio	Transcribed by
Phase 1	10	11:00:51	Other
Phase 2	24	27:42:50	Me
Phase 3	1	02:12:44	Other
Total	**35**	**40:56:25**	

A brief reflection on my relationship with the teachers

There were both similarities and differences between the relationships I established with each of the 18 teachers I interviewed. I would like to briefly reflect on three issues: the political identity, the willingness of the teachers to participate and the act of listening. A significant similarity I felt with all the teachers I worked with was a sense of sharing a similar political identity. This similarity relates to the fact that I positioned myself as a political ally. This positionality was not a strategic decision but an exercise of speaking frankly to them about my own political engagements in this topic and my interest in the dissident teachers' organisations. One of the elements that contributed to bridging a sort of political 'we' is that I told them, when presenting myself, that I was a member of the Stop SIMCE [*Alto al SIMCE*] campaign. The campaign is critical towards the performativity regime; therefore, by presenting this aspect of myself to them, a point of identification was made. The most positive aspect of this identification, from my perspective, was that a common 'us' or 'we', the ones critical towards neoliberalism, provided a common ground that helped them to understand my work and to speak openly about their stories, their limits and their experimentations. However, I think it also introduced an important blind spot located around this sameness that implied that some things did not need to be made explicit. For example, a certain idealisation of the government of Allende, the problems of the dictatorship, and the fact that neoliberalism needed to be resisted. These topics were a sort of "given".

The second element is the willingness to participate in the research of the eight grassroots teachers. From my previous experience researching teachers' lives, I knew that asking to participate in an activity that demanded at least three hours work was to ask a lot. The decision, however, was based on the need to go beyond a description of the events about what happened in the teachers' demonstrations of 2014/2015 and to engage in a deeper reflection of the limits and possibilities to experiment created by those events. My invitation, in this sense, was to speak as dissident and organised teachers interested to share their own political view regarding their work. The field of address constructed, I think,

contributed to activating their willingness to participate. As the analytical chapters will show, these grassroots teachers do not have space in their schools or even sometimes in their organisations to speak about their own political views. In their schools, they have to be quiet and in their organisations, there are too many things to solve and do. In that sense, I think their willingness to participate was a willingness to engage in a space for reflecting and thinking about their own affairs.

The last issue relates to the act of listening, which I think enabled the space of address to become significant for the teachers. Two elements played a significant role in the relationship established with the eight grassroots teachers during the interviews. First, the fact that we met three times enabled them to reflect on their previous statement, as when Pedro argued at the beginning of the third interview: 'I have been thinking of an issue from the first interview…' and then he re-developed a topic he had already addressed but in a slightly different way. Second, the fact that I asked them one question, letting them speak with very few additional interventions. This enabled a space-time for them to elaborate themselves, which they regarded with a sense of gratefulness. After we finished the third interviews, Flor, Rosa, Lis, Victor, Pedro and Jacinto, used the word 'therapeutic' to describe what they felt in a broad sense. Lis, for example, said:

> I must say that this has been an excellent experience, because even if you don't believe it, to talk about your experience brings more calm because you see yourself in perspective, like what you are doing. That, in its way, is a contribution and it also gives you a different image about yourself within the school, like, okay, I have my objectives super clear and my feet on the ground. Like, this it is, here we go. (Lis)

On an epistemological level, I think that both the political identification and the act of listening contributed to produce a dense knowledge in relation to the problem of their subjective limits and their experimental practices. On a more ethical level, even though, to the best of my knowledge none of the eight experienced any critical change in their lives resulting from this research, I do wonder what might happen if in future research the conversation extends for six months or two years. What types of ethical problems are involved in this sort of research? How does research deal with establishing a significant degree of intimacy that can be felt by the participant as a 'therapeutic' relationship?

Chapter 6   Analytical decisions

Preliminary analysis: the personal narratives

The preliminary analysis consisted of elaborating a personal narrative for each one of the eight grassroots teachers. This work required one month approximately per case, also considering the work with the leaders' interviews and the workshop. The procedures for the eight cases consisted in:

1. Transcribing of the three audios
2. Merging and editing the three interviews into one document
3. Identifying *in vivo* codes (C. Rivas, 2012) in each case

In appendix 2 it is possible to find an exhaustive description of these three procedures.

Regarding the interviews with the leaders and the workshop, my preliminary analysis with this material was not as systematic as the one with the personal narratives. As an initial analysis, I just checked the audio with the transcriptions.

The preliminary analysis was done in the software Word 2016. The following Table 7 summarises the total corpus of data produced in this first phase of analysis: 344,680 words or 475 pages of data. This is the fundamental corpus of empirical data I used in the next phase of analysis.

Table 7 – Summary of the Fundamental Corpus of Data

	Phase 1 (Leaders)	**Phase 2 (Grassroots)**	**Phase 3 (Workshop)**	**Total**
Word count	82,470	241,389	20,821	**344,680**
Pages	114	333	29	**475**

All the work was done in Spanish. Except for the case of Rosa, for which translation I paid and then checked, all the other work of translation with both empirical and theoretical data (when I have indicated), has been done by me. It is not an exaggeration to argue that this has been one of the most challenging tasks during the analysis.

Translating is especially problematic because my analysis is focused on the connotative use of language (H. Zemelman, 2007), i.e., on the more metaphorical, suggestive, evocative or poetical use of language. Lev Vygotsky (1986), speaking about the translation of a poem of Heine into Russian, explains '[i]n German *fir* is masculine and *palm* feminine, and the poem suggests the love of a man for a woman. In Russian, both trees are feminine (…). One grammatical detail may, on occasion, change the whole purport of what is said' (p.

222). One Russian translator did an exact translation, and the other changed one of the trees for a masculine one. Vygotsky argues that the first translator is working with meaning, the second with sense. In translation, he adds, there is a first and basic 'preponderance of the *sense* of a word over its *meaning*' (p. 244), because *sense* is 'dynamic, fluid, complex, which has several zones of unequal stability. Meaning is only one of the zones of sense, the most stable and precise zone. A word acquires its sense from the context in which it appears' (p. 245).

It is its contextual sense what enriches a word and, for Vygotsky (1986), 'a word is a microcosm of human consciousness' (p. 256). The way I deal with translation was, whenever possible, to translate the *sense* of what was being said. I will exemplify by using the quote of the primary teachers I used in Chapter 1, they wrote:

> Hay que matar el dogma pedagógico, pero hay que cuidarse mucho de no crear otros. La discusión teórica debe marchar paralela a la experimentación práctica, entonces nos acordaremos de aquel refrán popular: **'otra cosa es con guitarra'** (Nuevos Rumbos, 2 de junio de 1925, in M. Zemelman & Jara, 2006, p. 66, my translation)

A translation based on meaning would read:

> We have to kill the pedagogical dogma but we have to take care a lot of not creating others. The theoretical discussion must march alongside the practical experimentation, then we will remember the popular saying: **'other thing is with guitar'**

However, in this version, one of the most evocative aspects of the quote is lost, the saying: 'otra cosa es con guitarra', which refers to the difficulties of putting into practice the things one says. Therefore, part of my work was to find, whenever was possible, sayings or metaphors or suggestive ideas that shared not only meaning but the sense of what was being expressed, in this case: 'it is easier said than done':

> We must kill the pedagogical dogma, but we must be aware of not creating new ones. The theoretical discussion must walk along with practical experimentation. Then, we will remember the saying: **'it is easier said than done'** [*otra cosa es con guitarra*].

I have added square brackets in the translations to highlight some words or sayings that are playing an important role and which sense is particularly challenging to capture.

Intensive analysis: the analytical chapters

In this section, I will present the logic behind the production of the analytical chapters. Three elements are relevant regarding the specific decisions I made to elaborate my analytical chapters: i) the guiding role of the group analysis, ii) the analysis as a big narrative composed of smaller narratives, and iii) the analytical role of long quotes.

My analysis is greatly indebted to the process of group analysis that began in June 2018. The group is composed of two Chilean PhD peers based at the IoE: Paulina Bravo and Maria José Lagos. Paulina is working on the topic of professional development of teachers of science and Maria José on the topic of subjectivity of early year's teachers, both in the Chilean context. For more than a year, we have met religiously once a week. Every week one of us leads the session by selecting a piece of their data that will be read beforehand to be discussed with the others for a period of two hours. The criterion we established was a text of a maximum of 10 pages for each meeting. However, this sometimes involved a section of an audio or a paper to discuss. In my case, in the 12 meetings in which I have had to choose something for the group (form June 2018 to May 2019), I selected the personal narratives of Rosa (4 sessions), Lis (4 sessions), Victor (2 sessions) and the Workshop (2 sessions).

The group work has been significant for my analysis for two reasons: first, it has required me to process and select my own data. The corpus of 475 pages was not only intimidating but also caused me feelings of anxiety in the sense of the desire to do justice to the complete corpus by working on it at the same depth. However, I knew from my previous experiences analysing that an important part of the analytical process involves a process of selecting the sections I was going to work with in more detail and mourning the sections I was not going to be able to engage as deeply. In that sense, the group helped me to realise that the narratives of Rosa, Lis and Victor, together with the workshop materials, were my richest pieces of data. In the cases of Rosa and Lis, because both really engaged with the conversations we had and both shared the contradictory position of being schoolteachers and union leaders of their schools, fact that I will analyse further in Chapter 9. In the case of Victor, the contrasting settings in which he had worked and the fact that he did not come from a 'militant' background, I think made his narrative a good example of the process of becoming a dissident teacher, a story that I will analyse further in Chapter 8. The workshop was an opportunity to engage with the voices of Maria, Flor, Hugo and Jacinto collectively, that I will analyse further in Chapter 7.

The second reason is that to discuss the personal narratives in the group opened for me new elements I was not seeing in the data. Because I did the transcriptions and editing of the cases, and I read them before our group meetings, I had some elements in mind that were the ones I considered the more relevant. Usually, the group acknowledged those elements, but at the same time, highlighted additional elements and further questions and interpretation were made in relation to the data. In that sense, my own reading of the data was enriched by the group meetings. For these two reasons, the four documents that I read in the group become the base of the empirical analysis of my analytical chapters. This does not mean that I did not consider, analyse and include elements of the other five personal narratives or from the interviews with the leaders, but the analysis done with these later sources was less systematic and comprehensive.

The second important decision I made was to consider the complete analysis as a single narration that is organised and composed of different smaller narrations. Here I am using in a loose way Georgakopolou's (2006) distinction between 'big' and 'small' narratives. The main idea is that the three analytical chapters, taken together, tell a story about the struggle the dissident teachers. Table 8 synthesises the broad structure of the analytical chapters.

Table 8 – Structure of the Analysis Chapters

The Dissident Teachers' Struggle

	Ch. 7 The problem of *agobio* and the bonsai teacher	**Ch. 8 Political-pedagogical dissent**	**Ch. 9 Care for one's time as a political-pedagogical teacher**
Rosa's story as a teacher	The enthusiastic and foolish Rosa (2008-2011)	The outstanding and silent Rosa (2012-2013)	The speaking and leader Rosa (2013-2017)
Empirical-theoretical analysis	The different faces of agobio	The problem of fear and the practice of self-improvement	The care for one's time to unfold political-pedagogical practices
	The pedagogy of the bonsai	The pedagogical and the political critiques	Three space-time of relationship to unfold experimental practices
Conclusion	Closing remarks	Closing remarks	Closing remarks

The broad narration is about 'The Dissident Teachers' Struggle', providing an in-depth analysis of the main elements that give sense to the activism of this particular group of Chilean teachers. Each of the three chapters provides a sort of 'smaller' clue as to how I account for their struggle. Each chapter is constructed of a mixture of 'deductive' and 'in

vivo' notions. The first is about subjective limits and is focused on the notion of 'agobio'. The second chapter is about their dissent or main critiques and is focused on the notion of 'the political-pedagogical'. The last chapter is about experimental practices and is focused on the notion of 'giving of one's time' as its focus.

There are two significant commonalities in each of the three chapters. First, each chapter begins with a fragment of Rosa's story as a teacher as a way to introduce the chapter. Rosa's story as a teacher helped me to organise the logic of the three chapters because her story illustrates in a way these three topics. Rosa's story is the most concrete way in which I conducted the analysis of the first research question: how is a dissident and organised teacher subject processing its everyday experience as a schoolteacher subject? If the reader wishes to have a sense of the story of a dissident teacher, they can read these three sections before moving to the second part of each chapter.

After Rosa's story, each chapter develops its own 'empirical-theoretical' analysis. By naming the analysis in this way, I want to highlight that the analysis is an articulation of both empirical and theoretical sources. First, each chapter introduces the main problem the chapter is trying to address. Then, it moves into a more detailed analysis of the problem. In the first chapter of analysis, I engage more directly with the second research question related to subjective limits, whereas in the third chapter with the third research question related to experimental practices. Each chapter ends with a section of closing remarks that, more than intending to be a synthesis, works as a section to raise and build up arguments in relation to the research problem and the dissident teachers' struggle.

In each chapter, I worked with different theoretical-analytical tools, which means that I do not necessarily engage with or share the deep ontological claims of the authors I am using, but I make a more strategic use of their work. The more important tools have a metaphorical-evocative component, following Zemelman's (2007) argument about the importance of the connotative language I discussed in Chapter 4. For example, in the first analytical chapter, I use the metaphor of the *pedagogy of the bonsai* which I borrow from Zemelman and Quintar's (J. Rivas, 2005) or in the last one I use Nietzsche's (2006) figures of the camel, the lion and the child. These metaphors work as what Lakoff and Johnson (2003) have called ontological metaphors, i.e., 'ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances' (p. 26). Of the different types of metaphors, which they described as cognitive tools we use to live by, the purpose of the ontological ones is to 'give us a way to referring to experience' (p. 27). In this sense, the idea of the bonsai

identifies and refers to aspects of *agobio* in a way that makes this experience more apprehensible. In the same way, the figures of the camel, the lion and the child enable me to guide and organise the multiplicity of ways in which practices of experimentation are taking place for the dissident teachers.

The third point of my analytical decisions refers to the use of long quotes as a strategy to enact the analysis in the thesis. The three analytical chapters have several long quotes, i.e., quotes above 40 characters which, following the APA quotation style, are placed in a freestanding block without quotation marks. There are three important elements to consider regarding the use of long quotes. First, I use them to enable the evocative and connotative meaning to have a major presence in the analysis. In Table 9, two extracts of analysis from Chapter 9 help me to exemplify the difference between the uses of quotes in a paragraph or as a long quote. In the first example, the quotes are articulated in such a way that it is possible, for example, to include different voices talking about a similar topic, which provides a way to create a sense that that topic is a transversal one. However, it becomes more difficult to give alternative meanings to the quotes because a sense of totality and context is lost. The context in which Flor is speaking about a 'flow of power', Lis about 'who is who' or Hugo about 'allies' and 'the need to fight' is not completely clear and the reader needs to follow my own analysis. In these cases, my analysis has compressed the context, and thereby, the evocative potential of the quotes. In the second example, the context of the voice or voices is privileged. It is a way that I have found to capture and convey the connotative meaning of language in a more subtle way. In this case, Lis' idea of the 'seduction of power' can be put in the backdrop of what it means to be a UTP, a specific invitation made by a superior, and why that invitation seems problematic to Lis.

Table 9 – Examples of Different uses of Quotes

My own articulation of pieces of quotes in the text	Long quote
Flor speaks of the importance of doing a 'mapping' to understand 'how the flow of power is moving'. Lis speaks about the importance of 'understanding who is who within the school'. Hugo speaks about finding 'some common thing in education' in order to see that 'you are not alone' and that you will 'have allies' when the time comes when 'you will need to fight'.	Besides, what means to be UTP in this school? The headteacher, it really was a **seduction of power**, she said: "your role within the school is going to change, you are not going to be any more in the teachers' room". And I didn't want to go out of the **teachers' room**! That is **my space**, it is **my containment**, there are **my friends**. When I'm sad, or I'm not well, or I'm *agobiada*, between all of us we drown our sorrows, we have a coffee and we start laughing, we take out the guitar and so on. And to be up there, with the hyenas that at the end of the day are all trying to knife each other, stabbing, like in the Roman senate, so not for me. (Lis)

The second element relates to the productive effect that a long quote has in my analysis. Long quotes do not work as mere evidence of my analysis but as productive pieces of writing in themselves. Being aware that I am present, as a researcher, in every moment of the transcription, translation, selection, and placement of a particular quote, the long quotes in my analytical chapters correspond to narrations that work not in a passive-confirmatory way but in an active-formative way. This idea enables me to treat an empirical quote similarly to a theoretical quote. Both are working in what Canales (2013) would call the 'field of sense'. The process of sense-making, as Phoenix (2008) argues, is relevant to analyse 'why particular accounts are produced in particular ways' (p. 76). Long quotes are used as analytical tools to make sense of my own arguments and, however, they have their own productive effect beyond what I am trying to suggest or evoke. There is an excess of meaning in the long quotes not being captured by my analysis. By using the long quotes, I am inviting this excess of meaning to expand its connotative potential in the analysis.

There are at least two potential disadvantages of working in this way that I want to signal: first, the reader is subjected to reading long quotes that usually are signified as 'raw data', and therefore might be read as less attractive than the supporting analysis. I want to argue that the stories captured in the long quotes are not mere raw data, but they are making-sense analytical quotes. The second is that I put particular emphasis on the analysis on the connotative, metaphorical and poetical elements of the long quotes. The problem with connotative language is, as Zemelman (2007) states, that what 'is privileged is suggesting, evoking, or imagining contours'; therefore the arguments sometimes can become loose and not entirely clear. I have tried to work parsimoniously in order to maintain a balance between the clarity of the arguments without fixing the connotative language I want to highlight.

In order to do this, and this is the third element of the use of long quotes, I used bold in each long quotation as a way to specify where I am focusing my analysis, as can be seen in long quote of Lis referred in Table 9. In that particular quote, my emphasis is placed in the 'seduction of power' that is trying to disrupt Lis' presence in the 'teachers' room' as 'my space', 'my containment', 'my friends'. However, I do not address the more subtle elements of what takes place in the teachers' room that are evoked with the idea of 'I'm sad' or 'we have a coffee' or how Lis pictures the work with the managers as like working among 'hyenas', 'all trying to knife each other', 'like in the roman senate'. In this sense, the tool of highlighting in bold the quotes indicates to the reader the specific aspects I am focusing on.

PART THREE – THE DISSIDENT TEACHERS' STRUGGLE

Chapter 7   The problem of *agobio* and the bonsai teacher

This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the problem of *agobio* as a specific and original way in which teachers give a name to their current subjective state as workers within the long-established neoliberal school system of Chile. *Agobio* is the overarching notion formulated by teachers in the heat of the 2014/2015 demonstrations to designate the effect that a diverse set of practices that *limit* their everyday work has on themselves and their profession. Following Foucault (1997b), I argue that 'at the root' (p. 118) of *agobio*, there is a general form of problematising both teachers and their practice. To analyse this form of power I build on Zemelman and Quintar's (J. Rivas, 2005) notion of a *pedagogy of the bonsai* to describe three main strategies through which this specific pedagogy works: i) the control and regulation of teachers' time, ii) the management and guidance of teachers' practices, and iii) the harming of teachers' creativity. This specific form of power has both a productive and repressive force that, above all, enacts a permanent sensation of *lack* of time in teachers. This form of power is at the heart of the problem of *agobio* fabricating a lack of time to unfold a practice of self-formation. The next segment of Rosa's personal story as a teacher helps illustrate some of the difficulties faced by someone who wants to fight against this form of power.

The enthusiastic and foolish Rosa (2008 - 2011)

Rosa is 36 years old. She comes from a working-class and left-wing family. Her family was one of those that supported the Government of Salvador Allende (1970-1973) and, for that reason, suffered political persecution during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990). Rosa is the first member of her family to attend university. She was involved in political activities at the University and, as she explained, 'after leaving, I got pregnant'.

In 2008, she started working in a public secondary school. She was 27 by then.

> It was hard because the teachers were set in their ways. So, when you're new and especially when **you're new with lots of drive and enthusiasm** to do things, that throws the teachers' status quo off balance a bit. Like, for example, none of the teachers liked innovating or doing more than they had to. (…)[7] So, I had problems with the teachers, especially the history ones. There were two of them. They made my life hard, they made my life hell. In that school, I felt it was an obligation to get involved in the Union. (…) So, from the beginning, **I was always involved**. I used

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[7] For all the quotes of my data, the ellipsis with parenthesis means that I have cut the quote and the ellipsis without parenthesis follows the speech of the person quoted.

to go to the meetings even though I wasn't a union leader, I took part in strikes, I… the strikes in 2008 were against the General Education Law that year. And that **was enough for them to throw me out** of that secondary school. Straight away. There were also things I didn't know, that I had to experience to understand. **You can't arrive wanting to change the world straight away in one place**. I was new, full of enthusiasm for new things and saying, "No, you're wrong, it's not like that". **I was wrong**. And **the teachers never accepted me**.

Rosa said these words in the first 10 minutes of our first interview, the one about her story as a teacher. They are her first words regarding her work as a teacher after speaking about her childhood and university experience. She describes herself as being 'new with lots of drive and enthusiasm to do things', as feeling that 'it was an obligation to get involved in the Union', and needing to say to her colleagues 'No, you're wrong, it's not like that'. This way of being 'was enough for them to throw me out' and produced a difficult relationship with her colleagues because they 'never accepted' her. She made a sort of general reflection of her way of being that expresses a subjective change: 'There were also things I didn't know, that I had to experience to understand. You can't arrive wanting to change the world straight away in one place' together with 'I was wrong'.

Rosa's two following teaching experiences are useful to specify what she meant by 'I was wrong'. After losing her first job as a teacher, Rosa was unemployed for the whole of 2009. In 2010, she found work in two very different schools; one was a private subsidised adult learning centre, the other a public secondary school. Regarding the private owners, Rosa says that they were:

> shamelessly cashing in. (…) March ended, and we didn't get paid. March ended, and we didn't have a register, we didn't have a projector, or a whiteboard, absolutely nothing. (…) **I sued them** through the Employment Tribunal [ET]. We met, nobody wanted to be there. **I went to the ET on my own to make my claim.** (…) I reported all these things. I reported them; I went to the ET. I reported everything. **They fired me.** They fired me because I was the one who had reported everything. Everyone supported me, said "yes, yes", but **I was the one who reported everything**. So, **it had to be me**.

Rosa sees her first years as a teacher as being someone who felt as a personal duty to be an activist, 'I felt it was an obligation to get involved in the Union', 'I was always involved', 'I sued them', 'I reported everything', 'I went to the ET on my own to make my claim', 'it had to be me'. Rosa felt as a duty to act against what she considered unjust and unfair. In her narration, this attitude is related to being fired twice and to having relationships with her colleagues either of conflict: 'they made my life hell', or a kind of distant engagement with her: 'nobody wanted to be there', 'everyone supported me, said "yes, yes", but I was the one'.

Regarding her job at the public school, the headteacher, who was a left-wing union leader and a friend, offered her some hours doing extra-curricular activities. There she became a good friend of an older colleague who became 'my tutor':

> We started to work together and to do some things together at the secondary school, and the headteacher didn't like that, especially when **the student protests started in 2011,** when they took over the schools, and **we started to take part in them too**. So, in the teachers' meetings, we suggested that we should support the students, take part in the occupations, run workshops for the kids, try and help organise things so that they weren't just occupying the schools for no reason. Giving the protests a political sense that had to be worked on. **Getting involved**. We couldn't just look at the protests and watch what was happening.

The students' protests of 2011, as I have already mentioned, were the most vigorous social demonstrations since 1990 in Chile. For Rosa, working in a school where the headteacher was also from the left, the urge of 'getting involved', 'take part' because something 'had to be worked', was felt more than ever. It was difficult to just 'look' and 'watch' the protest. It was in this intense context of demonstration that Rosa put into question her own attitude.

> So, there were internal discussions at the teachers' meetings, because nobody wanted to, he [the headteacher] didn't want to. **We were the minority** (…) at some point, the option of going into the school won out. We took advantage, went in, drew up a calendar of activities, cinema, I gave yoga classes, but the girls weren't particularly motivated by the occupation itself. (…) Because the girls weren't really interested in politics at all… it's something worth analysing, their hearts weren't really in the political movement. And, during one of these discussions, they decided that we shouldn't go into the occupied school anymore (…). The vote was held, the occupation ended. And the next day we entered into basically what was **a confrontation**, in a manner of speaking, **with the school leaders** and a group of well-off and privileged teachers. I started feeling uncomfortable (…) the headteacher started **denying** me the chance for further studies, to go to seminars, even though I was working on certification. **Obstacles**. I went to talk to him directly because we were supposed to have been friends at one point (…). I went to his office to stand up to him, and I said, "Hey, what's going on?" He said, "No, it's just that the teachers…" and **he played the victim.** I said "you're wrong because…" I'm really unemotional and that's when I realised **I'd made a fool of myself** [*ahí yo me di cuenta que hice el ridículo*], because when March came around, he started to put obstacles in my way so I couldn't do anything and that's when the chance arose to come and teach where I am now.

In the 2011 context Rosa felt it was important to 'get involved' and give to 'the protest a political sense' but not only her boss, friend and comrade, the headteacher, 'didn't like that', but also the students' hearts 'weren't really in the political movement'. This was not a private school with owners 'shamelessly cashing in', it was a public secondary school run by a friend and comrade. The unsettling feeling was that, like in her previous experiences,

she ended the year with obstacles. So when she went to the headteacher' office 'to stand up' and explain to him 'You're wrong because…', something different happened this time: 'I'm really unemotional and that's when I realised I'd made a fool of myself'. Somehow, she felt the headteacher was playing the role of the 'victim' and, in that stage, she was performing a 'foolish' character. Rosa needed to change something in her own ways of doing things. This time, 'when the chance arose', instead of being fired, she just left the school.

The different faces of *agobio*

One of the significant assumptions I had when working with dissident and organised teachers was that if I asked them about what limits, in a broad sense, they faced in their everyday work, they would identify and describe really significant features of their professional lives. In my mind, if one dedicates time and energy to change something, as the dissident teachers do, regardless of one's success, one starts to distinguish what can from what cannot be changed. Someone who spoke about this was Maria:

> I think there are limits that you cannot go through. Even more, if you confront them, I think that you can create enemies. For me, my current idea is that there are some things that I'm not going to confront in the school because it means generating enemies who are going to stop listening to you when you want to say something about what you really want to contest. It's to burn yourself. So, in front of those limits, **you need to decide which ones are the battles that you can fight**. (Maria)

The example that Maria gave was that in her school the 'mature teachers' always used the same place in the teachers' room. For her, that was not fair for a couple of reasons, but it was a limit she chose not to confront. This limit was related to, as she puts it, the 'school culture. If I try to fight that, it would be a tough battle' and her 'mature colleagues' would probably turn against her.

Which ones are, from the dissident teachers, the set of thick limits that you 'cannot go through' easily but that 'you need to decide' to battle? The 34 limits I presented in the workshop are useful to get a sense of these thick limits. In a broad sense, I presented them moving from the macro to the micro. First, 'the more macro limits', as I called them, were the curriculum, the textbook, the standardised tests (mainly SIMCE and the University Selection Test or PSU), the problems of competition for students in a market system promoted by policies like the voucher and the excess of the overload in work.

Second, 'we are entering into the school culture', as I said, 'from above, from the managers'. Here the main limits were an institutionalised and naturalised school culture; the absence of a pedagogical reflection and critique in this culture; the difficulty of initiating discussions and organising yourself in the school; the difficulties involved in balancing the role of teacher and that of union member; some stories of problems with colleagues and managers; the difficulties of tracing the invisible networks of power within the school culture; and finally, the snitches or toads, referring to those teachers or managers who are informal informant working for the managers.

Third, 'the world of your colleagues', as I said, were limits related to the pro-system vision of their colleagues, for example, being consumerist, paternalist and sexist; the competition between colleagues; their lack of motivation and enthusiasm, together with a resistance to change; feelings of isolation and the lack of teamwork; physical and emotional attrition; the constant fear to everything of their colleagues; the impossibility of speaking their mind and being emotional; the feeling of abandonment [*desamparo*]; and the recurring idea of quitting the profession and giving up being a teacher.

Fourth, limits related to the relationship with students and the physical space. For example, the contempt and discrimination towards students; the fact they had to work only on the academic and disciplinary side of teaching with the student and not going beyond; the problem that students learnt everything separately; or the concern that sometimes students can be really hard on them; the excess of noise, dirt and not having the proper working materials.

As the fifth group of limits, I said 'these ones are mentioned as a *lack of*, they are very concrete but also a little bit more abstract', referring to the lack of physical space to work and rest; the lack of resources; to feeling a deficiency in your own competences; and the lack of time and autonomy.

After presenting each limit, I asked them 'What does seeing these limits displayed like this evoke for you?', adding 'I feel that a school is being configured here, that every school has a few of these limits'. Maria mentioned that, for her, 'I think these are all limits that we live, it's really complete. (…) Looking at it carefully, I think that one thing that is missing is our relationship with parents and families, I feel that hasn't appeared'. After talking for a while about families, other limits were mentioned. For example, the 'social limit', referring to the everyday difficulties families face in order to live their lives in a neoliberal context. Other limits mentioned were more concrete such us 'being a lead teacher', referring to problems

like the lack of guidance on how to engage in this particular relationship with their students. Then I asked them 'If you had to put a name to this school, what name comes to your mind?'

- 'The everyday school, for me this is like the quotidian school' –said Maria
- 'This would be a technical or traditional model of teaching' –said Jacinto
- 'I have the feeling that schools are like the industries of the nineteenth-century, like spaces where contradictions are revealed, where a *being* exists that can produce class subjects' –said Hugo
- 'It is through the school system that different paradigms are conveyed. **We** are not the more powerful; therefore, we will always have to fight against the current and more now, I think, when **they** have noticed the power we have as teachers, so [as they say] "you have to try to keep them more pigeonholed". As a matter of fact, we have been pigeonholed!' –said Flor, connecting the conversation with the conjuncture of the 2014/2015 demonstrations ('they have noticed the power we have') and the new Teacher's Career ('we have been pigeonholed!').

These limits evoke an 'everyday school' that is 'technified' and full of contradiction. A school where a *we*, the teachers and a *they*, in this case the policymakers, can be distinguished. A *we* that is being pigeonholed by a complex system of policies and practices. Figure 3 has 34 lines symbolising this set of limits:

Figure 3 – 34 Limits
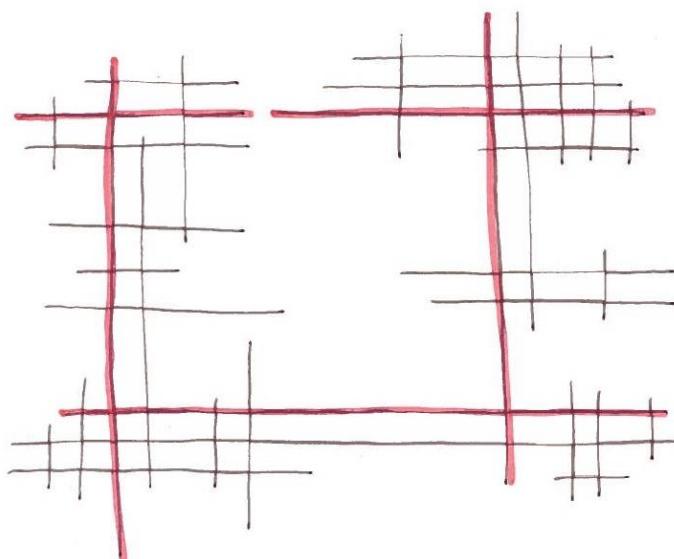
34 limits is an arbitrary number that is going to change depending on how the inquiries about limits are identified and grouped. The point is that working as a teacher in a school means to work in a highly constrained job. This working experience is the starting point to connect with the notion of *agobio*. As I have described in the first part of the thesis, teachers

were an absent subject in the 2006 and 2011 students' demonstration (Cornejo & Insunza, 2013). I asked Javier Insunza, who wrote the article quoted and leader of the dissident teachers' organisation CON (see Table 2), for his thoughts about the problem of this 'absence' after the 2014/2015 teacher's movement. He said:

> I think many residues of that 'absence' are still there, but the emergence of a subject happened. The problem is that, I think, **this subject still needs content**, needs to continue its construction. Because, for years, **a structural hit to the identity of this subject** took place, so it's difficult to reconstruct it. But that emergence is without a doubt a fact. (…). What we see as Organization is the incipient emergence of a teacher's subject who can define itself as **a political-pedagogical actor on the educational debate**. (Javier)

A subject that 'still needs content' is a subject that is still not filled by denotative language (H. Zemelman, 2007). The broad category of thought grounding this emergent subject is the notion of 'a political-pedagogical actor', which is the main focus of the next chapter. Here, the focus is placed on the 2014/2015 teachers' movement as a socio-political movement acting as, following Foucault (1997b), a key 'instigating' factor of a specific 'domain of action' or 'behaviour', i.e., teacher's everyday work. This movement contributed to making teacher's work 'uncertain', to 'lose its familiarity' and 'provoked a certain number of difficulties around it' (p. 117). Teachers' everyday work entered to 'the field of thought' as a possibility of 'freedom in relation to what one does' (p. 117). The dissident teachers were an 'original or specific response – often taking many forms, sometimes even contradictory in its different aspects – to these difficulties' (p. 117).

I have described in Chapter 2 other types of responses to the difficulties teachers' face in their everyday work that the Chilean literature has reported such as critical disaffection (Pardo, 2013); a submissive attitude (Rojas & Leyton, 2014); absence in the education debate (Cornejo & Insunza, 2013); burn out (Foladori, 2007; P. Guerrero, 2008); attrition and 40% leaving teaching by the end of their 5th year (Avalos & Valenzuela, 2016; Gaete et al., 2017); silence in the teachers' meetings (Acuña et al., 2019), among others. In this sense, the dissident teachers are just one possible response to the difficulties within the field of experience of teaching. As Foucault (1997b) explains, 'to one single set of difficulties, several response can be made', adding that the problem is to understand what makes these responses 'simultaneously possible: it is the point in which their simultaneity is rooted; it is the soil that can nourish them all in their diversity and sometimes in spite of their contradictions' (p. 118). As I have argued, the point is 'to rediscover at the root of

these diverse solutions the general form of problematization that has made them possible' (p. 118).

The Chilean teachers named the 'soil that can nourish' both attrition, burn out and a submissive attitude together with a critical, dissident and organised attitude around the problem of the everyday practices of teachers as *agobio*. *Agobio* had the potentiality to develop 'a given into a question', transforming 'a group of obstacles and difficulties into problems to which the diverse solutions will attempt to produce a response' (Foucault, 1997b, p. 118). However, the problem is to rediscover what is 'at the root' of these diverse practical solutions, which is the shared form of problematisation that enacts *agobio*. Therefore, it can be argued that it is not possible to understand both the dissident teachers and the 2014/2015 teachers' demonstrations without *agobio* but, at the same time, the problem is not just about *agobio*. *Agobio* as a 'soil that can nourish' is productive of several responses and practices. However, *agobio* also works as a notion that can limit or obstruct the analysis of a general form of problematisation. *Agobio* acts as a generative theme that, as Freire (2005) states, both contain and is contained in limit-situations. As Javier puts it, *agobio* is a 'friendly-enemy' or a 'double-edged sword':

> The configuration of the dissident teachers is *agobio*. If we do an Open Space exercise, "tell me why you are here?", and then we make groups, we will have 80 papers with *agobio* and one that says 'an alternative education'. (…) Our reading is that **_agobio_ is a super relevant space of recognition of teachers work, of precarious dimensions of the teaching work** and, undoubtedly, has been key to explaining much of the teaching movement, especially the one at the end of 2014. However, politically, we read it as **a 'friendly-enemy' or a 'dangerous ally'.** It is **a double-edged sword** because it's defined by **victimisation**. For us, defining ourselves as victims is very dangerous, because the teachers' movement since the 1990s has been defined from the point of view of victimisation: 'we, the poor teachers who don't earn money', 'the poor teachers that need to have a bonus', 'the poor teachers that are hit by parents'. That's deeply settled in. That's the definition of today's teacher. But, if our historical task is this, it also has to do with **detaching from victimisation**. This does not mean abandoning the objective and subjective state of precarity of teachers' work. It's a good **nucleus of articulation**, but it's a dangerous friend, a double-edged sword, which **can be a good pivot, but it cannot be the end**. That is what we read and try to overcome. But without a doubt, it explains with great force the 2014 movement, and it was only because of the context of the new TC policy that other contents were discussed in the 2015 mobilisation, making that movement one with more content, but, undoubtedly, the **most genuine motivation** is *agobio*. (Javier)

Agobio, as a 'soil that nourishes', is a 'space of recognition of teachers work, of precarious dimensions of teaching work'. For this same reason, *agobio* can limit or obstruct the analysis of a general form of problematisation because of the identification it produces with the

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historical position of teachers as victims: 'we, the poor teachers that suffer agobio'. It is in this sense that the 'historical task', as Foucault (1997b) argues, is 'to rediscover at the root of these diverse solutions the general form of problematization'.

I think that a contribution to moving beyond the identification of teachers as victims and a possible way to name the general form of problematisation 'at the root' of *agobio* can be made building on the notion of a *pedagogy of the bonsai*. The notion was developed in a dialogue between the Chilean sociologist Hugo Zemelman and the Argentinian teacher Estela Quintar (J. Rivas, 2005). They do not elaborate in depth the notion but use it to try to make sense of how teachers are being shaped in the neoliberal educational context of South America. As Quintar states, 'to make a bonsai you need to manipulate with plenty of "care", plenty of "love", and a lot of "sweetness" the taproot of what could become a large tree' (p. 11, mt). As Lakoff and Johnson (2003) argue, a metaphorical concept 'will necessarily hide other aspects of the concept' (p. 10). Therefore, seems necessary to clarify which is the central aspect that I would like to highlight by referring to the process of growing a *bonsai* as the general form of problematisation 'at the root' of *agobio*.

The cultivation of a *bonsai* implies a process of fabricating a small tree. I relate this process with how Foucault (1995) describes power as productive instead of repressive, where the individual is 'a reality fabricated' (p. 194). Foucault (1978) adds that power is a 'multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization' (p. 92). These force relations are 'unbalances, heterogeneous, unstable, and tense' (p. 93). A productive network of force relations is the main idea I am trying to bring forward. In this sense, the elaboration of a *bonsai* subject implies a strategic field of power relations where a particular kind of subject is produced. However, and this is the emphasis I want to stress, this productive form of power, in relation to teachers, fabricates a teacher subject which main experience as a teacher is *agobio*, that is, a lack of delight in their own way of being a teacher. The *pedagogy of the bonsai* puts in motion a productive form of power that cultivates an experience of negativity. This is the sense that the *pedagogy of the bonsai* captures with the idea that it is necessary to manipulate with 'care' and 'love' the roots system (a network of force relations) of what could become a large tree in order to cultivate (productive form) a 'small' tree (negative form).

However, a hidden side of this metaphor is that it implies a 'grower' or gardener as an actor with plans and intentions manipulating the network of force relations. This is not the case in the formation of a neoliberal teacher subject. As I have argued in Chapter 2, the

formation of a neoliberal teacher subject is based on a complex and diverse set of 'migratory technology of governing that interacts with situated sets of elements and circumstances' (Ong, 2007, p. 5). Therefore, when thinking on a gardener or a grower, I am thinking of force relations. As Foucault (1978) suggest in relation to Machiavelli, he was indeed 'among the few (…) who conceived the power of the Prince in terms of force relations, perhaps we need to go one step further, do without the persona of the Prince, and decipher power mechanisms on the basis of a strategy that is immanent in force relationships'. *Pedagogy of the bonsai* is a way of naming a hegemonic strategy in the field of force relationship where teachers work.

Zemelman and Quintar (J. Rivas, 2005) are precisely trying to give sense to the formation of teachers in the neoliberal regime. For them, the core element in the cultivation of *bonsais* is manipulating the roots of plants and, as they put it, in the education field, the root is *thought*. *Thought*, as I argued in Chapter 4, means for Foucault (1997b) the possibility to step back and detach oneself of one's own way of acting or reacting, making of one's practice a problem susceptible to critical reflection. 'Thought is freedom in relation to what one does' (p. 117) says Foucault. For Zemelman and Quintar (J. Rivas, 2005), to manipulate the root of *thought* in the educational field is more than a pedagogical problem, it is a political one. They explain that a given social order works by shaping an *ad hoc* subjectivity, i.e., a particular way of acting and reacting, a mode of being and behaving. Therefore, when they speak about a *pedagogy of the bonsai*, they speak, as Quintar puts it, about shaping a 'minimal subject'

> by trimming with "care" and "love" the taproot of thought and the potentialities of the subject. If from a given social order I am carefully trimming the ability to think, to imagine, to relate with reality, with what is happening, seeing what can be done with what is happening (not to be sorry about or to establish never-ending diagnosis, but to see what can be done), a pedagogy of the potential is needed. (p. 127, mt).

'Trimming the ability to think' implies a way of governing teachers where it is difficult to step back and detach from their ways of acting and reacting in order to relate with their reality. It is not possible to detach from who one is in a given order to establish 'what one does' as an object and reflect 'on it as a problem' as Foucault (1997b) argues. This particular pedagogy captures well the elaboration of the teacher subject described by the diverse set of limits the dissident teachers describe. For this reason, I consider it is a pertinent way to name the general form of problematisation that is 'at the root' of *agobio*. Figure 4 symbolises this general form of problematisation:

Figure 4 – The Pedagogy of the Bonsai as a General Form of Problematisation
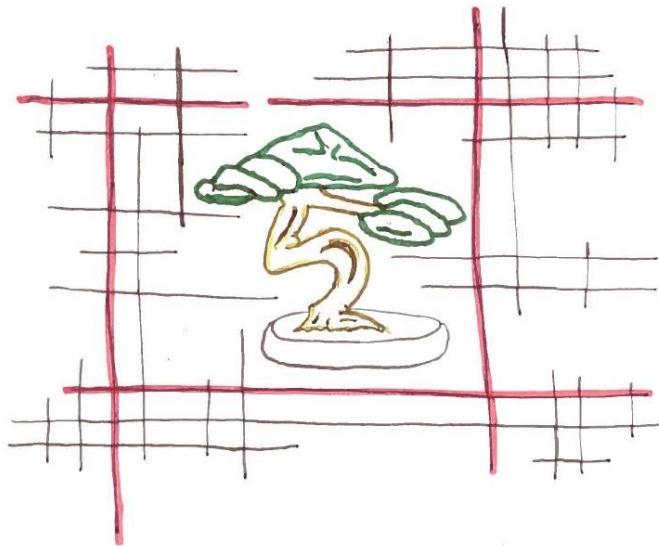
Pedro, Lis and Rosa, respectively, identified as major limits the following characteristics among their colleagues that are useful to describe some features of a *bonsai* teacher: 'Your colleagues are like automatized', 'Regretfully, our colleagues are like defeated', 'The motivation of teachers: it's hard work to motivate them'. Pedro said that whenever he arrived at teachers' meetings with new ideas, his colleagues did not consider them. Adding:

> They are like **automatized** in the system. I think this is one of the bloody risks you face. You **enter**, and if you don't get out quick because you are bored, you have two options: or you are part of the system like **a cog in the machine**, and, unfortunately, you continue to be **functional** and teachers usually adopt this attitude of **complete apathy**, a sort of 'OK, I don't care' kind of teacher, **becoming a robot without a heart**. (…) You **become an automatized teacher**, and **you remain there in an inert way**, **still demanding but not doing anything**. Or, on the other side, you organise yourself. If you organise, great, supposedly you have the hope to be able to achieve something. But it's complicated because, according to the figures, after five years teachers leave, they leave their professional labour, and it's a high percentage of the teachers who retire from the educational system. And it's easy to understand. (Pedro)

Pedro presents a dual scenario for teachers: on the one hand, they can be dissident teachers like him, who believe in the need to organise themselves and, supposedly, have hope. On the other hand, the *bonsai* teacher, who is described as 'a cog in the machine', with an 'attitude of complete apathy', 'becoming a robot without a heart', 'an automatized teacher', 'inert', 'still demanding but not doing anything'. It is the elaboration of a teacher who might protest for something but who experiences their everyday work with disaffection. The problem of being this second type of teacher, as Lis suggests, is that one's ethics is being

constructed from some place one is not *thinking* of. She is trying to make sense of why SIMCE is such a strong barrier:

> My colleagues are **defeated**. That is my reflection. (…) They are in such a precarious situation that, in the end, it's like 'OK, it's bad, **anti-ethical to pressure students for their results**, but let's do it, in the end, we are talking about 300 extra quid'. And it's not less, 300 quid. So, who is willing to lose 300 quid? But for some, I think it's **just apathy**. Others, I think, they see that they have **lost the battle**; others, to be honest, for **selfishness**, something more related to their **ethics**, I think. Your convictions. (…) I'm convinced, I think it's worth it, but the exhaustion and to be alone over there is difficult because it means that you take on battles from every flank. (…) So my problem is, **in which battle** I spend my energies? (Lis)

Lis is voicing similar discomforts that Maguire, Braun and Ball (2018) described union reps have concerning their colleagues, for example, to be more worried about one's career than of the pedagogical and ethical implication of certain policies. The problem is that there are too many discomforts and limits. For that reason, Lis, as Maria, asks in which battles to use her 'energies'. She offers a set of possibilities of why a teacher would choose to pressure their students in order to gain some extra money: apathy, being defeated or selfishness. These possibilities illustrate the productive form of power of a minimal teacher subject. The *pedagogy of the bonsai* enables different possibilities for teachers to choose a small way of being a teacher, for example, 'to pressure students for their results'. Rosa, speaking about the motivation of her colleagues as a limit, complains that they do not show any motivation to get involved to fight for their own wellbeing, for example, by getting involved in union work:

> The convenience of better not to do anything. That's really **frustrating** as well. It limits constructing your own projects, making an educational community, building learning together, and fighting for dignity. It's really **frustrating** to see a group of teachers with **no motivation**. I've been at this school for six years and this is like the fourth year I've been the rep because no one else wants to be it. It's almost by decree because the other day we held elections for the union council and they suggested, "Rosa", "Who else?" (Rosa)

Rosa feels her colleagues worry only about 'what is theirs, their piece of land, their room, their family and don't see beyond that. They don't see the *us*. They don't see the union. They don't say, "*We*, the teachers."' Even more, Rosa claims that, if they can get individual privileges like more hours to plan their classes or a better timetable, they take them at the expense of their colleagues, again relating their practices to an individual career-enhancing ethics (Maguire et al., 2018) proper of an economic subject who peruses its own interests

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(Foucault, 2008). These colleagues are the most controversial for her. The majority simply do not have the time to get involved in union work:

> In other words, everyone else is going to support you. They're going to support you. What happens is that doing the job, they're not going to do it. Because that means **taking time out**, **taking time out** from doing your own thing. It means **putting time aside**. It means **giving of your free time**, your nap, it means, I don't know, **using the time** you were going to use to mark a test or go to a meeting. It's **a cost** that the majority are not willing to pay. (Rosa)

To think of time as a lack, as I am going to analyse, is one of the main effects of the *pedagogy of the bonsai*. Teachers feel that time is scarce and that they do not have enough time to live their lives; therefore, to be a rep is out of the question. One of the emblematic ways in which this problem was elaborated during the 2014/2015 demonstrations was by the motto "The walking teacher. A teacher in Chile is a zombie. It does not have a life". Adding "No more *agobio*", as can be seen in Figures 5 and 6:

Figure 5 – Teachers' march 2014

Figure 6 – Teachers' march 2015

Source: Almarza (2014, Nov 18)

Source: Sardou (2015, Jul 28)

Another example, as seen in Figure 7, took place in the city centre of Victoria, a city located in the South of the country, where a group of teachers danced the song of Michael Jackson, *Thriller*, arguing: 'Because *agobio* leaves us like zombies'.

Figure 7 – Teacher Protest in Victoria 2014

Source: Soychile.cl (2014, Nov 26)

Agobio, as a category of analysis, enables the inclusion of the 34 limits that Maria described as configuring the 'everyday school' of teachers. The *pedagogy of the bonsai* enables the analysis of a form of power dwelling 'at the root' of *agobio*, which shapes a teacher to the point of 'becoming a robot without a heart', as Victor puts it. It is the production of a way of living the teaching profession in a way that leaves the person in the paradoxical state of being neither dead nor alive, the main characteristic of a zombie.

The pedagogy of the bonsai

According to the online etymology dictionary, *pedagogy* comes from *pedo*, i.e., 'boy, child' and *agein*, i.e., 'to lead'. A *pedagogue* is someone who leads the children. In what follows, I want to highlight three main ways in which the *pedagogy of the bonsai* works. Therefore, these are three ways of leading teachers to become small and contained in their way of being teachers. The argument is that *agobio* is rooted in these three ways in which a *pedagogy of the bonsai* is enacted. This does not mean that other ways do not exist, but that from the point of view of the teachers I worked with, these three ways are necessary for this pedagogy to work.

Trimming the root system: controlling teachers' time

The most important steps to grow a bonsai is to trim the roots: 'If their growth is not adequately controlled, bonsai trees can easily outgrow their containers. To ensure your bonsai tree remains manageable and tidy, prune its roots when you pot it'; 'Make sure that

you occasionally trim back the root system of the tree to prevent it from growing too vigorously', can be read in the website *wikiHow*[8].

The *pedagogy of the bonsai* works using a regulatory strategy. The behaviour of a teacher within the classroom can be thought of as the container within which a person working as a teacher is subjected to this particular pedagogy. This pedagogy works by regulating the 'growth' of the teacher. The teacher's 'vigour' is controlled and the primary way in which the *pedagogy of the bonsai* ensures that teachers remain manageable and tidy is by controlling their time. The problem of time can be seen in Figure 8, one of the pamphlets that went viral during the spontaneous mobilisation of 2014 trying to explain easily the reasons why a teacher should go on strike. In it, it asked:

Figure 8 – Stop Agobio Pamphlets 2014

Reasons why a teacher should go on strike
WOULD YOU WORK FOR FREE?

A teacher must know their students, plan their classes, evaluate
themselves, look for teaching materials, elaborate worksheets,
prepare and check tests. All of this out of their official labour
time, in other words, taking **"work for home"**. But, as a day only
has 24 hours, of which eight are used doing classes, they must
work overnight, on holidays and weekends.
SO, WHEN TO SHARE TIME WITH THEIR FAMILY?'
This is part of what we are asking…
STOP AGOBIO
50% of time teaching and 50% to prepare them better

Source: @Arpellot (2014, Nov 23) [Twitter Post]

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[8] The information on how to manipulate a bonsai of this chapter is taken from these three articles: www.wikihow.com/Trim-a-Bonsai;   www.wikihow.com/Start-a-Bonsai-Tree; www.wikihow.com/Grow-and-Care-for-a-Bonsai-Tree, visited in 2018.

Agobio is deeply connected with the problem of time. The diverse set of activities described in the pamphlet not only implies that time at work becomes scarce, but also that work enters into the realm of 'home'. The activities teachers are expected to carry out put forward the question: when do teachers share time with their families? Lack of time is one of the most critical limits mentioned by all the dissident teachers I worked with. Five of them wrote about it in their notebooks: for Rosa, Flor and Pedro it was their first limit, 'Time: the lack of time to do'; 'I don't decide about my time'; and 'The curriculum, the type of evaluations and the hourly load: three structural elements', respectively. Lis wrote about time as her third limit 'The *agobio* and lack of time', and Victor's seventh limit was 'The workday is too long'.

Rosa only wrote 'Time: the lack of time to do…'. In our second interview, she began speaking in a quite fluent and free associative way about these words. I think her account of the problem of time captures the multiple forces of relations that are producing the experience of *agobio*. I quote extensively and ask the reader to pay attention in how, by reflecting on these multiple forces related to the lack of time, Rosa changes the notion of a lack of time *to do* to a lack of time *to be*.

> The first limit I wrote down was time. <u>It's time</u>. It's the lack of time. The lack of time that teachers have in general, people in general. That actually marks **the normal life of a person**, because you're **always in debt** in that sense. In **debt** in all senses of the word, for example, at home, in debt with your family, in debt with your colleagues, in debt with your children at school, you end up owing your bosses, you end up owing everyone. Your own personal projects, everything… your political, ideological development, you don't have time to read. So, that's a limit and it's a **shame**, it **annoys me**. **I think there are too few hours in the day**. Like it should have, I don't know, that it should have 36 hours not 24 because there's **not enough time**. I get up at ten to six every day and I go to bed, the earliest I go to bed is at midnight. From Monday to Friday. And all day I'm doing stuff, **I don't stop or have a break**. In fact, weekends are for meetings, for going to the supermarket, buying fruit and vegetables, getting stuff ready for the week ahead. Or they're for working, I don't know, my family's in Santiago and I have to travel there regularly because my nephew has got cancer and we're doing things to raise money for him. So, when I travel to Santiago, it's to go and take part in these activities, to keep working. So, it's like… <u>and time</u>… I get back from Santiago on a **Sunday night** and I'm already behind on lots of things. In **debt**, with everything, the pupils' parents, my bosses, everything. That **frustrates** me, it really **frustrates** me. Because **I feel that I'm not doing things well**. And I also feel that **everything I do is really important**. Nothing could be left aside. For example, for me, **coming to talk to you** is important. To me, your work commands respect, I committed, I have to do it, and this time **I didn't go to the meeting** to analyse the teaching statute in order to come here… So, that's why I have to leave my daughter with her grandmother for a while. **My colleagues are waiting** for me because we have a birthday celebration. So, I'm **always in a rush**. In a **rush**. And

they say to me, "Come on…". But **I don't know how to do it, because I don't**… and we **don't have time to plan, to design good classes**. I'd like to give better classes, with better materials, more prepared. I'd like to, for example, when I'm marking, I'd like to be able to tabulate the results, give good feedback. To put it bluntly, **lacking time is shitty**. Time to go over materials, content, to mark tests, for boys and girls to learn, **you can't stop and mull on that aim because you've got to keep going** because, if not, you won't have enough time. And well, what happens to me? I'm always stuck in the first term, always. December comes around and I'm still in the first term. Because I'm not going to skip material. <u>And time</u>, that's it. It's a **pain**. It's a **pain** in the sense that I don't… **I don't have time**. It's a lot of things, they're a lot of things to do. The system is really demanding. Of course, I could actually not worry about it so much. For example, **not be involved in politics**. I spend a lot of time on that: Yesterday we had a meeting from 5pm to 9pm. Where we were analysing the teaching statute too, the new one, the new proposal. Of course. (…). And I got home at half-past nine, ten o'clock at night, to get things ready for the next day, to see what we'd have for lunch the next day. So, I say, OK, **I employ a lot of my time** in my political activities [*me ocupa harto tiempo*]. I'm not saying that it **takes away** [*me quita tiempo*], but **I employ a lot of time**. Afterwards, I could say, "Why do I worry so much, the kids are going to learn anyway", and I could stop preparing so many classes. That way I'd use a whole lot less time worrying about work. Then, I have about ten people doing work experience. I have ten people doing work experience. I could not **worry about** them. **I could not get involved**, but it's something that is **almost ethical**. In general, I do because **you choose your path**, you choose your path, and I chose mine at that time, chose to do all these things. And, for example, **I can't separate my role as a teacher from that of being an activist**. As Freire said. I can't. So, that's why **everyone always talks about a lack of time**, but they also include lots of topics that sometimes don't make any sense at work. The **paperwork**, **the forms, the documents**, things to document stuff that is going to be filed away, that are irrelevant… (…). So, she [the UTP] makes me sign a piece of paper with agreements on it and I sign it. Now they gave us another piece of paper that I have to fill in as well as my planning file, just in case someone comes to supervise us. Just in case. **So, you spend 10 minutes of your time on that. When I should be there, in 10 minutes, doing an evaluation**. So, that's really frustrating, not having time. Work's like that. Really demanding. I wrote down a lack of time to do things. **A lack of time to do things, more than to do, to be**. (Rosa)

There are many possible layers of analysis in this quote. I want to point out how time becomes constrained in Rosa's speech by unfolding three different subjective positions: a more generic time in relation to being as any normal person, a more concrete time in relation to being a teacher and a really constrained time as a dissident teacher. I have underlined three moments in which I consider Rosa moves the emotions she is associating with the lack of time, how she frames it, and how she understands herself. First, as a problem affecting 'the normal life of a person', **any person**. She feels 'in debt' with 'everyone', including herself. This is 'a shame, it annoys me'. The problem here is that there 'are too few hours in the day (…) it should have 36 hours not 24', because there is 'not enough time' to 'stop or have a break'.

Then, as a second moment, the feeling of being in debt becomes a frustration because 'everything I do is really important'. Rosa is speaking about her own affairs and not as any person. Her description becomes more specific. For example, the hours become more concrete: 'Sunday night', 'coming to talk to you' is time not dedicated 'to the meeting', and after our conversation 'my colleagues are waiting'. Rosa's narration moves from a more abstract reflection of time to the very concrete present, to the birthday party she has after our meeting finish. The present feels like being 'always in a rush', experiencing uncertainty because she 'don't know how to do it', because she 'don't have time to plan'. For the more abstract reflection about her multiple selves (mother, partner, colleague, teacher, employee, aunt), she connects with her present **as a teacher** and the difficulties 'to design good classes'. The lack of time 'is shitty' not only because you cannot stop to have a break but 'you've got to keep going'.

In relation to this more concrete reflection on time, Rosa makes a third move connecting time with the feeling of 'pain' and framing it as something that 'I don't have', the system appears as 'really demanding' and time begins to become even more concrete, 'from 5pm to 9pm'. There is a struggle within how Rosa signifies the time in relation to her political activities: 'I employ' vs 'I'm not saying that it takes away'. Employ [*ocupa*] involves a sort of decision and commitment while takes away [*me quita*] involves something that snatches or confiscates one's time. This struggle opens ethical questions: should she 'worry about' or 'get involved'. It is in relation to this **dissident teacher self** that time becomes painful because she has chosen a 'path' where her 'role as a teacher and that of being an activist' cannot be separated. However, as 'everyone always talk about', time is consumed by 'the paperwork, the forms, the documents'. In relation to this type of bureaucratic tasks is that time gets super constrained: 'you spend 10 minutes of your time on that. When I should be there, in 10 minutes, doing an evaluation'. 10 minutes becomes a possible space of struggling to remain on her path, articulating both the teacher and the activist selves. Concerning this last idea is that the lack of time to do things becomes 'more than to do, to be'. The lack of time is the lack of the possibility to enact an ethical practice of self-formation as a teacher.

The most significant effect of the regulative strategy of controlling the time of teachers is the lack of time to unfold a practice of self-formation, that is, to be in control and command the use of one's time. This strategy puts Rosa in a relation to time where she needs to become over-aware of it in order not only to do the things she needs or wants to do but also to be who she wants to be. Lis phrased this limit as 'The *agobio* and lack of

time', making a direct connection between both problems. During our second interview, she read to me what she had written in her notebook:

> A barrier that makes noise to me and compresses me is "the agobio and the lack of time". I think this is a firm restraining element because **my creativity and spirit are limited** because I feel exhausted and I sense that it's an obligation to fulfil my work. (Lis)

Speaking about what she wrote, Lis adds:

> I feel **sad** about this, because it's like a bureaucratisation, **the need to fulfil because you have to.** You have to fulfil with your students because you have to fulfil with the curriculum and all of that **weakens** your most profound convictions. Sometimes I found myself doing things like, like all those practices that I myself criticize. All the things I criticize I end it up doing it, all that I **hate** the most. **I fall into a mediocre way of doing things**, really negative practices, like my work is really not a quality one. (Lis)

Lis feels the ethical dilemmas Rosa voiced and gave two examples of how *agobio* and the lack of time resulted in mediocre practices that contribute to clarify how a practice of self-formation is obstructed. First, the lack of time hinders the exploration of her own cultural preferences. Lis argues that in her free time, when she is reading something, listening to music or watching TV, she tries to connect whatever she likes with her classes:

> I share a lot **my own personal tastes** with my students, my readings, all of that that is the allure [*la gracia*] of being a teacher. The idea that one's subjectivity can form [*se va plasmando*] students' subjectivity. But now I don't have the time to bring with me the things that I liked, because I don't have time! (Lis)

The second example is about an activity she was doing with a twelfth-grade class. She gave the students some questions to answer and, as usual, before the class ended, she started to correct some of them. Lis checked really fast one of the student's answers, not really reading it just making a mark. The student told her: 'All the effort I put in and you didn't even read my work'. Lis said to her: 'I'm so sorry, it was a bad thing for me to do'. She adds:

> I felt like *shit*, really like *shit*, **I was ashamed of myself. How can I be such a rat of a person?** (…) She felt it was a slap in her face. I didn't read her work! And I'm always trying to keep high my capacity for astonishment, my clarity, to be aware of the different stimulus. So when you are sometimes **down**, with ***agobio***, when the **energies are not as usual**, for me, it is vital to be aware of those signals because they [the students] are your thermometer (…) they are the best indicator. But as I have been saying to you, I think this is the main barrier. Lately, *agobio* is mixed with the problem of **too many battles**. I'm searching for some balance between both things. Because **I do feel that I haven't found my balance** between **being a rep, being a militant** of an organisation and my job in my **classroom**, and I don't want to lose the space of the classroom. So, from time to time, I do come back to

my **roots**, like in **hard bargaining** [*estoy en un tira y afloja*]. Like "OK, go back". Now, with my batteries more charged**,** it's like "OK, I have to do this and that, planning my classes". (…) So, of course, for me, time is a big problem. **I hope the day had more hours!** (Lis)

It is not only that Lis does not have the time to explore her 'own personal tastes' but also, as Rosa, her rep and organised teacher self is battling her classroom teacher self. One of the barriers to unfolding practices of self-formation as activists for both Lis and Rosa is that the time used in their political affairs affects their practice as teachers producing feelings of being in debt, ashamed, frustrated and in pain. Additionally, this led to feeling 'down', without energies, with *agobio*. The 'roots' of the teacher self, the classroom, as I will expand in Chapter 9, is a space-time subjected to a very concrete ethical 'hard bargaining'. If Lis and Rosa dedicate time to their activist self, they are not dedicating that time to their teacher self. This lack of time produced because being a rep is similar to the one reported by Stevenson (2015) for the case of England.

The strategy of controlling teachers' time is one that acts mainly through the regulation of the classroom's time, which produces its bureaucratisation. This strategy demands from the teacher 'a need to fulfil', which becomes a duty, an ethical substance (Foucault, 1997a), 'you have to fulfil'. The space-time of the classroom is full of tasks to be fulfilled. As Flor puts it, 'I don't decide about my time'. This sense of not controlling the decisions over one's time but just keeping the pace of the things that you must do translate to, as Flor adds, a feeling of being trapped and locked in the school. The long hours inside the school from 8 am to 8 pm made her feel like she was living 'the life of a prisoner'. She argues: 'I don't decide about my time. I have to ask for permission as if I were imprisoned here. It's like you're still a student here'. Victor has a similar feeling. He describes what happens to him on his 'Tuesday of terror', evoking the terror of performativity (Ball, 2003), when he works from 7.45 am to 8.30 pm. 'The workday is too long' he explains and this, he says, affects not only him but also his students:

> You are with a bad temper, more exhausted, more reluctant and also more trapped because I prepare my classes starting from the morning to the afternoon (…) I have seen myself **half an hour** before a class looking for a book, because to tell the truth, **I'm just saving the class** [*salvando la clase*]. And suddenly you realise that between 6 pm and 8.30 pm you have a headache, you realise that you haven't gone to the toilet in all day, that you had lunch in **15 minutes**, at that moment, you just want to go home. (…) It's something that ruins you because I arrived at 7:45 am on Tuesday, dark! And when I'm going, dark! **All day stuck here**! (Victor)

Half an hour to plan, 15 minutes to have lunch, 10 minutes to fill a piece of paper. Time is constrained and compressed also very stretched: from early in the morning to way into

the evening. It becomes a concrete force that ties teachers' possibilities of movement up to the point that 'you realise that you haven't gone to the toilet in all day'. It is the classroom teacher the one being controlled to such a degree that it becomes difficult to care for their relationship with their students. This lack of control over teachers' work relates to the problems of teacher malaise, suffering and sickness described by Penteado and de Souza (2019) in their meta-analysis of the problem for different contexts. As they argue, these emotional problems are related to the 'psychic load' experienced by teachers 'when the worker does not have freedom to rearrange his operative modes to find the gestures that allow pleasure or reduce the psychic load of work' (p. 144).

The *lack of decision*, as Flor puts it, regarding the scarce possibilities to manage her classroom self, limits her abilities and opportunities to grow as a teacher:

> It doesn't have any sense: it's not practical and it doesn't contribute to quality. **Because these norms only limit our abilities and opportunities to grow, because if I grow, the classroom grows as well**. And that it's not being considered. (…) My non-classroom hours are for me to be able to do my things and not to use the **time when I'm with my family** or my time in my home to do them. (Flor)

For those wanting to unfold practices of self-formation, a struggle within a regime controlling their time awaits. This involves, above all, a sort of hyper-awareness of time where 10 minutes become the difference between feeling, for example, ashamed of one's own classes or not. Time, conceptualised as a lack, an absence of freedom, a shortage, something precious and dearth for the dissident teachers, reflects an intense form of domination (Foucault, 1997d) concerning the regulation of their time as teachers.

Bending the trunk: managing teachers' practice

A second significant step in the growing of a bonsai is to 'train' the trunk and branches: as can be read in the website *wikiHow*, '"Training" the young bonsai tree involves gently bending the trunk and branches to guide their growth. Wrap the tree in wire to hold it in this position'; 'As time goes on and the tree grows and begins to take on the shape you have designed, you'll have to rewire the tree and continue to train it until it holds the shape you want without the help of wire'.

The *pedagogy of the bonsai* works not only through a time-controlling strategy but also by a specific training that manages and guides teachers' practice. This managing strategy is the main way of controlling teachers' time. In this sense, it is a specification of the previous regulatory strategy. The managing strategy can be related to the notion of a *hegemon* that

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Foucault (2005) elaborates in *The hermeneutics of the subject* concerning the problem of the care of the self. In his analyses of ancient Greek culture, specifically the Epicurean school, Foucault says that 'it was absolutely necessary for every individual to have a *hēgēmon,* a guide, a director, who ensured his individual guidance' (p. 137). This individual guidance had to obey two principles:

> Individual guidance could not take place without an intense affective relationship of friendship between the two partners, the guide and the person being guided. And this guidance implied a certain quality, a certain "way of speaking," a certain "ethics of speech" I will say, (…) and which is called, precisely, *parrehēsia. Parrehēsia* is opening the heart, the need for the two partners to conceal nothing of what they think from each other and to speak to each other frankly. (p. 137)

This guiding relationship implied under the notion of a *hegemon*, as I argued in Chapter 2, is being performed not by a particular person but by a complex set of educational practices and policies that guide and train teachers to act in particulars directions. The dissident teachers I worked describe a diverse set of these 'wires' that are 'bending their trunk' to give an account about how their practices are guided in certain directions: the curriculum, textbooks, the organisation of the physical space, economic precariousness, the actions of school managers, accountability policies, standardised tests, among others. SIMCE, as a strong performativity policy (Ball, 2003), stands out as one of the most prominent artefacts used by the *pedagogy of the bonsai* to guide teachers' practices. All the teachers I worked with mention SIMCE as a limit and, in a way, it articulates several of these different 'wires'. SIMCE, as its acronym expresses, is a System of Measurement of Educational Quality. However, as Ozga (2008) states, 'the quality debate is not about quality' (p. 269). SIMCE either. Its uses are embedded in different laws, decrees and policies that move from economic incentives for the teacher to evaluation policies for classifying the school, always in relation to their results in this standardised test (Assaél et al., 2014).

Lis named the first limit she wrote in her notebook as "The SIMCE results arrived". The following quote illustrates how SIMCE is an effective way of managing teachers' practices:

> The other day something extraordinary happened in my school. It was the last day of the '**Book Week**' and the students, the school, got transformed. The everyday logic of **time**, **space** and the traditional and conventional **dynamics** of the school were **subverted**. They were subverted to make way for a week **full of creativity** that enabled students to do things that they usually don't do. To make the story short, the students prepared, for example, the twelfth graders made musical adaptations of literary works, the eleventh graders also did a sort of musical (…). All of them needed to act, wear costumes, and make the scenography and all of that. An exceptional week. (…). At the end [of the twelfth-grade presentation], a student, making a free interpretation, sang the song of Fito [Paez] *Yo vengo a ofrecer*

mi Corazón [I came to offer my heart] so I wrote in the book you gave me the following:

> "Who said that everything is lost? The song of Fito Paez sounds in the voice of a student of 17 years old. She is performing for the play she has staged together with her classmates on the Book Week. We are all breathless, actually, at the moment I am writing these words, **my emotive memory** takes me to that moment, and it's like, in one minute, time has been stopped, and we go back to the simplest thing that teaching entails: to humanise as a way to transform. Because it was that, all the gym was "OMG these students really make an impression". However, **it's only a minute** because that same day the results of SIMCE arrived. And, of course, **the focus of attention was diverted** towards what this explosive information involves for our school. And this is one of the factors that **compresses** my labour as a teacher."

Because the **pressure** involves going up in the standardised evaluation's tale, both in SIMCE and PSU. Of course, I have big problems with what these test measures and the **schizophrenia** they produce in the school, and the worst part is the short-sightedness that teachers sometimes have regarding these tests because these tests determine their salaries. So, people are willing to compromise their most profound convictions for their bread and butter and the bills that need to be paid. So nobody is willing to lose their SNED voucher because it's part of the real food for your family. In the end, the colleagues end up falling in with super arbitrary and totalitarian practices, even myself, because, maybe, even I have ended up falling in with these practices and maybe I am not aware of them. (Lis)

The 'Book Week' is the story of the subversion of the 'everyday school' described in the 34 limits listed above. It was a day were 'an experiment with the possibility of going beyond' (Foucault, 1997f, p. 319) these limits took place. The school was living a space-time of experimentation. On that extraordinary day 'full of creativity' a particular guest turned up: 'The SIMCE results arrived'. With its arrival, the 'focus of attention was diverted' towards SIMCE's utterance. SIMCE guides and directs the focus of attention of teachers' work. It is in this particular sense that it is possible to think about SIMCE, among other policies, as a *hegemon*, an artefact that ensures the guidance and management of teachers' practices.

The results of SIMCE construct an 'intense affective relationship' with teachers that can be thought of as a particular kind of 'friendship' that teachers want to keep: 'nobody is willing to lose their SNED voucher', that is, the '300 extra quid' Lis spoke above. Nobody is willing to lose what SIMCE's 'friendship' entails. It is a particular 'friendship' because it brings you joy or sorrow according to a minimal utterance, a sort of minimal *parrhesia*, expressed as a standardised number, for example, the difference between 260 or 280 in the Math test. No space is available for the two partners to 'conceal nothing of what they think from each other and to speak to each other frankly' (Foucault, 2005, p. 137); on the

contrary, it is just SIMCE 'who' has the right to speak and only speaks about one thing: results. Beyond all the criticism that all the dissident teachers expressed towards SIMCE, all of them recognise that it guides and directs teachers' practices, even sometimes their own practices. The process of thinking about what means to be a teacher is circumscribed in the set of practices managed by SIMCE: the curricular content that will be measured, the way of evaluating the test entails, the need to perform well to have different sets of incentives, among others. It is the art of governing by numbers described by Ozga (2008). Lis' narrative emphasises this guiding force of SIMCE: over and against what can be considered one of the most experimental days of her school, SIMCE has the force to bend the 'focus of attention' towards its results.

I have argued that SIMCE is one of the central policies managing and guiding teachers' practices, in part because it is strongly related to many others. For example, to 'the curriculum', Hugo's first limit. Hugo states that 'the curriculum is largely responsible for what we call deprofessionalisation'. The curriculum is presented as 'being just recommendations', but it is felt as 'an imposition' precisely because of its connection 'with the standardised evaluations':

> Therefore, to sum up, the curriculum is a barrier both in terms of **time** and in **intellectual** terms. It involves a pressure to cover it in its totality, and it predesigns a learning model that **castrates the teaching creativity** and the contextualisation that as a teacher or as an establishment can be done. (Hugo)

The curriculum ensembles the process of controlling teachers' time and managing teachers' practices by imposing a specific guiding 'learning theory'. For example, Hugo mentions the Progress Maps, a tool developed in the decade of the 2000s to explain what it means to improve in a specific dominion of learning following the curriculum. The whole learning theory of the Progress Maps was based on a constructivist language that needed to be used to developing a day-to-day plan of one's classes, but, as Hugo puts it, his planned classes did not 'look like at all to what you are doing in the classes'.

The curriculum is acting in the two ways already described: trimming the roots and bending the trunk. First, it controls teachers' time by making teachers feel, as Hugo argues, that they always need 'to keep moving forward, moving forward, and moving forward'. There is no time to slow the pace in the field of experience of the classroom to celebrate, for example, 'a week full of creativity' like the Book Week. Second, it manages teachers' practices using predesigned models that are articulated in policy documents as friendly recommendations to follow but that, thanks to devices like SIMCE, become impositions.

Hugo sees the managing strategy of the *pedagogy of the bonsai* as an 'intellectual' barrier that 'castrates' his creativity. He feels treated as a technical worker instead of a professional one:

> You need to adjust yourself to how you are supposed to teach. It's not about developing or researching learning models, and I'm not saying that you don't need to plan your classes, no. But there is an **imposition** related to, I think, (…) distrusts about one's work, one's intellect, one's professionalism. **To be honest, I feel that I'm treated like a technician, more like a technical worker rather than a professional worker**. (Hugo)

The *pedagogy of the bonsai* trains teachers to focus their attention on a set of predefined artefacts that usually relay on a standardised pedagogy. As Hugo argues, to be a professional means being able to use these artefacts correctly, which involves dedicating the appropriate time and attention to them. The problem is that these managerial artefacts divert the focus of attention to its own technical needs and requirements, interrupting the possibility to enjoy a week or a day 'full of creativity', as Lis puts it.

Pruning the branches: harming teachers' creativity

The third important step to grow a bonsai is to prune the branches: 'Use a small pruning tool to strategically clip off leaves, buds, and parts of branches to help the tree grow a certain way. Each time you prune, growth is stimulated on another part of the tree. Knowing where to prune and how often is part of the art of bonsai'; 'pruning any plant creates a wound that leaves the plant open to the risk of infection and requires extra energy to heal'; 'Trimming a bonsai tree's branches is a matter of controlling the direction of growth. This is done for two reasons: for aesthetic interest and for structural stability', can be read in the website *wikiHow*.

The *pedagogy of the bonsai* works in a third way: together with a *regulating-time strategy* and a *managing-practice strategy*, there is also a *harming-creativity strategy* that consists, as Hugo puts it, in 'castrating' teachers' creativity. There are at least ten different examples in each one of the teachers I worked with, sometimes said just as a quick anecdote to make a point, like when Rosa recalls that after she started to speak her mind in her current school, she was subject to retaliation from her managers: 'They took away all my environmental classes. They took them all away knowing that was what I liked'; sometimes written as a whole limit, as Maria's first limit: 'The organisation of the Alliance', a story of how, during her first year working as a teacher, she was asked to help organising the activities to celebrate the school's anniversary. She thought this was something great and not so difficult to do; however, she realised in the process that things were complicated mainly because of the hidden relationships of power and conflicts between the managers and teachers: 'I found

a limit trying to understand the school culture'. From these diverse set of stories, I selected the following two to elaborate in detail the third way of working of the *pedagogy of the bonsai.*

The case of Flor is significant regarding this process of pruning teachers' creativity. As I described in Chapter 5, she is a teacher of music, a subject that traditionally is related to creativity and not measured by standardised tests in Chile. Furthermore, she is the oldest of the teachers I worked with, with 24 years of teaching experience in five different schools. Flor's second limit is about 'The restrictions of my autonomy, and there are endless examples'. She narrates the following story to open this limit:

> I teach music education, an artistic subject speciality. For example, you have schools that are desperately focused on preparing [students] for the SIMCE. So, you also have to put language into music, you have to put mathematics into music and, in the end, **your life is helping to improve the SIMCE**. Then, sometimes, it happened to me in the secondary school I used to work in, they had to do some reading comprehension, so music classes **used part of their time** in *reading* music. It's something that can be done, but not always, because music, physical education, visuals arts, **are more practical** subjects. You teach visual art by painting, doing things, then you learn; music, you learn it by playing, singing, and moving, but not… I believe that it's more important than reading something and that it's also **part of your professional judgment**. I'm not against mathematics or language, but I'm going to use them when it's pertinent and not **imposed** that I have to do an activity once a week or once a month because that's the way to help SIMCE. (…) I don't know if the UTP or the headteacher have a wrong concept of what transversality is and they believe that it can be achieved by **homogenising everything**, but they don't think about **how harmful it can be** for another subsector. I **defend** music, my area, because **it's what I love, it's what I like to do**. I mean, I can help in the language or mathematical development, but not by dedicating myself once a month to that because I HAVE to dedicate myself to that, it gets spoiled. (Flor)

Flor's narrative helps us to understand the links between the processes of controlling time, managing teachers' practices and harming their creativity. Flor considers that working specific contents of language and mathematics in her music classes could be pertinent; the problem is the imposition of a particular practice for a particular amount of time. The imposition goes against her professional judgment by ignoring her knowledge about how to teach music. For Flor, the lack of autonomy limits the possibility of doing 'what I love' and 'what I like to do', to teach music. The feelings of delight and love that teaching music evokes in Flor are harmed and restricted. The lack of autonomy is not only a blockage of creativity but a process that inflicts a wound on it. Wounding Flor's creativity illustrates the repressive form of power that the *pedagogy of the bonsai* entails. Her experiences in different schools have made her realise that:

> Look, in my practice, I have come to realise that **the more structured a school is, the more harmful it's to the music subject speciality**. I have been able to verify this because, when it's very structured, this happens: "OK, once a month you have to do the reading comprehension and so on"; or, on the other hand, the students' inspector tells you: "OK, you have to write down all those who are with a piercing because you have to write them down, because they are in your classroom". **They force you and push you**. (…) As if my first concern were to enter the room and police them! "Hey, you!" And create straight away **bad energy** and **mistreat** the climate inside the classroom, the atmosphere of the room, the autonomy of the class. (Flor)

The difference between the previous strategy and this one is only a matter of degree. It is a more intense way of controlling the time and managing the practices of teachers in a specific direction through 'strategically clipping off' teachers' creativity. In the case of a structured school, as the one Flor describes, SIMCE's pre-eminence entails that 'once a month you have to do the reading comprehension' or a strict discipline entails 'to write down all of those who are with a piercing'. The use of Flor's classroom time means that less time is available for creative practices such as 'playing, singing, and moving'; the way she considers her students learn music. The autonomy of the class is harmed, forced and mistreated by this strategy. It is possible to infer that the harm Flor is narrating is especially damaging for subject specialisms such as arts, music and physical education.

The second example is mentioned in several ways by different teachers and it is related to how teachers begin to get used to the limits imposed on their creativity. The last words-reflections of Pedro in our second interview were about his fear of ending up doing things that contradict what he believes without noticing it. As he puts it:

> I'm afraid of working in the school and that you don't even realise [what you are doing], writing down a student for any stupidity because you are **forced** or because they forced you. In the end, the **norm**, sometimes when you are repeating it, you end up **convincing yourself** of it by **habit**. (Pedro)

Pedro's fear is not about being asked to do something he does not agree, for example, policing his students because of how they look, as Flor was forced to do. The fear is to normalise these norms that once felt as being forced on you. This fear is to become a bonsai teacher subject and to stop seeing the 'stupidity' of practices like, as Lis argues, 'to pressure students for their results' just to win '300 extra quid'. The harming strategy has a more frightening dimension related to the possibility that 'you end up convincing yourself' of something that 'you don't even realise' how you end up believing. It is the fear of making of a practice you once regarded as stupid your own practice of self-formation. Here, the hurting form of power has the potentiality to shape your own ethics by the repetition of a

specific practice that becomes your own habit. This relates to what Ball (2003) has described as 'the struggles over the control of the field of judgement and its values' (p. 216), the soul of teachers. Pedro recognises the struggle and is afraid of losing his own soul as a teacher.

This is exactly the last limit Victor wrote. It is one difficult to translate: 'Y te vas poniendo, tal vez, más perro', the literal translation would be 'And you start becoming, maybe, more dog'. The meaning here of *dog* is a person who is grim and tough. Victor tells a nice story to exemplify. 'The other day' he said, he was talking with his sister and brother who are both also teachers working in, as Victor described them, 'more hippy schools'. In his case, he is working in a prestigious and emblematic state school for boys:

> I arrived at the conclusion, after our conversation, that I have become grimmer [*más perro*]. I told them 'you know what, the other day **I expelled a student from the classroom** for this reason…', and they said to me 'but why did you expel him?', 'no, because he has to learn…' And afterwards, thinking why I have expelled him, I realised that, actually, the student was asking for my forgiveness: 'please, teacher, I'm not going to do it again', 'no, go out, out, leave!' And it's because you realise that you start to **fall** like in the **logic** of… I don't know, **discipline**, the logic of… I don't know, the **institution**. (Victor)

This is an example of the enactment of Pedro's fear. Victor is reflecting that he is not sure why he expelled the student and when he tries to name what had happened to him, that name is not evident, a process of 'falling' into a 'logic' he does not know for sure how to name, maybe he is falling into discipline or maybe the institution.

> When I compare myself with six years ago or when I started to work as a teacher, **I'd never have thought that I was going to have the grim attitudes** [*actitudes de perro*] **that I now have**. And it's because **the school is leading you in that direction**. It's the **structure** or the **mould** that you have to **fulfil** (…). Of course, when I met my brother and sister, was like 'hey, but why?' Then I said 'shit, I wasn't like this!' (Victor)

Falling into a logic leading Victor into an attitude that he never thought he was going to have. 'The school is leading you in that direction' is the recognition that the teacher subject is being shaped by certain logic. It is a teacher subject full of denotative content made by others, as Zemelman (2007) puts it. The ways Victor can be a teacher in this 'structure' or 'mould' are kept under control by the need to respond and fulfil:

> But I feel that I have fallen too far into a behaviourist, disciplinary side, even though I feel that I have a critical view among teachers. But sometimes **a steamroller passes over you, a machine passes over you, and you have to respond to everyday life** (…). Everything fast and whoever stayed behind 'No, there is no space', 'No, I'm not going back'. I cannot. The curriculum doesn't allow

> me. If I have 35 students that have already understood, the other 10 are screwed. It goes that way. (Victor)

Victor is describing a moment where the strategy of hurting teachers' creativity, as the most sophisticated of the three strategies of the *pedagogy of the bonsai*, succeeds in shaping the everyday pedagogical practices of teachers. The loss of creativity is related, in Victor's view, with a competitive ethos where 'everything is fast' and 'there is no space' for those who stayed behind. The student-teacher relationship is framed in such a way that Victor's possibilities to act differently are run over by a machine, his creativity is stifled, and he has become someone who has 'to respond', and who cannot behave differently. He has become someone 'I'd never have thought that I was going to [become]'.

Closing remarks

'What are we to do, either to moderate our acts, or to decipher what we are, or to eradicate our desire (…) all this elaboration of ourselves in order to behave ethically?', asks Foucault (Foucault, 1997a, p. 265) describing the practice of self-formation. A precise awareness directed towards what we do, it follows, involves the possibility of acting on what we are as ethical subjects. The main argument of this chapter is that 'at the root' (Foucault, 1997b, p. 118) of the problem of *agobio* a form of power can be identified that, following Zemelman and Quintar (J. Rivas, 2005), I have named as the *pedagogy of the bonsai*. This form of power deploys three strategies:

1. *Controlling and regulating teachers' time*
2. *Managing and guiding teachers' practices*
3. *Harming teachers' creativity*

The broader effect on teachers' subjectivity is that their everyday practices as teachers are experienced as being in constant *lack of time*. This lack, as a subjective limit, is expressed by Rosa as 'a lack of time to do things, more than to do, to be.' As such, the lack of time brings together two limits: the limit 'to do things' and the limit 'to be'.

The *lack of time to do things* refers to the different tasks a teacher is supposed to do in their work, such us teaching, planning their classes, evaluating their students or themselves, attending to staff or parent-teacher, among others. The problem is not only that it is almost impossible to successfully manage to sort out in the regular hours of work all these tasks, but also that they are increasingly regulated by a set of practices that follow the process Ozga (2008) calls governing by numbers. A set of statistical or measurement proxies are linked to the performance of the teachers or the school in the execution of these different

tasks, enabling a space from where it is possible to speak about teachers' productivity, efficacy and defining what being a good teacher means. The teacher is confined to the space-time of the classroom where, as Foucault (2006) states, the management of a more 'restrained and organised form of freedom' (p. 435) takes place. In this sense, at the same time that the classroom becomes a form of close space, it also offers a sense of freedom: teachers get attached to this particular type of definition of the 'good classroom teacher'. Teachers can choose, for different reasons, to perform well in these different tasks. In the most controversial cases, for example pressuring their students to perform well in a standardised test and gain the extra money associated with their results, the dissident teachers argue that this is done because of apathy, a feeling of being defeated, selfishness, or habit. This is the formative face of the *pedagogy of the bonsai* acting on the conduct of teachers.

The *lack of time to be* refers to the constraints to unfolding practices of self-formation that the lack of time to do creates. If a teacher wants to be something different than a classroom teacher, they will need to 'employ' time of other 'spheres of force relation' (Foucault, 1978, p. 97) to do it. This means that the classroom-teacher-self works as 'a general line of force that transverses the local oppositions and links them together' producing 'redistributions, realignments, homogenizations, serial arrangements, and convergences of the force relations' (p. 94). The classroom-teacher-self is the site where a confrontation of the different relations of forces takes place and produces an intense form of domination with a 'hegemonic effect' (p. 94). For example, the sphere of the family relationships is realigned by the mode of subjectivation of the classroom sphere. This is illustrated by the idea of taking 'work for home', which not only involves the concept of spending more time to finish the work at home but also a 'way in which people are invited or incited to recognize their moral obligations' (Foucault, 1997a, p. 264). Taking 'work for home' names the tense power relationships between the demand of time a classroom-teacher-self requires and the lack of time to be something different than a classroom-teacher-self. For example, time to be a parent, partner, brother, sister or just a 'giving name', an 'I', who wants to have time to read a book, watch TV or have a drink with their friends. For the dissident teachers, in addition to these quotidian relationships, the tension of the classroom-teacher-self is mainly expressed in the lack of time to be a rep and a political teacher.

The lack of time results in difficulties in unfolding autonomous practices of self-formation in the field of experience of teaching and learning. Practices of self-improvement govern the practices of self-formation as time-consuming practices to be a classroom teacher. This

leads to a lack of delight in oneself as a teacher, one of the most complex effects related to *agobio*. The harm to teachers' creativity, even though not physical, points to a state of being whose mode is suffering. With this suffering, a specific fear gets hold of the dissident teachers. The fear of becoming 'a cog in the machine' or 'a robot without a heart', 'an automatized teacher', 'ashamed', 'frustrated', 'demotivated', 'grim', someone who 'I'd never have thought that I was going to [become]', in the words of the dissident teachers. The lack of time *to do* is a lack of time *to be* oneself as a teacher. Not only there is no time to create and think of *what I do* but also *who I want to be* as a teacher. In this limited space, only a small, minimal and contained subject can grow: a *bonsai* teacher.

Chapter 8   Political-pedagogical dissent

If the notion of *agobio* tries to capture one of the fundamental subjective limits teachers face in their everyday work life, the notion of *the political-pedagogical* tries to capture a specific dissent contributing to the unfolding of a field of experimentation that serves to problematise, disrupt and move beyond the problem of *agobio*. First, I relate Rosa's story who, as an outstanding and silent teacher, illustrates one of the main ways in which teachers are seduce into becoming subjects of self-improvement. Then, I describe the problem of fear as a primary ground on which the practices of self-improvement are presented as offering a sense of security (Weil, 2002). Concerning this concrete historical relation between fear and self-improvement, I argue that the dissident teachers have elaborated two critiques articulated in the notion of *political-pedagogical*, which I analyse in detail.

On the one hand, the *pedagogical critique* is focused on the traditional union leaders' discourse and their disdain for the field of pedagogy, focusing instead on an economic struggle as the main problem of teachers. This discourse offers no possibilities for teachers to cultivate their fears (Shor & Freire, 1987) or to risk (Weil, 2002), whereas at the same time, a technocratic form of pedagogical interaction has been able to capture the field of pedagogy by offering a path of economic and ontological security. On the other hand, the *political critique* is focused on the technocratic pedagogical discourse. I describe pedagogical validation as the main tactic used by the dissident teachers when struggling within the field of pedagogy and transgressing its limits. It provides them with both a sense of security and the ethical ground from where to speak frankly (Foucault, 2005) about the political problems they face in their everyday work life. The *political critique*, I argue following Virno's (2004) and Lanoix's (2013) work, implies an understanding of how the technocratic pedagogy has produced a different mode of governing teachers by means of fixing the focus of attention on the end results of the pedagogical interaction, resulting in the subsumption of the pedagogical relationship into the concept of productivity and the disciplines of measurement.

The outstanding and silent Rosa (2012 - 2013)

Rosa's realisation that she had made a fool of herself was experienced as a sort of crisis. She accepted a job that took her, literally, to a geographical limit: in 2012, she started working as a history teacher in a primary school that was located at the top of a hill in Valparaiso, a city that is surrounded by hills. The higher you go up the hill, the poorer the

social context gets. From 2012 until the date of our interview, 2017, she worked in that school. In these five years at the limits of the city, a profound re-elaboration of her teacher self took place:

> I went into the class of 10-year-olds, and I started my history class without a clue (…). And suddenly I realised that they were kicking each other, kids throwing the litter bin around, there was chaos in the classroom. (…). The bell rang and instead of, "Can we go?", nothing, they just shot off. I managed to survive that class. And the kids shouted, "You old bitch" from outside. On my first day! My first day. It was terrible that they were saying that to me, but I found the class worse. (…) **After a month, I was going to hand in my notice**. After a month, I said I was going to wait for my pay and then I was going to hand in my notice.

The school was from the very beginning a challenging place: running classes for 10-year-old students, who were not 'easy-going' kids, finding her own performance as a teacher terrible. Rosa really wanted to get out of that place:

> So, I went to speak to the head of UTP. She, the UTP, had a really high opinion of me, loved me because I'd made a really good impression. Because she saw I was a workaholic. I'm a workaholic. So, she saw me working a lot and said, "But why, why do you want to leave? Look, I'll help you with stuff" She convinced me. She convinced me. The school's anniversary came later, in April, at the end of April and the teachers welcomed me in a bit more. I began to understand the dynamics between the teachers. There was a table where all the older teachers sat. (…). I began to use what my experience had taught me. **To be quiet a while, to observe. So, I didn't do what I'd done in the other places I'd worked**. And I started to realise that the teachers at that school were unbelievably belittled [*los negreaban*]. I realised that the headteacher was a right-wing (…) supporter and the deputy head too. I realised that the UTP was a socialist. But the other girls, the young teachers, let's say, were all about *reality shows* and *shopping*. I didn't fit in. But I still joined the youngsters. I said, "No, with them is whom I need to be because they're the ones who are going to stay, I've got to get involved here because we've got to start doing something".

Rosa made two significant changes: first, she agreed to help from the UTP. Second, she 'began to use what my experience had taught me. To be quiet a while, to observe'. Rosa was used to working in a particular way and that way began to change; she started to take care of herself as a teacher, to dedicate to herself:

> And, since I'm such a workaholic, I was always up-to-date, my planning – in any case, they made us plan day by day! Daily planning. **I'd never done any planning before in my life**. Never. I'd planned, but annually, which is, basically, annual planning is putting the aims into a teaching format, no more than that. Here they made us break everything down, write down the learning aims, the expected learning, as well as the class's aim, after the beginning of the class, class development, the end of the class, the evaluation indicators of each stage of the class and the resources. That was for every class, so once a month I had to hand in the plan for the whole month. I gave classes from fifth to eighth grade. There

were two courses in year five, one in year six, one in year seven and two in year eight. All the history of humankind. I felt really *agobiada*. So, the first thing I did, the first month, was to not hand in my class plans, I was used to being like that, the UTP called me into her office and said, "Look, this is how we work. You can't simply not hand things in. If you don't, you need to let us know". So, I said to myself, "Ok, Rosa, you have to…" **I started to adjust to the school**, which was really demanding with paperwork, really demanding, so much so that I think they produce *agobio* on teachers. Planning, forms, dealing with parents. There was so much to do, the class register (…). So, there were loads of things we had to do. Apart from handing in our plan, prepare classes, design the classes. **So, I dedicated to myself** [*me dediqué*]. I said, "Ok, this year, I'm going to dedicate myself to learning." **For the first time, I felt that I was in a school where, from a technical point of view, I was learning**. I hadn't learnt anything at Secondary School A, nor at the school in Limache, nor at Secondary School T. **And I started doing courses to get better**. I did a course to work at the CRA [Centre for Learning Resources], which was the old library. Afterwards, I did a course on environmental issues, about climate change.

The UTP began to guide and help Rosa. Not only did Rosa feel that in her previous work she 'hadn't learnt anything' but she was used not to handing in 'my class plans'. Now she started to experience a new pedagogical relation under the guidance of the UTP: 'you can't simply not hand things in'. Rosa 'started to adjust to the school', and this was a completely different way of being a teacher for Rosa. She put herself for the first time in the position of someone who was a learner. She did this by dedicating time, 'for the first time', to her own technical abilities as a classroom teacher. From this position, the 'loads of things we had to do' and the *agobio* they produced where made manageable. In her previous experiences, Rosa could not tolerate 'all this burden' because she morally judged it as unjust and as exploitation, being for her almost mandatory to act against it. However, Rosa's shift enabled her a new way of relating to these 'things'.

The way of enacting this shift was to become silent for two full years. During these two years, she not only studied but carried out a diverse number of pedagogical activities that brought her recognition from her students, colleagues and managers. Just to mention some of these activities: with students, she did an Environmental Workshop, recycling garbage, which won the group a local environmental competition; she did a project of public classes where the students presented around a particular topic to the whole community, including their parents; she took care of the CRA and did the 'Travelogue Project', a book that moved from student to student creating poems around a specific topic; she started a project with students and parents to make the school's surroundings prettier, among other projects. All these activities made of Rosa someone who was highly valued in the school. For example, regarding the environmental work with her students, she said that they

started to develop **a closer relationship with me** because of the environment. And yes, this helped me in history class. When I got to their history class, they had a different attitude. It's like they listened to me because they also knew me in a different context; they had more respect for me.

When she won the competition, by the end of her first year, 'At school, I went up and up. They gave me a tablet as a present and a composter for the school. So, **I became the teacher essential for environmental matters**'. As a result, when she was evaluated by the headteacher that year:

He gave me an **outstanding** assessment at the end of the year. **I was the best teacher**. I'd done the environmental competition with the kids, we did environmental work from different angles to show at school, we'd held public classes, we'd held public classes with all the year groups, and I also studied that year, that's why he gave me an outstanding evaluation..

At the same time, she was able to build a closer relationship with her colleagues:

I was kind of quiet all year, really quiet, but I still talked about a few things, in fact, they called me 'comrade' [*compañera*] from the start at the school. Just because of how I was, how I dressed, I don't know, probably the way I talked. I was their comrade. So, they asked me things, what I knew (…). Sometimes, I helped them with some of their doubts about their rights. **But in secret** [*por debajo*] (…) I realised that **they were terrified** of the head, **a fear** they'd created, so… the gentleman called them to his office when he was angry and shouted at them and made them cry. A real lord of the manor, a feudal sir. The deputy head treated the workers she was responsible for terribly, the teaching assistants, the helpers and I realised that the teachers were being suffocated from all sides. So, **I started to prove myself to the other teachers**. Just a little, so they would see I was serious, that I worked hard. I was – am – one of those teachers that never misses a day, asks for time off, gets sick, takes medical leave. **And, in 2013, I got a promotion right away.**

After three complicated work experiences, Rosa wanted to keep her job. The way to do this was by dedicating herself 'to learning' and adjusting herself to the different practices the school demanded. She not only 'got a promotion right away' by following a self-improvement training but became an 'outstanding' and 'best teacher' who began to be considered as 'essential for environmental matters'. By using her time to do what she was told to do, Rosa became a good teacher. She experienced the rewards of improving her earnings and job security by becoming an outstanding teacher. The only thing she needed to do was to be 'kind of quiet all year, really quiet', helping her colleagues 'in secret' and not engaging in a direct fight with the head or the deputy head who mistreated her colleagues.

The problem of fear and the practice of self-improvement

Rosa's experience in a municipal public school is one example of the problems I discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to the process of being formed as particular type of teacher (outstanding) and, at the same time, losing control over one's own work process (silent), a loss mainly enacted by a split between the managers and the managed (Ozga, 1995). I also argued in that chapter that teachers who work in the public school system in Chile not only have a specific juridical employer-employee relationship but also they are better organised through the *Colegio de Profesores*, the leading organisation of teachers at a national, regional and municipal level. Whereas in the private subsidised sector, where currently the majority of the teachers are employed, teachers work as any private employee, fragmented between thousands of different stakeholders who own from one to a chain of schools, and they are hardly organised in the unions based on their workplace. The story of Victor as a teacher is useful to understand how the fear to lose one's job is experienced in this last context. He is a 31-year-old history teacher for secondary students and his first experience as a teacher was in a small private subsidised school where he worked from 2009 to 2013.

> The relationship between the teacher and the owner of the school was a **super individual one**. I recalled that when I arrived, the head of UTP, who interviewed me, when I asked her about my remuneration, she said, "Look, here we earn the minimal national wage, but the good thing is that you can negotiate with the owner. You can negotiate, and some negotiate better than others". (…) All the people in that school were **really good, kind people but very afraid**. Fearful of the owner. (…) I worked five years there, from 2009 to 2013. In my second year, I had the intention to begin to organise a process of collective negotiation together with some of the people who entered the school the same year I did and were closer to me. (…). So, between 2010 and 2011, I began to try to put together a union, a negotiation. The resistance I faced was tremendous, because many teachers, mostly female teachers, were mothers with kids, like, at the beginning "yes, yes, let's go for it". But when the moment arrived of "okay, let's sign, this is what we are going to demand", "no, you know what, **I have to take care of my job**…" **A lot, a lot of fear, I felt a lot of fear on those colleagues** and, of course, from my position I felt that "for me, it's easy because I don't have children, I live with my parents – in that time I did – so **I can risk**". In the end, those two years nothing happened. We didn't manage to organise ourselves. My colleague of philosophy who also wanted to organise the union was fired. I wasn't, but when the headteacher interviewed me regarding my continuity, she told me "but Teacher – she told me – the only thing we are going to ask of you is not to be so lefty" She told me that! (Victor)

The relationship with the owner in Victor's experience was an individual one. He tried to bring about some changes by organising a union in the school, but he faced considerable resistance from some of his colleagues, 'mostly female teachers', 'mothers with kids', who

needed 'to take care of my job', 'kind people but very afraid'. He understood that his own position was one that allowed him to push forward some changes because, at that time, he was still living with his parents and he could afford losing his job. The threat of getting fired for trying to create a union was not a fiction, and was exactly what happened to his 'colleague of philosophy who also wanted to organise the union'. He managed to keep the job but was told, as a warning, 'not to be so lefty'. Four years later, things seemed to have changed for the better:

> In 2013, the last year I was in that school, we managed to raise a **process of collective bargaining** (…). We began to gather people and, out of the 30 teachers and other staff who were working at that school, around 20 or 22 united to the process of negotiation. (…) We sit down to deal with the owner. He was a business administrator, an old fox [*viejo zorro*] (…). We were demanding apron, apron for the cleaners, jeans, white markers. Our negotiation was very precarious. (…). On the moment of accepting the proposal of the owner, the assembly split up. Some people were **not willing to go for a strike for any motive**, and they begin with the **diffusion of fear** "hey, if we go to a strike, we go back to zero. Let's take what has been offered". The offered included an administrative day and a readjustment of our salaries. Well, in the end, there was no strike at all and that was the end of the negotiation. Regrettably, we ended the negotiation in July 2013 and in September, we found out that the owner had sold the school to a building company. We had negotiated with him a collective contract for three years (…). He had sold the school and was just acting out with us… He put all the benefits for the next year. (…) It was a big disappointment. The school closed. Now it's a building. It's a building, and we were all fired, we were all sacked. (Victor)

The story could be the script of a play to characterise some of the absurdities of having private owners in the educational system. However, what Victor describes is one of many possibilities that the privatisation of education allows. From 2009 to 2013, some of Victor's colleagues managed to face the fear that the collective bargaining produced in them in 2010 but not the fears produced by the idea of a strike. The strike acted as a limit from where 'the diffusion of fear' was propagated.

The fear Victor narrates is a very concrete one: the fear of losing one's job. As I have argued in Chapter 1, the neoliberal policies implemented in the early 1980s that threw teachers into the generic status of workers produced, as one of its main impacts, economic insecurity (a decline in salaries and job insecurity) in a subject that, not long ago, used to have job stability, salary increases and social security in relation to their 'civil servant' identity (Cornejo & Reyes, 2008; Lomnitz & Melnick, 1991; Nuñez, 2007). However, as I have argued in Chapter 2, this fear is not merely a 'material' fear in the sense of not having the means to paying the rent or buying food should one be fired but it is also an ontological

insecurity (Ball, 2003). Rosa's description of the limit she calls 'Fear: to lose your job and privileges', concerning her colleagues, speaks about this other dimension of fear:

> Fear. Fear, the fear is massive. Fear of everything. Fear of lots of things. Fear of losing your job. Fear of losing privileges. **Fear of being yourself**. Fear, I don't know, of being told off. Fear that, I don't know, you're doing something wrong. Fear that they'll tell you "you're ignorant". Fear of everything. Fear of everything. Of being wrong. That thing… to be introverted, maintaining a low profile, they don't believe in themselves or just stay quiet, dejected, doing the job below par [*por debajo*]. All the bad habits, all the bad habits. "Oh, I'm not going to get involved in this because afterwards, I'll lose my job". "Oh no, I'm not going to support you because afterwards, I'll get in trouble". "I'm not going to get too close because such and such could happen to me…". It's a real shame. The fear's a shame. Well, I was scared too. (Rosa)

'Fear of everything', 'fear of being yourself', fear of being 'ignorant', fear of 'being wrong', 'introverted', 'low profile', 'quiet', 'dejected', working 'below par', refer to a more profound existential and ontological insecurity. In this sense, to lose one's job is not only to lose the very material means to feed one's family but also whatever sense of ontological security has been reached through being employed as a teacher, regardless of the precariousness of the working conditions. The practice of better not to bother the owner and just 'take what has been offered', in Victor's story, can be understood as a practice seemingly oriented to secure and protect an insecure job position. The irony in this specific case is that that practice could have been many things but not necessarily the best way to secure and protect their job: 'we were all fired, we were all sacked', says Victor. In any case, the collective negotiation and the strike were practices that seemed utterly irrelevant to providing any security to their unsecured job positions. The school has already been sold to a building company.

This insecurity resonates with Mauricio Lazzarato's (2008) argument that neoliberal reforms are not characterised by freedom, 'but rather [by] the competition of all against all, whose main source is fear' (p. 5). He argues that people 'are subject to new forms of control and management'. On the one hand, this control and management 'increase[s] the trust in employment and governmentality on the side of the upper classes of the governed'. On the other hand, 'spread[s] uncertainty and precariousness among the lower classes' (p. 5). This process obeys a general strategy that 'consists in introducing more competition, more insecurity, more fear' (p. 5). Lazzarato (2009) states that neoliberal policies of employment 'are policies that introduce degrees of insecurity, instability, uncertainty, economic and existential precarity into the lives of individuals' (p. 119).

Simone Weil's (2002) work offers a way to relate these intense feelings, objectivised in the genuine fear of losing one's job, with what she calls 'the needs of the soul'. Among the different 'needs' of the soul she identifies, she explains that 'security is an essential' one. When the soul is 'under the weight of fear or terror', there is no security. She adds:

> Fear and terror as permanent states of the soul are well nigh mortal poisons, whether they be caused by the threat of unemployment, police persecution, the presence of a forging conqueror, the probability of invasion, or any other calamity which seems too much for human strength to bear. (…). Even if permanent fear constitutes a latent state only, so that its painful effects are only rarely experienced directly, it remains always a disease. It is a semi-paralysis of the soul. (p. 33)

The lack of a sense of security produces a 'semi-paralysis of the soul'. As Foucault (1995) argues concerning the birth of the soul employing 'methods of punishment, supervision and constraint' (p. 29), the soul is 'the element in which are articulated the effects of a certain type of power' (p. 29). In this case, the 'political anatomy' (p. 30) of neoliberalism produces not only economic insecurities but also a 'need of the soul' to feel ontologically secure. It is Rosa's problem with the 'fear of being yourself'. Following Butler (2005), this fear involves a difficulty to give an account of oneself as a teacher, as a worker, as a person. The possibility to claim 'I am', in this case, 'I am a teacher', is diminished by the permanent fear of unemployment as a genuine fear of no longer being a teacher. This state implies that one is not a teacher but just a generic worker that can be replaced at any moment by anyone. As Lazzarato (2009) states, this fear 'has produced a situation of permanent insecurity and precarity, conditions necessary for the new [neoliberal] apparatuses to work' (p. 111). The threat of unemployment has become a critical subjective limit for teachers.

It is in relation to this subjective limit and the fears and insecurities produced by more traditional union practices, such as collective bargaining and strike, which the story of the outstanding and silent Rosa is revealing. She continues her reflections on the limit of fear, relating it to her own experience, in the following way:

> Well, **I was scared too**. The thing is that I've worked doing so many different things. So many things. And when I realise that I've worked doing so many different things, I said, "What else can happen apart from them firing me?" (…). Of course, I was going through an awful time at that point, financially. I didn't even have enough money to buy bread. So, when you have a job and get a monthly salary, you're afraid of losing it. It's only natural. And of course, **if you stop being afraid, you could lose your job**. They could fire you. (Rosa)

The 'silent Rosa' is a shift in Rosa's mode of relating to her own fear in order to gain a sense of security. She did not want to lose her job again and the way to keep it was to be 'scared too', because 'if you stop being afraid, you could lose your job'. In her previous

work, Rosa 'felt it was an obligation to get involved in the Union'. In this new job, she paused her drive of 'I was always involved'. Instead, by adjusting herself to the school and following a series of self-improvement practices, Rosa was able to gain not only a sense of job stability but also a sense of ontological security by becoming an 'outstanding', 'best' and 'essential' teacher. It is within a practice of self-improvement offered by a set of performativity practices that she managed to gain a sense of security by experimenting with a specific practice of self-formation.

The pedagogical and the political critiques

This dynamic of gaining economic security by following a specific pedagogical direction was at the centre of the debate that took place in the discussion for a new TC during the 2014/2015 demonstration. As I have argued in Chapter 1, teachers expressed their dissidence about the uncritical support that the head of the *Colegio de Profesores*, Jaime Gajardo, a militant of the Communist Party, gave to the new TC by arguing that the new law was a *step forward*. As Eduardo González, leader of the MUD (see Table 2), puts it:

> What is not being discussed are **the foundations of the new conceptions that are regulating teachers' work**. (…) For us, the TC expressed, and thereby the division between *New Majority* and us, they emphasised in their discourse that the TC was a step forward and that position is coherent with their way of thinking. (…) It's not a debate between a false consciousness and a right and truth-consciousness, but **about two conceptions of truth in dispute**. (Eduardo)

He adds:

> The biggest problem we see is that the *Colegio de Profesores* has focused in recent years on an **economic struggle** as the central element, and when it raises **the pedagogical**, it does it in a shallow way. (Eduardo)

The opposition to the traditional way of running the *Colegio de Profesores* requires distinguishing two forms of struggles: the economic and the pedagogical. The new TC law offered a mechanism called *encasillamiento* or pigeonholing to increase teachers' earnings by employing a classificatory system based on their results in the teacher evaluation policy, which has been in force since 2003. If teachers' problems are mainly economic, then the law can be interpreted as a 'step forward'. However, if the economic struggle is linked to a pedagogical struggle, this is no longer possible because the *encasillamiento* system implied a mode of regulation of teachers' work that, together with fostering processes of individualisation and competition among teachers, involved additional activities that would contribute to increased *agobio*. As Eduardo puts it, the problem was not about raising the

salary; 'the right question is not how much the salary is raised but under which mechanisms is the salary raised'. For the dissident teachers this was 'a neoliberal strategy of salary flexibility' (Eduardo).

The focus of a *pedagogical critique* is on the new mechanism of management as a form of governing teachers' work. This first critique, as Eduardo explains, is based on a different understanding of how neoliberalism operates today:

> We say it is not an advance [the new TC] because the problem with *New Majority*, or particularly with the Communist Party, is that they haven't been able to understand how **neoliberalism**, the **privatising policies**, has been updated and nowadays these policies have a new expression. This discussion is the one we are developing in the organisation to understanding how neoliberalism today operates under **the logic of management** and not only through means of classical privatisation. (Eduardo)

The 'economic' struggle sees in the neoliberal way of regulating teachers' work a problem linked with a form of privatisation of their labour conditions, which has adversely affected their job security and salaries. However, the 'pedagogical' struggle puts its emphasis on the links between economic problems and the 'logic of management'. This last idea relates to Foucault's (2008) analysis of how neoliberalism extends the rationality of the market to 'domains which are not exclusively or not primarily economic' (p. 323), like education and, specifically, pedagogy. Pedagogy has become a modality of government that operates in and through subjectivity or, as Eduardo states, involves a problem of the 'composition of subjects':

> The problem is, above all, an **ideological political problem of the composition of subjects**. So, if that is the problem, the answer to face it is a long-term strategic response where the fundamental thing to do is to erode this neoliberal common sense **from the pedagogical** point of view. That's why the development of **new conceptions of pedagogy** is fundamental. (Eduardo)

In this quote, Eduardo introduces a second fundamental critique made by the dissident teachers: it is not only a problem of the conceptions regulating teachers' work (economic versus pedagogical managerialism) but also a problem of the different 'conceptions of pedagogy' that compose different teachers' subjects. The *pedagogical critique* is not enough; what it is also needed is a *political critique* that involves a politicisation of how pedagogy has been used as a modality of government. Mario Aguilar, current President of the *Colegio de Profesores* and leader of the dissident organisation REF (see Table 2), helps to clarify the main elements of this second critique. He argues:

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I think that the teacher, the educator, is an agent of transformation and humanisation of society. This conception, more integral of what it means to be a teacher (…) has been drowned, suffocated by the **more instrumental conceptions** of what it means to be a teacher. It's the **deprofessionalisation** of teachers to transform them into **technicians** applying a specific educative **technology** based on already made designs. It's **standardisation** and its **focus on performance outcomes**. This conception of the teacher's role has been established with great force in the last 25 years in Chile, **shrinking the meaning** [*empequeñecimiento del sentido*] of teachers' work. For a long time, and with great force, the concerns are about what to teach and how to teach, but not about what is the purpose of teaching. (…) At the end, it translates to the uneasiness of experiencing that one ends up performing dwarfed practices, which are super-punctual, super-instrumental and super-functional to the productive model of preparing for these standardised tests. From this way of doing things many problems arise: professional diseases, this state of discouragement, the hopelessness… (Mario)

The *political critique* opens up pedagogical questions – what to teach, how to teach, and what is the purpose of teaching? It is a critique oriented to politicise 'the logic of management' as a particular mode of regulating teachers' work that, since the mid-1990s, has become increasingly predominant to define teachers as technical workers. The process of 'standardisation and its focus on performance outcomes' has 'drowned', 'suffocated' and 'dwarfed' teachers' pedagogical practices by making it 'super-punctual, super-instrumental and super-functional to the productive model of preparing for these standardised tests'. This form of power based on teachers' pedagogical management is captured by the notion elaborated in the previous chapter as the *pedagogy of the bonsai*.

One of the originalities of the dissident teachers is the attempt of articulating and assembling both critiques. The notion of 'the political-pedagogical' brings together these critiques. Victor argues that he would like to see in a political movement of teachers a 'political-pedagogical' discourse. Rosa adds: 'It has to do with professional empowerment and with political-union empowerment [*político-gremial*]. Those two things are united, not separated'. For Pedro 'those demands are in a dialogue. (…) because you cannot put the pedagogical as a demand without considering the union-labour, the more economic struggle. Those two struggles cannot be separated'. As Lis explains, these two dimensions are two parts of her soul that need to be linked together:

I think that, for example, all my experience at the union, my humble experience of **unionism** in these few years, has been nourished from what I have done in the **school**, in the **classroom**. Because to be a teacher is all that I know how to do. I need to coordinate my rep and teacher's **functions**, but **both go together, together, together, completely together. I'm in between these two fronts**. (…). On both **fronts you have pedagogy**. (…) So, I'm placed [*metida*] in two **roles. It's if my soul were divided into two parts**. (Lis)

'I'm in between these two fronts' is the subjective space being elaborated by a *political-pedagogical* discourse as an attempt to connect the two functions, roles, fronts, parts of the soul of teachers that the neoliberal mode of governing has split. In its most obvious form it is a split between being a rep and being a classroom teacher; however, it is also a split between being a teacher and the possibility to think about how and who I am as a teacher. This split is related to the current ways in which a classroom teacher finds a sense of security not in the old traditional union practices but on the new practices of self-improvement offered by a technocratic pedagogy. From the dissident teachers' perspective, these two parts of the soul need to be thought and practised together. In what follows, I will develop further the specificities of both the *pedagogical* and the *political* critiques.

The pedagogical critique: the disdain for the field of pedagogy

The *pedagogical critique* in its most basic form is a visceral reaction against what Jaime Gajardo as head of the *Colegio de Profesores* from 2007 to 2016, connoted during the 2014/2015 demonstrations. An example of how Gajardo became a sort of symbol of how this critique is ingrained is mentioned during the workshop by Maria:

> As teachers, you need to have a **technical and pedagogical validity** in order to be able to do stuff inside the school. I think that the most explicit example, one that has a lot of sense for all of us, is Gajardo. One of the most significant critiques that were made towards his leadership was that "hey, this guy is **a terrible teacher**". (Maria - Workshop)

Gajardo currently connotes a way of being as a teacher that accentuates the split between the two parts of the soul Lis spoke about. Gajardo represents a rep without 'technical and pedagogical validity' or 'a terrible teacher'. The point is not that reps are people who do not work but that reps began to embody a way of relating to the problems of teachers, a way of being a 'political' teacher, which is rejected by the dissident teachers. Victor's experience of his second teaching job helps to de-personalise this critique and understand better the rejection against the way of being a 'political' teacher that Gajardo represents. After his job experience in the small private subsidised school, the one sold to a building company, he found a job in one of the oldest and most emblematic boys-only public schools of the country, a school of 4,000 students and 170 colleagues located in the city centre of Santiago. As he explains:

> I believe the year 2013 was a year of transition and limbo for me. Because, on the one hand, I had **the reality of frightened teachers** and, on the other hand, I had **the reality of empowered teachers.** (Victor)

In that year, he experienced two deeply contrasting scenarios. In the private subsided school, where he was leading a process of collective bargaining, and in the public school, where he found a strongly politicised and well-established teacher's union. The school had

> a super politicised *Consejo de Profesores* [Teachers' Meeting], with a really, really strong union, with very clear positions, with people who spoke very loudly, mostly mature teachers. So, it was an **attractive reality** for me, but at the same time, **intimidating** because it was like facing something new, being a little chicken [*pollito*], where nobody knows you. I was in a meeting with 170 teachers who were speaking about things that I didn't know, all the jargon of public schools. (Victor)

During that year, he felt very attracted to the discourse of the teachers of the public school: 'So, they have a discourse and rhetoric much more elaborated and intellectual. Really attractive to observe'. However, and this is one of the critical effects of the 2014/2015 teachers' demonstrations in Victor's experience, the aura of 'empowerment' surrounding the discourse of those teachers began to fade in the context of the mobilisation:

> In the 2014 strike, how to say it, I began to feel that the same discourse to which I felt attracted and found interesting in 2013 was indeed a **disappointing** one. During 2014 that discourse was transformed for me into something, I don't know, disappointing because I realised that it was just **empty politicking** [*politiquería vacía*]. (Victor)

There was too much gossip and too many secrets, and a lot of internal rivalry and competition among groups of colleagues. As he adds:

> We were discussing internal issues, internal rivalry, without focusing on what was going on at the national level. I felt like "**okay, strike for what purpose?** Is to discuss internal affairs and fight among ourselves?" (…). My experience in this school was that they did have a super rhetoric and interesting discourse, a political discourse, but in any case they were elaborating pedagogical argument for what was going on (…), its demands were mainly **salary adjustments** (…) and [they were] **not elaborating pedagogical arguments**. (Victor)

The question 'strike for what purpose?' and the fact that the demands were 'mainly salary adjustments' involved a form of politicisation empty of pedagogical arguments. The problem of this type of mere economic struggle, as Victor adds, is that it can produce a type of struggle that produces hopelessness:

> In the end, it is **politicisation**, but a teacher's politicisation based on **hopelessness** regarding what is happening. This is going to sound awful, but they [his colleagues] vote "yes" to the strike, and they stayed at home. I mean, a month and a half at home without coming to the school. (…) The problem is not about giving or not giving classes, is about how you support your action, your movement, your revolution, whatever you want to call it, but how you support it using pedagogical arguments: **that's what we are, we are pedagogues, we are teachers!** What you saw in the national leaders and the leaders of my school as well, was **the absence**

of pedagogical arguments. On the contrary, on some occasions, they even spoke badly about giving classes, like if it were something insignificant: that's outrageous! **We must give classes and we must care for the classroom**. So, it was disappointing, and for that reason, I began to feel curious and the need to participate and feel, deep down, that we can professionalise our work without leaving behind its political aspects. (Victor)

As I argue in Chapter 1, one of the consequences of the neoliberal transformations that took place during the 1980s was that a new ontology based on the idea of being an entrepreneur was imposed on teachers. Teachers were reduced to subjects of interest based on the principles of the *homo economicus* (Foucault, 2008), that is, they were not only subjected to economic insecurities but, at the same time, they needed to 'become a "professional market" of themselves' (Feldfeber, 2007, p. 446, mt). For this reason, since the late 1980s, the primary political demand of teachers has been related to economic improvements and salary adjustments (Cornejo & Reyes, 2008). The national leaders and the school reps that Victor is describing are an expression of 25 years of neoliberal precarity (Lazzarato, 2009). A generic and technical worker is someone hired to give classes that can be replaced at any moment by anyone. The only bargaining tool that a generic and technical worker has is their ability to refuse to give classes. The care is not for the classroom but for the job. Under this discourse, it is possible to vote yes to the strike and stay a month and a half, the 57 days of the 2015 strike, at home. It is the act of not giving classes that makes this type of teacher a critical teacher. It is the political articulation of an economic teacher subject. However, if a teacher thinks, as Victor does, that 'we are pedagogues, we are teachers!', a different type of problematisation emerges, 'we must give classes and we must care for the classroom'. If the teacher cares for the classroom the question shifts from whether giving/not giving classes to what is so essential that it justifies stopping doing what one cares about, that is, a question for the purpose of the strike.

For the dissident teachers, salary adjustment is a necessary struggle but not a sufficient one for not giving classes. Victor felt that his politicised colleagues did not care for the classroom and said 'I began to stray afield from the union of the school'. He felt 'curious and the need to participate' but not from a discourse that disrespects and expresses disdain for the classroom. His curiosity led him to 'other side', that of his history colleagues, the majority of whom did not participate in the 2015 strike. However, he also found it challenging to engage with them. As he puts it:

There is the other side, to become, I don't know, **a technocrat**. In this school you have people who are very well trained in terms of doing classes, preparing classes, **I really admire them**, but when it's time to, I don't know, have a position, they

don't have it and are not interested in having one, "no, what's the point, we are going to end the same as we are". (…) They are people very well prepared, with an MA in history or in evaluation, but when it's time to do politics, no. They have become de-politicised because of the disappointment that their same leaders have produced in them: "hey, that guy that speaks in the assembly is not able to be in charge of a classroom", or "she is not able to delivering a proper plan of her classes". (Victor)

The problem relates to the two souls of teachers mentioned by Lis: a political teacher fighting for their labour conditions without caring for the classroom and the technocrat teacher caring for the classroom without fighting for their labour conditions. The first embraces 'empty politicking', whereas the second has 'become de-politicised'. The politics of the union reps, according to Victor, is a 'politicisation based on hopelessness regarding what is happening'; whereas there is an absence of politics from the technocrat teachers, who have decided not to get involved, 'no, what's the point, we are going to end the same as we are'. In a way, until the 2014/2015 demonstrations, politics was absent from the field of pedagogy. This lack of politics can be related to the teachers' absence on the educational movements of 2006 and 2011 (Cornejo & Insunza, 2013).

The notion of the 'cultivation of fear' provides additional theoretical elements to understand how the absence of politicisation in the field of pedagogy produced a sort of paralysis or immobilisation among teachers. The idea of 'cultivation of fear' is mentioned by Paulo Freire (Shor & Freire, 1987) in a dialogue with Ira Shor. In 1985, Shor collected a series of questions 'raised by teachers interested in social change and liberating classrooms' (p. 1), which were presented to Freire as the basis for a conversation. One of the issues was: *What are the fears and risk of transformation?* Talking about the fear of punishment that teachers who follow an 'experimental pedagogy' (p. 54) face, Freire argues:

> When we begin to feel ourselves involved in concrete fears, like losing our jobs (…), we have to add some other clarifications to the original clarification of our political dreams. We must establish some limits for our fear. (…) And fear can be immobilising. At this moment, I am trying to be didactic, in the interpretation of this problem. Now, I am recognizing the right to have fear. Nevertheless, I must establish the limits, to 'cultivate' my fear. (Laughs) To cultivate means to accept it. (…) Look, of course, I don't need to make public speeches about my fear. But, I don't need to rationalize my fear and I must not deny it. (p. 55-56)

'Concrete fears, like losing our jobs', is one of the main components of the subjective state of teachers in the last 35-40 years. A 'fear can be immobilising', producing a 'semi-paralysis' (Weil, 2002). If this is the case, the fear has made a limit-situation such as the threat of unemployment look like 'insurmountable barriers' (Freire, 2000, p. 99). The person is immobile in the everyday experience of a given situation that seems impossible to change.

For Freire 'fear comes from your political dream and to deny the fear is to deny your dream' (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 56). There is a fear-dream relation. When the fear predominates, it has become part of a process of rationalisation as an attempt to explain logically the reasons why you feel a particular fear without necessarily establishing limits to it. For example, Victor's colleagues' arguments: 'I have to take care of my job', 'if we go to a strike, we go back to zero. Let's take what has been offered' or Rosa's colleagues' arguments: 'Oh, I'm not going to get involved in this because afterwards, I'll lose my job', 'Oh no, I'm not going to support you because afterwards, I'll get in trouble' or, 'I'm not going to get too close because such and such could happen to me…', are rational ways of speaking about the fear of losing one's job. The potential dream in these examples is their job security; however, the dream is limited by the fear to any practice that could endanger their job. For Freire, the solution is not to rationalise one's fears but to cultivate them, which means that instead of rationalising them, we establish limits by experimenting with them. Freire introduces the old problem of the relationship between tactics and strategy to expand his idea of the cultivation of fear:

> If you consider that strategy means your dream, the tactics are just the mediations, the ways, the methods, the roads, the instruments to concretize the dream, to materialize the strategy. This relationship cannot be dichotomized (…) the more you bring strategy and tactics into agreement, the more you recognize the space which limits your actions (…). Of course, one of the serious questions is how to learn the position where the limit is. You don't find that in books! With whom do you learn how to establish limits? You learn by practicing it. You learn by experiencing. You learn by being punished! (p. 57-58)

Freire (2005) is connecting the problem of the fear-dream relation with the notion of 'untested feasibility'. It is as if in the hyphen of the fear-dream relation dwells the possibility to see limits as either insurmountable barriers or obstacles that might be transgressed. It is in the second possibility, as I argued in Chapter 4, that a field of experimentation could open up. The field of experimentation is the site where we can 'learn the position where the limit is' by enacting experimental practices which might lead to 'being punished'. As Freire (Shor & Freire, 1987) states, 'if you don't command your fear, you no longer risk. And if you don't risk, you don't create anything. Without risking, for me, there is no possibility to exist' (p. 61). Simone Weil (2002) also considers that, as security, risk is 'an essential need of the soul' (p. 33). Just as fear, which produces a 'semi-paralysis':

> The absence of risk produces a type of boredom which paralyses in a different way from fear, but almost as much. Moreover, there are certain situations which, involving as they do a diffused anguish without any clearly defined risks, spread the two kinds of disease at once. (…) the absence of risk weakens courage to the

point of leaving the soul, if the need should arise, without the slightest inner protection against fear. (p. 33-34)

Weil considers that 'without any clearly defined risks' the soul is left without 'the slightest inner protection against fear'. The absence of security produces fears that obstruct the possibilities of risking, and the absence of risk produces boredom that diminishes courage. Between these two absences can be theoretically placed the problem of the 'cultivation of fears' as an 'experimental attitude', or as Foucault (1997f) would suggest, the problem of an 'historical analysis of the limits imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them' (p. 319).

Experimental practices can lead to different types of problems, losing one's job being the most frightful for teachers. Flor, Rosa, Hugo, Lis, Jacinto and Maria all experienced some kind of punishment for trying to test some limits. Flor, Rosa and Hugo were fired, and all six of them suffered some kind of retaliation from their managers because of their transgressive actions. The different forms of punishments experienced by Rosa made her change her mode of being as a teacher and, as an experimental and feasible practice, to adjust herself to the school. She wanted to keep her job for a change and experience some sense of security and risk. The technocratic pedagogy has been able to offer a way to address the needs of the soul of security and risk by offering a set of feasible untested practices.

The traditional political discourse of teachers, by expressing disdain for the pedagogical field as a site of struggle, has enabled the use of pedagogy as site of experimentation from a 'logic of management', offering teachers a way to cultivate their fears under this logic. Victor's admiration for his technocratic colleagues and Rosa's two-years-of-silence period of learning from 'a technical point of view' entails a recognition that the technocratic mode of being a teacher offers a possibility of turning away from fear. Rosa learned the specifics of how pedagogy is standardised: planning classes every day, the modalities of evaluation, and the possible rewards, promotions and paths of self-improvement. Following these steps, it is possible to become an 'outstanding' teacher. This label, once achieved, was able to diminish Rosa's fear of being replaced. She stopped being just a 'generic' teacher, and became a teacher 'essential for environmental matters' and the 'best teacher', getting 'a promotion right away'. The problem is that the control held over the fear-dream relation by the technocratic pedagogy offers its own dreams, for example, to perform well in the standardised tests or get a good evaluation. As I argued in Chapter 1, Chilean teachers, in different moments of their history, have unfolded experimental practices around pedagogy.

For this reason, it is possible to argue that the field of pedagogy as a site of experimentation has been captured by the neoliberal way of governing teachers. The failure to see the importance of pedagogy in the current mode of governing the teaching force is the essence of the *pedagogical critique* of the dissident teachers.

The political critique: validation and struggle within the field of pedagogy

The specific *political critique* of a technocratic pedagogy can be analysed in the ways the dissident teachers refer to the problem of being 'a good teacher'. One of the strongest ideas related to this problem is the importance of having 'pedagogical validation'. As Maria mentioned above: 'As teachers, you need to have a technical and pedagogical validity in order to be able to do stuff inside the school.' This is very similar to Rosa's idea that first comes a 'pedagogical validation' and then a 'union validation':

> You validate yourself **professionally** and then comes a **union** validation. First comes the professional validation, and then comes the union validation. (…) I think that always, always, always the teacher needs to be an intellectual in their work, an intellectual of pedagogy, of education, he or she needs to know [*saber*] what they are talking about. You, teacher, need to know about your discipline, about your area, an engineer cannot come to tell you how to do your work. (…) For that reason, I have always said; **first, you need a professional validation and then comes the union validation**. I see that path. Because if you are a good teacher, "yes, I believe you, because you have demonstrated that you are a good teacher", "I believe you". (Rosa)

For Rosa, pedagogy is a form of intellectual work from where it is possible to elaborate a sense of 'professional validation'. A 'good teacher', as Rosa puts it, needs this specific validation to gain her colleagues' and managers' trust and confidence. Lis expands on this:

> The teacher, like the Romans, **must be above suspicion** [*debe serlo y parecerlo*] and be the best in what you do (…) in the sense that experts from outside will come and the teacher needs to have the last word. (…) So, if you came to talk to me about the TC, "What are you saying to me, man? I have been certified, and your shitty evaluations certify me". I did the teachers' evaluation, I filmed my class and all of that, I **entered the enemy's logic** to try to understand how these guys see this type of evaluations, that it's a terrible way of seeing it, like "beginning, development and closure". **We**, **teachers who work in the classroom**, know that the classroom transgresses far beyond that shit. (…) If the enemy puts tests to you, well go to know them, go and look at how they are. In the end, if you do well your job, you are going to do well in the tests that they are elaborating for you because the work is done. So, you must be above suspicion in all places. (…) I'm also a union leader as he [Gajardo] was, but I'm worried about being up-to-date and providing good classes to my students because there is **an ethical component** when you are also a classroom teacher. Therefore, when you choose the path of politicisation, you need to be a good teacher. (…) It is **an ethical attitude**; you try to be a good union leader and to be a good teacher. (Lis)

A 'competent' or 'good' teacher for Lis is not only someone who has been evaluated in a positive way but also, and most importantly, someone who is 'above suspicion'. To be 'above suspicion' means to have 'pedagogical validation'. For Lis, this means entering into 'the enemy's logic' in order to be able to discuss with 'the experts from outside'. In a way, this tactic is a recognition that the field of pedagogy is currently managed by an 'outsider' and 'enemy' logic, 'the logic of management', which does not know about the 'work in the classroom'. Rosa's claim that the teacher 'needs to be an intellectual in their work, an intellectual of pedagogy, of education, he or she needs to know [*saber*] what they are talking about' involves for Lis 'an ethical component' and 'an ethical attitude'. The pedagogical validation, in this sense, is a tactic that involves 'an ethical attitude' becoming a way to bridge the historical split between the classroom teacher and the union leader. Excelling in the practices of self-improvement becomes a way to cultivate one's fear in order to experiment on the 'path of politicisation' as a practice of self-formation.

In this sense, it can be seen as a tactic of *responsibility as resistance*, the other side of the coin of Ball and Olmedo's (2013) 'irresponsibility as resistance' (p. 88). As I described in Chapter 2, they state that 'the responsibility to perform' (p. 88) can be resisted by acting irresponsibly and putting into question and resisting the responsibilities of the performativity regime. These practices can bring teachers 'back into the sphere of the *political*, as an actor who takes up a position in relation to new discourses and truths and looks critically at the meaning and enactments of policy' (p. 92). In the case of Maria, Rosa and Lis the way to bring themselves back into the sphere of the *political* is by performing well in the different evaluations of the performativity regime. Many interpretative paths can be pursued to understand the differences between the tactics of irresponsibility or responsibility: the gender of the participants, the relationship of power within the schools, the sociocultural context, the political project of the participants, the difference between standing alone and being part of an organisation, among others. The image of the union rep as a 'bad teacher' discussed above links one way of being a political teacher to the idea that they are irresponsible classroom teachers. The dissident teachers are, first of all, a critique of this 'path of politicisation', making pedagogical irresponsibility, even in its technocratic form, something difficult. In this sense, it can be argued that a different set of tactics are available for teachers to get 'back into the sphere of the *political*', and for the dissident teachers this relates to a sense of responsibility captured by the idea of having 'pedagogical validation' to be 'above suspicion'.

This sense of responsibility can be related to another of Simone Weil's (2002) needs of the soul. She considers that 'initiative and responsibility, to feel one is useful and even indispensable, are vital needs of the human soul' (p. 15). One of the elements Weil considers necessary for this need to be satisfied is that a person 'should often have to take decisions in matters great or small affecting interests that are distinct from his own, but in regard to which he feels a personal concern' (p. 15). It can be inferred that together with providing a sense of security, this particular tactic of pedagogical validation enables teachers to reconnect with 'the communal interest' I analysed in Chapter 1 as 'active bonds of compassion, benevolence, love for one's fellows, and sense of community' (Foucault, 2008, p. 302). As I argued, these bonds are always in tension with the dissociative bonds of the self-interested *homo economicus*. Therefore, in a mode of governing teachers ruled by the principles of *homo economicus*, one problem is how to articulate different forms of communal interest.

The teacher subject is both pushed and seduced to speak from its own egoistic interest by a set of individual self-improvement practices, forming an individualistic and competitive ethics. The technocratic pedagogy, as a form of power, uses the disciplinary power of pedagogy to 'dovetail into it, integrate it, modify it to some extent, and above all, use it by sort of infiltrating it, embedding itself' (Foucault, 2004, p. 242). Pedagogy becomes a space from where a specific 'kind of relationship you ought to have with yourself' (Foucault, 1997a, p. 263), technically oriented, is being produced. Therefore, the problem seems to be how to enable oneself with space within the field of pedagogy to unfold a different practice of ethical self-formation. The tactic of being above suspicion seems to provide a way to speak from a different ethical position by enacting a different ethical attitude. Maria's example of painting the courtyard of her school, a strongly personal concern as a physical education teacher on an issue which is affecting her students, helps to illustrate how the practice of pedagogical validation offers a way of getting 'back into the sphere of the *political*' (Ball & Olmedo, 2013, p. 92).

> A teacher who is **well recognised** in their school, pedagogically, can question some things. Because if not, if you do not have recognition in your school, even though they might not tell it to you publically, they can talk behind your back "what are you speaking about if you are not capable of…" In my case, this is super clear. My class is completely exposed. If I make a mistake, everybody sees it. The same if I do things well. Because the courtyard [for physical education classes] is in the middle of the school. So, I feel that there are some things that **I can say because my work is validated** inside the school. If it were not validated, I think that there are some things that I would **feel ashamed** to say or I wouldn't **dare** to say. Even if I didn't feel ashamed, I don't know if it's possible to say it. (…) My headteacher

is (…) very determined that the school needs to be an "*escuela digna*" [dignified school]. The school needs to be dignified; we all have to make the dignified school. So well, you say, "Okay, I can contribute to the dignified school and I can use three days of my holidays painting the court so that when the students arrive they don't slip and I can do my classes. But, the system is bad because if we didn't have all this bureaucracy, all the economic control and embezzlement that we have, I could have asked that someone, a professional painter, could have come to paint the court and not me". Therefore, for example, if I didn't do my work and understand that pedagogically I need a decent court, I could probably be questioned when I **put into question** the structural problems that we have today, because they would say to me: "Well, what are you doing in order to make a more dignified school?" (…) Today I can say, "I was here in the summer painting the court. I'm not bothered for doing that, I did it this time and I could do it five more times if it's necessary. **But this is unacceptable**. It shouldn't be like this. I do it in a good vibe [*en la buena onda*], but it's not okay…" And I have said it. **When you do that, you can say**: "Okay, we want a dignified school, but at the expense of whom? At the expense of our own lack of dignity". (Maria)

By painting the courtyard, Maria elaborated for herself an ethical ground or ethical space from where she could speak her own truth. Painting the courtyard so that 'when the students arrive they don't slip and I can do my classes', is a way for Maria to have initiative and be responsible for a matter affecting the interest of her students which she regards as a personal concern. She engages in a communitarian interest. From this point of view, the tactic of pedagogical validation can be understood as a set of different experimental practices, from performing well in standardised tests or evaluating policies to painting the school's courtyard, which enables the dissident teacher to fight within the pedagogical field. This is an untested and feasible tactic to articulate a different way of speaking, which is political in a *parrehesian* sense (Ball, 2015b), that is, it involves a particular 'ethics of speech', related to speaking frankly (Foucault, 2005) about what they consider 'is unacceptable'.

Pedagogical validation involves a willingness to be subjected to an ideal of the 'good teacher' or 'dignified school' mobilised by a set of devices that the dissident teachers do not necessarily share. As a tactic, it uses the practices of self-improvement as a way to open the field of pedagogy as a site for self-formation. It is a tactic that acts under the ethical principle of 'if the enemy puts tests to you, well go to know them' as Lis argues, which relates to the old saying of 'keep your friends close and your enemies closer'. By relating to the practices of self-improvement, a sense of self-validation is recovered, as Maria states, 'I can say because my work is validated inside the school. If it were not validated, I think that there are some things that I would feel ashamed to say or I wouldn't dare to say'. A sense of ontological security, of not feeling ashamed and daring to speak, is recovered by the tactic of pedagogical validation. The capture of the field of pedagogy by a technocratic

mode of governing, in a way, has made it necessary for the dissident teachers to become 'good teachers' within its technocratic and narrow delineations to be able to gain some sense of ontological security to speak their truths.

It is based on pedagogical validation that a *political critique* becomes possible. From this ethical ground, the problem of the classroom teacher, the main subject of governance articulated by the technocratic pedagogy, becomes a site of struggle. It is from this political tactic that the dissident teachers can introduce the idea of the teacher-student relationship as a transformative practice. All the teachers I worked with have been influenced in one way or another by Paulo Freire's ideas. In some cases, this influence is evident. For example, Flor belongs to a smaller teachers' organisation named *The Paulo Freire Collective* and Pedro's work in an 'informal school' was based on Freire's idea of 'popular education'. In some cases his influence is explicitly recognised, as when Rosa and Lis speak about concrete ideas they have borrowed from Freire; in other cases, such as Maria, Hugo, Victor and Jacinto, the references are more subtle, referring to the importance of a 'critical' or 'transformative' pedagogy. In general, what they emphasise, in different ways, is the transformative potential of a dialogical pedagogy. However, what has changed from the time when Freire wrote *the pedagogy of the oppressed* is that the limits that inhibit the possibility of dialogical pedagogical practices are different. In the early 1970s, Freire's (2005) critique was directed to an anti-dialogic pedagogy, which

> involves a narrating Subject (the teacher) and patient, listening objects (the students) (…). The teacher talks about reality as if it were motionless, static, compartmentalized, and predictable. (…) Narration (with the teacher as narrator) leads the students to memorize mechanically the narrated content. Worse yet, it turns them into "containers," into "receptacles" to be "filled" by the teacher. The more completely she fills the receptacles, the better a teacher she is. The more meekly the receptacles permit themselves to be filled, the better students they are. (p. 71-72)

In Freire's account of an anti-dialogic pedagogy, the main active force producing oppression is the teacher. By a set of negative forms of power such as conquering, division, ruling, manipulation and cultural invasion, the 'learning subject' is made an empty container to be filled. The teacher oppresses the student in very direct and immediate ways (Foucault, 1982). However, the technocratic management of the pedagogical relation involves a different form of mediation between the teacher and the student. It is now the relationship itself and not the students that has been put into 'receptacles' or 'containers'. The technocratic mode of governing enacts a type of pedagogical interaction that can produce a sense of measured growth or development, but, as I have argued in the previous

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chapter, a minimal one. The pedagogy of the oppressed distinguished an anti-dialogical-bad-mode-of-being teacher vs a democratic-good-mode-of-being teacher. In the technocratic way of elaborating a pedagogical relation, this binary is no longer clear-cut; there is a way of being a 'good teacher' that is mediated by a set of standardised instruments and a different set of products. A teacher can be anti-dialogical and 'good' or 'outstanding' without problems.

The notion of virtuosity used by Paolo Virno (2004) to understand differences within intellectual labour can help us to understand better how the technocratic pedagogical relation creates different and additional problems within the field of pedagogy than the one articulated by the notion of a pedagogy of the oppressed. By virtuosity Virno (2004) means,

> the special capabilities of a performing artist. A virtuoso, for example, is the pianist who offers us a memorable performance of Schubert; or it is a skilled dancer, or a persuasive orator, or a teacher who is never boring, or a priest who delivers a fascinating sermon. Let us consider carefully what defines the activity of virtuosos, of performing artists. First of all, theirs is *an activity which finds its own fulfilment (that is, its own purpose) in itself*, without objectifying itself into an end product, without settling into a "finished product," or into an object which would survive the performance. Secondly, it is *an activity which requires the presence of others*, which exists only in the presence of an audience. (p. 52, his italics)

Performance, for Virno, is an activity-without-an-end-product that requires the presence of others. These two characteristics of virtuosity, he explains, are interrelated; because there is no circulating product, it is the presence of others that gives sense to the virtuoso's activity. Following Marx's distinction on intellectual labour, he states that, on the one hand, one type of intellectual labour results in a commodity such as a book or a painting: an activity-with-end-product. The different measures developed under a performativity regime (Ball, 2003), for example, the day-to-day planning of teachers or the students' results in a standardised test, are part of processes that objectify the pedagogical interaction generating a product that can circulate. These processes have managed to make out of teaching an activity-with-end-product. On the other hand, Virno (2004) argues, there are activities 'which find in themselves their own fulfilment without being objectivised into an end product which might surpass them' (p. 53). Activity-without-end-product. This second type includes 'all those whose labour turns into a virtuosic performance: pianists, butlers, dancers, teachers, orators, medical doctors, priests, etc.' (p. 54).

In addition to the anti-dialogical versus the dialogical pedagogy of Freire (2005), a new type of pedagogical relation has been fabricated by the performative mode of governing, a

technocratic pedagogy. The following quote from Rosa helps to clarify the difference between an 'oppressive' and a 'technocratic' pedagogical interaction:

> So, when I **plan** my day-to-day teaching, I always do it based on having loads of **empathy**. For example, when I plan, when I'm thinking of my learning resources, I say, "OK, I'm going **to put myself in my pupils' place**, as if I were them. What would I think about this? Boring. Boring or interesting?" Or sometimes I ask my daughter. Or I ask the teachers, "What do you think of this? This activity?" But sometimes I've been wrong too. It usually works out. It works out. I've realised that when I do things with more dedication [*ganas*], with more enthusiasm, when I say, "Oh, look how nice this is turning out", that's when the kids like it more. (Rosa)

An objectifying instrument of the pedagogical interaction does not necessarily imply that a teacher is going to relate with their students in an oppressive way. The day-to-day plan can be a device to train a more empathetic practice concerning one's students, as Rosa puts it. Rosa even found a way to feel that she was a dedicated and enthusiastic teacher through a technical product that she first resisted by 'not handing in my class plan'. In this sense, the problem and novelty of the technocratic pedagogy is not the elaboration of end products. As I argued in Chapter 1 following Nuñez's (1990) work, since the 1950s in Chile, 'a group of distinguished pedagogues of the professional elite' confined the experimental and progressive pedagogical ideas formed by the 1920s primary teachers, in the 'sub-product' of a 'technical teacher's work centred on methodological recipes' (p. 212). The problem is less about the existence of an end product and more about the use of these objectifying products as a mode of governing.

Monique Lanoix's work (2013), who employs Virno's argument in relation to the work of emotional care of older adults, provides an additional clue to analyse the novelty of the technocratic form of government. She discusses some problems related to the idea that in the future, it will be possible to have 'robotic care'. She states that a robot can take care of the physical needs and 'may even generate a feeling of well-being in the person it is assisting by saying calming words (…). However, the robot is a machine and does not have an embodied response to the person receiving care.' (p. 92). The interaction that the robot establishes is programmed. As Lanoix argues:

> There is an interaction between the two; however, there is no relationship. This is also the case for the flight attendant and the traveler, if attention is focused only on the end result of the emotional labor, the comfort of the traveler. In such a characterization of emotional labor, the relationship that exists between the emotional laborer and the person being cared for has disappeared. However, if attention is directed not only at the end result but at the process of emotional labor, it can be seen that the flight attendant and the traveler are interacting. In fact, the

traveler may have an impact on the flight attendant's mental states. A traveler could cheer her up or maybe make her upset. The interaction is not unidirectional. (p. 93)

The problem, as Lanoix (2013) puts it, relates to the focus of the attention. As I stated in the previous chapter, one of the features of the *pedagogy of the bonsai* is its ability to manage and guide teachers' practices. As Lis argued when she wrote about the event she named "The SIMCE results arrived", 'the focus of attention was diverted towards what this explosive information involves for our school'. The novelty of the technocratic pedagogy is its capacity to direct the focus of attention of teaching and learning to end-results products like the SIMCE results. In the description of the different faces of *agobio* in the previous chapter, Pedro described his colleagues as being like 'a cog in the machine', with an 'attitude of complete apathy', 'becoming a robot without a heart', 'an automatized teacher', 'inert', 'still demanding but not doing anything' – using Lanoix's language directly. Lis considers that her colleagues were defeated because they pressurize their students to perform for money, 'it's like "OK, it's bad, anti-ethical to pressure students for their results, but let's do it, in the end, we are talking about 300 extra quid"'. In these cases, as Lanoix puts it, 'the relationship that exists between the emotional laborer and the person being cared for has disappeared'. The technocratic pedagogy has the potential to fabricate a type of teacher-student interaction subsumed into an end-product rationality. This enables the formation of a technocratic teacher subject such as the one described by Pedro and Lis. The following Table 10 is useful to point out the specific way of operating of a technocratic pedagogical interaction:

Table 10 – Different Focus of Attention in the Field of Pedagogy

Focus	The process or the performance		The end results
Type of relation	Anti-dialogical relationship	Dialogical relationship	Unidirectional interaction where the relationship has disappeared
Subject	Oppressive teacher	Transformative teacher	Robotic teacher
Pedagogy	Pedagogy of the oppressed	Experimental pedagogy	Technocratic pedagogy or pedagogy of the bonsai

As can be seen, the *pedagogy of the oppressed* is a problematisation of different modes of executing the performance of the teaching-learning encounter, whereas the *political critique* of technocratic pedagogical relations problematises how the focus of attention can be captured by the emphasis these types of interaction put on end results. As I argued in Chapter 2, since the 1990s, in relation to the emphasis on the education quality debate in

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a knowledge economy context (Ozga, 2008), a complex set of devices oriented to objectifying teaching as an end product have developed and expanded in different parts of the world. The focus of teaching as intellectual work seems to be more or less distributed between the end results and the process and, in that sense, it could have different mixes. It is the case that Rosa's day-to-day teaching plan was done with 'empathy', 'dedication' and 'enthusiasm'. However, the same day-to-day plan can be used as a tool to pressure teachers. The problem is not the end result in itself but how the incremental use of technical-pedagogical devices without a political counterpart from teachers has enabled a scenario where teachers can be subjected to an intense form of domination by these technical devices.

The teacher as a 'robot without a heart' or the teacher who pressures their students for '300 extra quid' are examples of what can happen when the technocratic pedagogical interaction fixes the teacher's attention on end results. It is in these cases that a *political critique* becomes necessary. The technocratic pedagogy, as a mode of governing teachers, involves an ethical interaction between teachers and students. In this type of interaction, when the students become a mean to pressure for money, the relationship has disappeared and what remains is an interaction where the student is no longer, in Lanoix (2013) words, 'a subject of care'. The pedagogical relationship has been 'subsumed under the rubric of a commodity-producing activity that relies on disembodied exchanges' (p. 96). A process of subsuming the relational dimensions of pedagogy into the end result product rationality is at work.

Hugo Zemelman (2006) states that when a discursive form of power becomes dominant, it

> works as a sort of invisible influence (…) imposing a purpose [*el para qué*] into things. The dominant power discourse is attributing significations and, hence, theoretical status to specific problems. It gives status to some problems by, at the same time, denying the possibility or the sense that studying other problems might have. (p. 112. mt)

Following this idea, it can be argued that the technocratic pedagogy, as a dominant form of power governing teachers, has two significant effects. First, the practice of teaching and learning only makes sense, and makes sense of its practitioners, teachers and students, in terms of their measurabilities. The different set of end products have become *the* purpose of teaching and learning. In my research experience, the best example that I have found of a teacher who has all her attention on the end results is the case of Rosario. She is a young

primary teacher who worked for four years (from 2009 to 2012) in a public school that serves extremely poor students. When I met her in 2012 she had been working for the last four years with the same class of children, from the age of 6 to the age of 9, in order to prepare them to take the 4th-grade SIMCE. She worked intensively to obtain good results in it. In the context of participating in ethnographic research in this school (Acuña et al., 2014; Assaél et al., 2014), I conducted a focus group with the teachers. A colleague of Rosario's encouraged her to speak about her experience with the test. Rosario said: 'This year we did the SIMCE and these last four years it has been as busy as a bee. Very exhausting, extremely exhausting in a personal way'. After she described her experience, the same colleague who asked her to speak made the following reflection:

> Do you know why I remember Rosario? Because we got this SIMCE and all that. The thing is that we stopped seeing Rosario in our breaks, especially when she was in third and fourth grade. (…). In the first year, we shared breakfast and everything, but in the last years, we didn't see Rosario in the teachers' room. And it was a long period of time in which she has become like this with SIMCE [she puts both hands together, very tied] (Teacher in focus group).

Teaching and learning, for Rosario, only makes sense in relation to SIMCE. She is a 'good teacher' and her students 'good students' if they perform well in the SIMCE. Rosario has subsumed the process of teaching and learning into the end results of SIMCE. In this pedagogical interaction, it seems that the student, as a subject of care, has not disappeared, but the pedagogical relationship has been impoverished and narrowed to the pedagogical parameters of SIMCE.

The other effect of the technocratic pedagogy as a mode of governing is that it denies, that is, it renders invalid or unthinkable, other forms of teaching and learning. It captures, following Foucault (1997a), the *telos*, or the problem of 'which is the kind of being to which we aspire when we behave in a moral way?' (p. 265). By fixing the practices of self-formation within the narrow grid of a practice of self-improvement, it excludes other ways of problematising pedagogy, making it difficult to think of other forms of pedagogical experimentation. The following words of Victor express how the *political critique* is an aspiration oriented to bringing teachers 'back into the sphere of the *political*' (Ball & Olmedo, 2013, p. 92) through struggling within the site of pedagogy.

> All this time in which the *Colegio de Profesores* was more dedicated to a salary struggle, to the political struggle, to what was outside the classroom, they were not seeing that there is an extraordinary **political potential in a struggle based on pedagogical**, **professional** and **technical arguments**. I think that this is the best way in which we can politically empower ourselves. (…). As teachers, we have been

> unable to defend this niche, the niche that is our wealth and main dealing potential or our main transformative potential. (Victor)

The classroom, as a space-time of relationships between the teacher and the student, has huge 'political potential'. The dissident teachers, instead of directing their struggle to what is 'outside the classroom', that is, the salary struggle, are creating an ethical ground based on the importance of the space-time of the classroom as a site of politicisation. However, to ethically grounding themselves in the classroom seems to be a potentiality, a sort of work in progress. *Political-pedagogical dissent* is an attempt to begin that work.

Closing Remarks

Political-pedagogical dissent is one of the emergent elements of my analysis. The first objective of my thesis, to explore the narratives of the dissident teachers in their everyday practices, was a way to give context to the narration of their subjective limits (objective two) and their experimental practices (objective three). In a way, this first objective did not have the same status as an 'epistemic' category of research (H. Zemelman, 2005). Subjective limits and experimental practices put us, as Zemelman (2007) states, 'in front of a double reality: the given reality and the virtual reality' (p. 167) or, as Foucault (1997f) suggests, they articulate the 'difficult interplay between the truth of what is real and the exercise of freedom' (p. 311), evoking 'the care one takes of what exists and what might exist' (1997e, p. 325). My main research categories aimed to capture the relationship between the truth of what is real (the given reality) and of what might exist (the virtual reality).

Framed thus, as I argued in Chapter 4, I considered the category of narrative as a useful tool with which to apprehend empirically this subjective movement between realities. I argued that dissident teachers were in the process of ontological unbinding and that they were creating a space in their virtual reality of experimentation by elaborating true and rational discourses. However, the narration of oneself acquires a different status in this chapter, becoming a central category to enact the subjective movement between realities. The narration of *political-pedagogical dissent* was captured mainly in the narrations of the first interviews I conducted with the eight grassroots teachers, where they narrate their personal, everyday stories as teachers, as well as their decision to become organised as dissident teachers.

The narration of becoming a *political-pedagogical* teacher has a different and more complex function than merely being an instrumental device for producing empirical data around the limits and experimental practices of a dissident subject. *Political-pedagogical dissent* is a mode

of addressing the question of, as Zemelman (2005) puts it, 'how can we situate ourselves [*colocarnos*] before what we want to know?' (p. 65). It is a mode of positioning oneself at a subjective limit from where experimental practice can unfold. The narration of dissent or a critique has the function of articulating and delineating a field within the virtual reality that creates an ethical ground from where experimentation is possible. In this sense, the narration of dissent puts together both of my research categories: subjective limits and experimental practices. The articulating status of the narration of their dissident selves is captured in the position of this analytical chapter, situated between Chapter 7, focused on the subjective limit of *agobio* and Chapter 9, focused on experimental practices.

Political-pedagogical dissent is composed of two critiques, aimed at clarifying the current limits of teachers (pedagogical critique) and enabling a set of experimental practices (political critique). Criticism, for Foucault (1997f), 'consists of analysing and reflecting upon limits' (p. 315) For Zemelman (2006), 'the problem of critique is to be able to face the multiple possibilities that are contained in the subject' (p. 136). In a way, the exercise of *political-pedagogical dissent* as a form of critique is an epistemic mode of relating to the present by criticising the given significations of both the traditional political teacher and the technocratic pedagogy and opening up the possibility of re-signifying what these notions might mean by offering new possible responses: the *political-pedagogical* teacher. It involves an act of thinking as a creative act of transforming the denotative meaning of the political and the pedagogical into a connotative one, opening up their potential to signify something different and new.

The main critique offered by the dissident teachers is that the neoliberal mode of governing teachers, produces precarity and insecurity while, at the same time, a way out is offered by following the prescriptive mode of being as a teacher of the technocratic pedagogy. This becomes a 'given reality', which enacts subjective limits precisely because it captures the main field of teachers' experience: the pedagogical relationship. The 'given reality' offers a space-time of freedom for teachers based on a set of practices of self-improvement that objectify the pedagogical encounter. *Political-pedagogical dissent* becomes then a mode of being as teachers that not only disrupts this 'given reality' by articulating a dissent, but also develops the conditions for other sets of possible responses to emerge. For example, the tactic of pedagogical validation is the unfolding of a practice aimed at controlling the intense 'degrees of insecurity, instability, uncertainty, economic and existential precarity' (Lazzarato, 2009, p. 119) experienced by teachers and, at the same time, it opens the field of pedagogy as a field of experimentation. From this point of view, *political-pedagogical dissent*

can be understood as a *political-pedagogical* true discourse (Foucault, 2005), i.e., a kind of 'equipment' that 'enables us to ward off our fears' (p. 498), to cultivate our fears, in order 'to face up to the future' (p. 498).

Chapter 9   Care for one's time as a political-pedagogical teacher

This last chapter is focused on the experimental practices in the field of pedagogy opened up by a teacher subject who makes of political-pedagogical dissent its true discourse. I reflect on the ethical and subjective challenges that dissident teachers face in their everyday work. Rosa's story illustrates some of the tensions that arise from the configuration of this new form of being a political teacher. I then go on to analyse the specific tactic that enables the dissident teacher to unfold their experimental practices, as Lis puts it, 'to give of one's time'. Following the thought of Mistral (2017) and Nietzsche (2006), I elaborate some 'evocative' analytical tools to describe three space-time of relationship where the dissident teachers are taking care of their time. First, I analyse the relationship established by teachers with the society, as the space-time where a teacher subject who is tired of carrying an excessive burden demands that *agobio* must stop. Second, I analyse the relationship established by teachers with their colleagues and managers as the space-time where dissenting teachers stand up and refuse to be guided in a particular direction by defending the possibility of being both good teachers and reps. Third, I analyse the relationship established by teachers with their students as the space-time where the dissident teacher subject is creating a sense of freedom, delight and community. The last type of relationship of teachers with their students, I argue, is the bedrock that gives sense to the two previous relationships of teachers with their colleagues and society.

The speaking and leader Rosa (2014 - 2017)

In November 2014, the first glimpses of a spontaneous and massive teachers' protest emerged, which continued intermittently until 1st June 2015, when a 57-days strike took place. Confronted with this sudden political call to action, Rosa experienced a moment of realisation:

> I said, "I've been here two years, and this is the third". (…) I said, "Okay, I can't do it any more". I'd started bit by bit to introduce the topic of the union into the school. (…) we didn't have a union, we couldn't carry on letting them treat us that way. So, in 2014, because of what happened nationally and locally, we said, "How are we going to do this?" The head, who always organised everything and decided who spoke, who had to explain, he chose who took part in the EJE (Meetings of School Leaders). (…) I remember that he chose me for the EJE that year, we began the year and he told me that he wanted me on the school's EJE as well as another teacher. He thought I was **a cool teacher**. So, I joined the EJE, I went to a meeting, and then **he made me leave because I began to talk.** But also, I always **shielded myself** with the Study Programme, in the Curriculum, in the Transversal

> Objectives, in the Framework of Professional Responsibilities, so he began to consider me a **danger**, although he always respected me. (Rosa)

Rosa's principle of 'to be quiet a while, to observe' and to help her colleagues but 'in secret' changed and she 'started bit by bit to introduce the topic of the union into the school'. After two years of silence, Rosa was invited to participate in the School Leaders Meetings by the headteacher. The head saw her as a 'cool' leader. However, 'I began to talk'. That was enough to get her removed from the EJE meetings. Nevertheless, Rosa had learned something that in her previous experiences she did not know, to 'shield myself' by using the 'pedagogical validation' tactic described in the previous chapter, in this case, to use mainstream educational policy documents like the curriculum or the study programme to make her arguments. Rosa was 'respected' within the school by students, parents, teachers and managers as an outstanding and silent teacher. Yet, at the moment she began talking, Rosa was considered 'a danger' by the managers. However, she could not remain quiet anymore. The 2014 context made her go beyond the limits of a silent and 'cool teacher' and began organising a union inside the school:

> And that's when the head started turning against me. So, I said, "Ok, I've taken this **step** and I can't go back. I'm a teacher at the school, I've proved myself, the teachers like me – I don't know if they like me, but they believe in me – I've received an outstanding evaluation from those in charge of the school. They can't evaluate me as outstanding one day and as incompetent the next. They can't. Ok, **I'm the union rep**". (…) And that's when the strikes started, with a law that was passed quickly. So, I started to suggest a motion for a strike: "we have to vote for a strike". All the teachers were shaking – really, it was unbelievable – the teachers were shaking because they were terrified of losing their jobs. I was scared too; it was like it was contagious. I said, "I've lost a lot of work because of this. Why am I bothering now?" I was scared. Because the thing got into me. (…) And loud, like young kids, that's how we came to the march, all nervous, but excited, excited. We went back. What can I say? (…) The next day, when we arrived, there were the long faces. And the **persecutions started**, observing classes, seeing who was there or not, what time they arrived, clapping so that we would hurry up and get to class, ringing the bell. It was really unpleasant. The head went over the top; he was like that for about four days. Then, the next week, there was another strike. All the teachers were scared. (Rosa)

A 'step' was taken by Rosa based on her own confidence ('I'm a teacher at the school, I've proved myself'), that of her colleagues, ('they believe in me') and her public achievements ('I've received an outstanding evaluation from those in charge of the school'). This pedagogical validation acted as a solid ethical ground that enabled her to become someone else: 'I'm the union rep'. She, herself, started to become someone who led and directed others: 'I started to suggest a motion for a strike'. It was the first time that people 'believed

in' her and her own way of speaking. Therefore, when she said 'we have to vote for a strike', she was really leading and guiding her colleagues. This was a new pedagogical relationship for her, one where she was the sort of teacher who 'shook' her colleagues, who, in fact, on the march acted as 'young kids', 'all nervous, but excited'. Her right-wing headteacher did not like the speaking and leader Rosa. This new character of Rosa produced antagonism and conflict with the managers: he 'started turning against me'. However, Rosa's new subjective position could not be easily turn off:

> Afterwards, it was Teacher's Day. The *Colegio de Profesores* told us we were going to have the day off, Friday off. (…) I shared this information in the meeting and I was called to the office [of the headteacher]. And **he shouted at me**, "Look Rosa, who's in charge of this school!?" "Sorry!" I said, raising my voice as well. "You don't have to shout!" And **I stood up** and wouldn't sit down. I was standing like that, and he wanted me to sit down, and **I stood up**. "How dare you shout at me!?" I told him. "How dare you. I know what my role is…" "Then why are you saying…" "Calm down", I said. He calmed down. And I said, "I'm passing on information approved by the *Colegio de Profesores*. I'm not saying that I'm in charge here or that I provide the guidelines for what happens at the school. I'm providing union information. Now, if the School District hasn't let you know, that's not my problem. That's your problem". "No, what…" In the end, he lowered his voice. (…) But he wanted to shout at me like he had shouted at the other teachers but realised he couldn't. **That was also important. From that moment on, he didn't talk to me ever again.** He didn't invite me to an EJE meeting again. Ever. Silence, complete indifference. Rude. Also a bit of like persecution. I remember I wanted to do activities, and he refused (…). They took away all my environmental classes. They took them all away knowing that was what I liked. (Rosa)

The pedagogical validation Rosa was able to elaborate in her two-years of silence enabled her to face a real and concrete opponent who wanted to diminish her. She managed to stand up and calm him down. Neither a foolish nor a silent Rosa. This way of being as a teacher involved a new relationship not only with herself but also with others, and the school managers began hindering her practices and punishing her for speaking and leading her colleagues. However, things felt different for Rosa, as she stated in this final reflection of our first interview:

> And things started to get a little bit better because, I think that, the school leaders, they kind of gave up, they gave up because they can't, because **I'm a good teacher**. There was no way they could sack me. They couldn't, they couldn't. (…) So, these were **little steps forward** that we made. It was really important for the school. **Little by little**. And I say that all this has to do with professional empowerment and political-union empowerment. These things are connected, not separate, not at all. (Rosa)

The speaking and leading Rosa suffered the loss of her environmental classes, of not being invited to administrative meetings, together with the silence, indifference and other kinds

of retaliations by her superiors. At the same time, instead of being fired for trying 'to change the world straight away in one place', she felt ontologically secure as a teacher in the sense of 'I'm a good teacher. There was no way they could sack me', feeling that 'little steps forwards' were being made.

The care for one's time to unfold political-pedagogical practices

How – or when and where – to unfold experimental practices as a political-pedagogical teacher if one of your primary subjective limits is the lack of time that *agobio* produces? In Chapter 7, I quoted extensively Rosa's limit 'Time: the lack of time to do…'. She argues there that 'I employ a lot of my time in my political activities. I'm not saying that it takes away, but I employ a lot of time', adding that she 'could not get involved, but it's something that is almost ethical' to do the things she does. Rosa 'chose' her path that involves that 'I can't separate my role as a teacher from that of being an activist'. The political-pedagogical teacher for Rosa is not a subjective elaboration that 'takes away' her time but one where she 'employs' a lot of her time. She signifies time not as a passive substance but one she is using to pursue the ethical path she has chosen.

The use, employment or dedication of time to the formation of a political-pedagogical teacher is not an easy process. As Lis reflects, it involves painful, contradictory, tense and harmful experiences that are connected with the problem of the kind of subject one aspires to be when one behaves in a moral way (Foucault, 1997a), the *telos* or aim that is driving the everyday practices of the subject. As Lis puts it comparing her experience of unionism with the struggles during the times of the dictatorship:

> So, with Alejandra, my colleague from the [MUD] organisation, we talked that the experiences of the last years are experiences that *burned* a mark on you [*te marcan a fuego*] (…). And, of course, these things, **these pains, these contradictions, these tensions** that to some of us hit us really hard, it's as if we are being tempered at the heat of these hard experiences, experiences that harm you, things that maybe are the worst things of this kind of work. However, we talked with my colleague Alejandra, I don't know, a beautiful reflection we had together. We were saying, "Okay, our comrades gave their lives, they gave their physical lives [during the dictatorship]. We are maybe giving something comparable in this neoliberal era; **we are giving what is taken from us, our time**". Today our time is taken away from us [*nos quitan los tiempos*]. Because through more and more work, we are subjected to *agobio*. They take from us our capacity to think, to create, to organise ourselves, to meet others, to problematise. Therefore, of course that by **giving of one's time** [*dando tus tiempos*] you are like subverting all the logics. Because, for example, my family asks me, they say to me "hey, but are you doing all of these for free?", "Are you going to a meeting on a Sunday?" (Lis)

Lis is making several analogies in this quote. One relates to the problem of how the *bios* of a political subject has changed. The dictatorship used the 'right to kill' that any given modern social order has in form of 'political death, expulsion, rejection' (Foucault, 2004, p. 256). The democratic neoliberal governments use their biopolitical power more subtly, 'they take from us our capacity to think, to create, to organise ourselves, to meet others, to problematise'. The control of 'our time' regulates these sets of capacities. Lis use *tiempos*, the plural of time. As I argued in Chapter 7, the lack of time produced by the problem of *agobio*, implies a battle over its control that involves a hyper-aware of time. This hyper-awareness, or as Rosa puts it, 'you spend 10 minutes of your time on that. When I should be there, in 10 minutes, doing an evaluation', enables to think about time in its different scales of *times*: minutes, hours, days, weeks, weekends, months, and so on. Time's hyper-awareness, as an effect of its lack, is at the same time the possibility of 'employing' it or 'giving of one's time'. A tactic based on a counter-control of one's time involving a practice of self-discipline of one's owns times.

The tactic 'to give of one's time' can be analysed in different ways. I would like to highlight the point that this can be thought of as a particular form of practice of taking care of oneself. One of the elements that Foucault (2005) mentions in his analysis of the care of the self is the relation this practice has with the notion of *otium* or "free time":

> Anaxandridas was asked one day why his compatriots, the Spartans, entrusted the cultivation of their lands to slaves instead of keeping this activity for themselves. His answer was: "Because we prefer to take care of ourselves". Taking care of oneself is a privilege; it is the symbol of social superiority, setting one apart from those who have to concern themselves with others so as to serve them, or to concern themselves with a trade in order to live. The advantages conferred by wealth, status, and birth is expressed in the fact that one can take care of oneself. We may note that the Roman conception of *otium* is not unrelated to this theme: the "free time" that it points to is, par excellence, the time one spends taking care of oneself. (2005, p. 493)

The care of the self is a privilege of people who do not have 'to serve' others or be concerned 'with a trade in order to live'. That is not the case of teachers. They serve and need to take care of their work in order to live. Their social status does not confer them the privilege of *otium* or "free time", but the opposite, the problem of *agobio* is a problem of lack of time. Therefore, the privilege of taking care of themselves is not only denied to the individual teacher but to the entire professional group of teachers. The tactic 'to give of one's time' or to 'employ' your time in political-pedagogical affairs is a painful and harmful practice of resistance, as Lis argues, because it implies a paradoxical practice: to

give something that at the same time you *lack*. It is through this paradoxical practice that the dissident teachers not only are resisting but opening a field for them to experiment.

To take care of one's time, especially when time is experienced as a lack, is a practice of caring for oneself as a practice of self-formation. One of Rosa's experimental practices, as she wrote it down, was 'To assume resilience: to stand up, resist and try again at every moment'. She states that:

> Teachers, to be able to build, to be able to go beyond our limits, our barriers, our walls, we have to become resilient. We have to get up, resist, reinvent ourselves every now and again, every now and again. Both in the classroom and beyond it. Even in your personal life. Even there. **Reinvent yourself**. (…) As a teacher, I'm not going to create change, but I'm going to create hope. And that happens when you don't give up, when you don't give up. (Rosa)

The dissident teachers, in this sense, are different from their peers not because of their wealth, status, or birth privileges, but because of employing their time in a practice of self-reinvention as teachers. They use their time to organise and resist, becoming teachers who, 'don't give up' as a mean 'to create hope'.

If *political-pedagogical dissent* is elaborating an ethical ground to opening a subjective limit into the field of experimentation, the tactic of giving of one's time is the concrete way in which a set of experimental practices of self-formation are being unfolded in the overloaded field of pedagogy. As a way to analyse these experimental practices, I will use a connotative language that, as Zemelman (2007) argues, 'instead of specifying an object' emphasise 'suggesting, evoking, or imagining contours' (p. 181). My focus is not to specify and fill with content the political-pedagogical teacher subject as if it were an already formed object but to analyse this subject as a composition, which content is polysemic and evocative.

Three space-time of relationship to unfold experimental practices

In order to organise the analysis, my analytical tools are, very deliberately, evocative ones. On the one hand, I borrow from Gabriela Mistral (2017) the idea of three times where a 'crusade for professional dignity' (p. 68) is needed. Mistral, in her speech *The sense of the profession* given at a graduation ceremony in 1931 to undergraduate students, argues that even though professions are essential for the development of Latin American nations, the 'essential Prometheus' or the 'spine' of countries, as she calls professions, are in crisis. She urges the students 'to begin an interior and exterior crusade for professional dignity' which involves three times:

> The first time will be to think the profession as a pact signed with God or the science. A pact that terribly compels our soul, and after our soul, our mundane honour. The second time will be to organise the corporations or professional unions where they do not exist, and where they have already been founded, purge them of corruption and laziness, that is, of relaxation. The third time will be to bind the society in which you live, to give back a respectful consideration to the professions that it disdains and lowers. (p. 86, mt)

The first time is a relationship with one's professional soul, the second with the professional union and the third with society. As can be seen in the appendix 3, I used these three 'times' to organise the different experimental practices described by the dissident teachers to move beyond their limits. This work helped me to distinguish three different spaces of relationship in which the dissident teachers are 'giving of their time'. Firstly, the relationship with their students and with themselves as classroom teachers is what 'compels' the soul of teachers. Secondly, the relationship with their colleagues and with themselves as reps or political teachers. This relationship mostly takes place during informal or formal moments such as lunchtime, breaks or teachers' meetings within or around the school setting. Thirdly, the relationship with the broader society that usually take place outside the school context in relation to their organisations, the unions or the *Colegio de Profesores.*

On the other hand, I build on Friedrich Nietzsche (2006) first speech of Zarathustra, *On the three metamorphoses of the spirit.* The care of the self is described by Foucault (2005) as a 'spiritual' exercise understood as 'the search, practice, and experience through which the subject carries out the necessary transformations on himself in order to have access to the truth' (p. 15). The elaboration and appropriation of a true discourse involves, in this sense, a metamorphosis of one's spirit. As Nietzsche (2006) puts it, 'three metamorphoses of the spirit I name for you: how the spirit becomes a camel, and the camel a lion, and finally the lion a child' (p. 16). I relate these evocative transformations to the three space-time of relationships: the camel-teacher relates to the relationship with society, the lioness-teacher to the relationship with colleagues, and the child-teacher to the relationship with students. The analysis follows this order.

Finally, I use the work of both Antonio Gramsci (1971) and Foucault in a less evocative and more denotative way, in order to articulate my arguments and avoid the potential problem of becoming too intangible.

The relationship with society: stop agobio!

> To the spirit there is much that is heavy; to the strong, carrying spirit imbued with reverence. Its strength demands what is heavy and heaviest.
>
> What is heavy? Thus asks the carrying spirit. It kneels down like a camel and wants to be well loaded. (…)
>
> Is it not this: lowering oneself in order to hurt one's pride? Letting one's foolishness glow in order to mock one's wisdom? (…)
>
> Or is it this feeding on the acorns and grass of knowledge and for the sake of truth suffering hunger in one's soul? (…)
>
> All of these heaviest things the carrying spirit takes upon itself, like a loaded camel that hurries into the desert, thus it hurries into its desert. (Nietzsche, 2006, p. 16)

A person who works as a teacher resembles the Nietzschean image of the camel, a spirit whose soul suffers hunger because carrying the heavy truths that the technocratic mode of governing teachers imposes upon them. As I argue in Chapter 7, in 2014/2015, the stop *agobio* demand put for the first time a name to the subjective impact that 35-40 years of neoliberalism has had on teachers as carrying spirits. I added, quoting Javier Insunza, that 'agobio (…) has been key to explaining much of the teaching movement, especially the one at the end of 2014'. The emphasis is on the 2014 demonstration, which, as Eduardo González, leader of MUD (see Table 2) puts it, took every political organisation of teachers by surprise:

> For us, the [2014] demonstration took us by surprise. We never envisioned a demonstration. (…) Our reading of what happened is that **the teachers' rebellion was not plotted by any organisation** within the *Colegio de Profesores*. A very harmed subjectivity, combined with a set of different objective factors, clashed. There were some attempts to lead the movement from the dissident teachers (…), but the movement was already in another logic and, an anti-leaders discourse from A to Z was raised. Then, because this was a very useful teaching for what was coming, we said "Okay, in 2015 this movement is going to start again" And **we were better prepared** in the sense that we entrenched ourselves in our analysis and when everything started on 1st June [2015], we were all active. (Eduardo)

The distinction made by Antonio Gramsci (1971) between organic and conjunctural movements sheds light on the 'non-plotted' 2014 demonstration; the 'better prepared' 57-day strike in 2015; and the victory of the 'United Dissidence' coalition in the 2016 elections to lead the *Colegio de Profesores* for the 2017-2019 period, the most original ways in which the dissident teachers have established a certain relationship with society. For Gramsci (1971) a 'crisis of authority' involves the loss of the spontaneous or immediate consensus, the hegemony or leading role that a conception of the world has within a community:

> If the ruling class has lost its consensus, i.e. is no longer "leading" but only "dominant", exercising coercive force alone, this means precisely that the great masses have become detached from their traditional ideologies, and no longer believe what they used to believe previously, etc. The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear. (p. 275-276)

A historical crisis, for Gramsci, is an interregnum, a moment between reigns, where an old sovereign regime has lost its organising force. It is in these moments that 'arbitrary' or conjunctural conceptions of the world struggle creating 'individual "movements", polemics and so on' (p. 377). The different interests of diverse groups of people try to lead the population.

Form this point of view, the 2014 'not-plotted' teachers' demonstration can be read as a spontaneous manifestation of a 'crisis of authority'. As I have described in Chapter 8, this not only relates to a literal 'crisis of authority' embodied in the figure of the head of the *Colegio de Profesores*, Jaime Gajardo, but also with a more profound crisis of the 'system of ideas' of the *New Majority* government to lead and guide the population of teachers by means of the new TC. The 2014 movement was a 'grassroots rebellion' that constructed an 'anti-leaders discourse from A to Z', as Eduardo argues. However, the dissident and organised teachers, as Eduardo adds, learned from this movement 'this was a very useful teaching for what was coming'. According to Gramsci (1971):

> Neglecting, or worse still despising, so-called "spontaneous" movements, i.e. failing to give them a conscious leadership or to raise them to a higher plane by inserting them into politics, may often have extremely serious consequences. It is almost always the case that a "spontaneous" movement of the subaltern classes is accompanied by a reactionary movement of the right-wing of the dominant class. (p. 199)

A 'reactionary movement' is one way to name the 'great variety of morbid symptoms' that can emerge in an interregnum's crisis. In this respect, the 2015 demonstration involved caring for and respecting the 2014 'spontaneous movement' from the point of view of the dissident teachers. They played a key role in organising beforehand, to be better prepared and active for 1st June 2015, when 'everything started'. The difference between the 2014 and 2015 demonstrations was the role played by the dissident teachers, who tried to make out of a conjunctural movement an organic one, which for Gramsci means:

> Conjunctural phenomena too depend on organic movements to be sure, but they do not have any very far-reaching historical significance; they give rise to political criticism of a minor, day-to-day character, which has as its subject top political leaders and personalities with direct governmental responsibilities. Organic phenomena on the other hand give rise to socio-historical criticism, whose subject

is wider social groupings – beyond the public figures and beyond the top leaders. (p. 177-178)

It is too soon to determine whether the dissident teachers are becoming an organic movement with the capacity to lead and organise the everyday practices of teachers. The electoral victory of 2016 could be interpreted in this way, but it could be just a reaction against what Gajardo represented, a 'conjunctural phenomena'. As Gramsci (1971) argues, the 'terrain of the conjunctural' is formed by the 'incessant and persistent efforts' (p. 179) of the forces in conflict to organise the field of consensus. However, what did emerge is a different conception of the world (Gramsci, 1971) or a different true discourse (Foucault, 2005) that I have analysed in Chapter 8 as *political-pedagogical dissent*. The emergence of a political-pedagogical teacher subject is a specific response to the problem of the discussion of the new TC in Chile.

Elizabeth Contreras, leader of the IA (see Table 2), told a story to help to put in context the conjunctural emergence of the political-pedagogical teacher. Even though Elizabeth did some work with the *Colegio de Profesores* in the city of Valdivia, she did not have active political participation or militancy until the 2014/15 teachers' demonstrations. At that time, she became a sort of spontaneous leader because of her more profound pedagogical understanding of the problems of the TC law that she had studied with a colleague. Suddenly, in the middle of the 57-day strike in 2015, she and other people began to speak in front of thousands of teachers, 'to teachers', about their problems. As Lawlor and Sholtz (2016) suggest, this conjuncture made of Elizabeth someone who speaks *for* others, a 'philosopher' in the sense that she felt 'shame before the intolerable suffering of others which demands of you to become other than how you find yourself' (p. 153). She became in those 57 days a different teacher by creating 'the pedagogical team' in the branch of the *Colegio de Profesores* of Valdivia. This team was a platform to respond to calls for information and to go to different schools to explain what they considered were the main problems of the new TC law. She remembers particularly well one of these occasions, where, alongside her, a professor from Universidad Austral, Alberto Galaz, spoke about teachers' identity problems from a historical perspective,

> that was very interesting. To see 1,200 or 1,300 teachers listening to the investigation with **great attention**, in this case, the history of what is happening to yourself, in terms of your identity is like wow! It's very strong, it was powerful. It was crazy to see the teachers; they were like **between applause and sadness**, like "OMG, we have allowed this to happen". It was also an awareness. (Elizabeth)

The moment of the strike, as she argues, allowed a moment of 'great attention' and 'awareness' for teachers about their own history. It is as if suddenly the camel-teachers could see themselves in a mirror and be amazed, 'between applause and sadness', by their own reflection. This awareness can be related with the problem of 'critical self-consciousness' (Gramsci, 1971, p. 334) or a 'critical ontology of ourselves' (Foucault, 1997f, p. 316). Gramsci (1971) explains that all people are philosophers in their 'own way and unconsciously' (p. 323); all people are born into an *episteme* as 'a positive unconscious' (Foucault, 2002, p. xii) that gives order to things. While our *episteme* remains unconscious or spontaneous, Gramsci (1971) considers that our conception of the world 'is not critical and coherent but disjointed and episodic, one belongs simultaneously to a multiplicity of mass human groups. The personality is strangely composite' (p. 323). Historical truths 'from all past phases of history at the local level and intuitions of a future philosophy' compose our personality. Gramsci considers that it is necessary

> to work out consciously and critically one's own conception of the world and thus, in connection with the labours of one's own brain, choose one's sphere of activity, take an active part in the creation of the history of the world, be one's own guide, refusing to accept passively and supinely from outside the moulding of one's personality. (p. 323-324)

This type of critical work on oneself, as I mentioned, not only needs time but also creates a sort of privilege in the sense of becoming 'one's own guide' or, at least, engaging with a practice of ethical self-formation. For Gramsci (1971) 'critical self-consciousness means, historically and politically, the creation of an *élite* of intellectuals' (p. 334). Gramsci is using the French word *élite*, derived from the Latin word *eligere* meaning to elect or to choose. 'Giving of one's time' to create, for example, a 'pedagogical team' in the local branch of the *Colegio de Profesores* of one's city is to elect to take care of one's time by choosing in which 'sphere of activity' of oneself one is 'refusing to accept passively and supinely from outside the moulding of one's personality'. The dissident teachers elected teaching as their 'sphere of activity' for critical self-formation. They think differently in this 'sphere', and for that reason they think in a 'specialised' (p. 334) and different form, distinguishing themselves from other teachers. It is in this very concrete way that they become an '*élite* of intellectuals'.

The critical ontology of themselves as teachers is ethically grounded, as I argue in Chapter 8, in a *political-pedagogical* true discourse. This true discourse provides the dissident teacher with a temporal and spatial social reference, the possibility to appropriate an accepted truth about themselves and the opportunity to exercise their memory of who they are (Foucault,

2005). Gramsci (1971) states that 'the starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is "knowing thyself" as a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory.' (p. 324). The original text in Italian, like the Spanish one (2007), finishes this paragraph with '*Occorre fare inizialmente un tale inventario*' or '*Hay que empezar por hacer ese inventario*' (p. 365), which translates as 'We have to begin by making that inventory'. The 2014/2015 demonstrations were a moment of beginning to trace back what teachers really are as a 'historical process'. Taking, for a brief movement, control of their focus of attention, usually managed by the technocratic pedagogy, and directing this 'great attention', as Elizabeth puts it, to their own history as teachers. This is the condition of possibility for the appropriation of the true discourse as a 'history of what is happening to yourself, in terms of your identity', as Elizabeth argues. It is the possibility for teachers to recognise that they have been living their lives as teacher under the burden of *agobio*. The leading role of the dissident teacher is offering a space for their colleagues to become aware of the historical conditions that have made possible their precarious teaching conditions. They are expounding a different truth about what it means to be a teacher in Chile.

One of the ways to appropriate this new truth involves what Foucault (2005) calls 'the form of progressive exercises of memorization' (p. 500). To tell the story of teachers' identities, from a historical viewpoint, contributes showing in perspective that the neoliberal form of being a teacher is not a "given" but a historical social construct. The new truth about teachers that the political-pedagogical discourse elaborates is, among other things, a struggle for the memory of what it has meant to be a teacher. Concerning this struggle, the dissident teachers have selected some emblematic figures to create the historical narration of their new truth. A concrete example is the figure of Manuel Guerrero Ceballos. He was a union rep brutally killed by the dictatorship in 1985. The new board of the *Colegio de Profesores*, led by the dissident teachers, reprinted the book *From the tunnel* written in 1979 in Stockholm, Sweden, by Manuel Guerrero (2017) remembering his time 'in the tunnel', i.e., when in 1976 he was subjected to torture by the *Comando Conjunto* [Joint Command]. They signed and wrote the two-page prologue to the book called *Because you live in each one of our certainties, today we embrace your example*. It was launched on 29th March 2017, on the 32nd anniversary of Guerrero's murder in front of the main building of the *Colegio de Profesores*. Remembering that particular act Lis said:

> As sources of inspiration and beautiful things, the tribute to Manuel Guerrero, that was a key issue, key. That's where we're going. That. The act, Manuela [Manuel's

daughter] speaking, it reflected every principle of a leader, what we should be, **to recover that dignity and that ethics**, **that moral quality**. (Lis)

Additionally, Eduardo González, leader of MUD (see Table 2), in his role as National Leader of Young Teachers' Department of the *Colegio de Profesores*, created a space named *The Itinerant Training School Manuel Guerrero*. The first teaching material published in October 2017 included a historical piece written by Leonora Reyes (2017) called 'Organised Teachers in Chile: teacher power and pedagogical movements'. In the presentation of this new training school, González (2017) states that 'our initiative has this name as an act of stubbornness to keep alive the memory of the struggle of teachers' (p. 2), adding that it is an 'ethical duty' to commemorate Manuel Guerrero. 'Manuel was like one of us (…) We recognise in Manuel an integral teacher; committed with his students, with his country and with teacher's organisation, which he contributed to reconstruct in the darkest years of the military dictatorship' (p. 2). The new truth that the political-pedagogical discourse is elaborating involves an exercise of memorisation from where an ethical and moral struggle is taking place regarding what it means to be a teacher.

To engage in a practice of critical self-awareness, in order to give form to new truths, the dissident organisations play a central role. If they are enabling a space to think differently, they can also become a space demanding all the time given by teachers. This happened during the 2016 election year. As Maria states, 2016 was an 'exhausting' year where it was not possible to dedicate time to what she argues gives 'identity' to the organisation, that is, the inner formation of their members, the free courses on labour rights they offer to other colleagues, the Education Magazine they publish three times per year, and the task of creating unions and alliances among unions, among other. 'So, you don't construct. It's a very inward space; it's a very inward and not outward' argues Maria. Instead of these kinds of works, the whole year was about 'pure numerical calculation, making alliances and distributing propaganda'. The amount of work was 'unbearable', especially the weeks before the election when the hours of sleep were sometimes less than two hours per day.

Nevertheless, the dedication of time to the electoral struggle contributed to the victory of the 'United Dissident' coalition in the 2016 *Colegio de Profesores* election. In 2016 the dissident teachers took control of the main formal 'apparatus of decision' (H. Zemelman, 2011, p. 120) of self-government of teachers, which is the central platform from where teachers relate with Chilean society. They won by expressing a well-defined program of government which can be read as the baseline of a potential 'socio-historical criticism' of

the way teachers relates to society and society to teachers. Their program (Disidentes Unidos, 2016) had four pillars.

1. The pedagogical role of the *Colegio de Profesores*
2. A more democratic and representative *Colegio de Profesores*
3. Labour, salary and pensions demands
4. The social-transformative role of the *Colegio de Profesores*

The first, third and four pillars are mainly the expression of the aim to be treated with dignity by society. In the first, they propose becoming the leading voice in the educational debate based on their expertise in educational problems. The third pillar is about having basic working conditions to be able to do their work correctly and is more directly connected to the traditional 'economic struggle'. The last one is about thinking of teachers as an active force in the government of Chilean society; proposing to have a critical and proactive role in building a freer, more democratic and socially just society.

The second pillar relates more with the second time of Mistral (2017), to 'purge them [the unions] of corruption and laziness, that is, of relaxation' (p. 68, mt). Concerning this, in 2018 a referendum took place to change the internal regulations of the *Colegio de Profesores*. Among the changes approved was that a teacher elected as a member of the directorate or board cannot remain in post for more than two consecutive periods. This change implies that Mario Aguilar, current president of the *Colegio de Profesores*, cannot participate again in the 2019 election to lead the organisation. This is a significant change in an organisation that in 30 years, from 1986 to 2016, has only known four leaders, three of them elected for three or four consecutive periods: Verdugo (1986-1995), Pavez (1995-2007), Gajardo (2007-2016). Interestingly, in the 2016 election 48,407 teachers cast their vote. In 2018, 9,783 participated in deciding about the regulation of the organisation. This last figure can be read as the most active force within teachers.

In this sense, as Lis suggests, a process of recovering the 'dignity' and 'ethics' and a 'moral quality' for teachers, denouncing their current condition as camel-teachers, and the demanding to participate in the way their field of experience is organised is being experienced by teachers in their relationship with society. Stop *agobio* is a demand that has enabled teachers, as a social group, to become self-aware of their condition as a 'carrying spirit'. This self-awareness has made possible the spiritual transformation from a camel-teacher into a lioness-teacher.

The relationship with managers: to stand up strong as critical teachers

> But in the loneliest desert the second metamorphosis occurs. Here the spirit becomes lion, it wants to hunt down its freedom and be master in its own desert.
>
> Here it seeks its last master, and wants to fight him and its last god. For victory it wants to battle the great dragon.
>
> Who is the great dragon whom the spirit no longer wants to call master and god? "Thou shalt" is the name of the great dragon. But the spirit of the lion says "I will."
>
> "Thou shalt" stands in its way, gleaming golden, a scaly animal, and upon every scale "thou shalt!" gleams like gold.
>
> The values of millennia gleam on these scales, and thus speaks the most powerful of all dragons: "the value of all things – it gleams in me. All value has already been created, and the value of all created things – that am I. Indeed, there shall be no more 'I will!'" Thus speaks the dragon.
>
> My brothers, why is the lion required by the spirit? Why does the beast of burden, renouncing and reverent, not suffice?
>
> To create new values – not even the lion is capable of that: but to create freedom for itself for new creation – that is within the power of the lion.
>
> To create freedom for oneself and also a sacred No to duty: for that, my brothers, the lion is required.
>
> To take the right to new values – that is the most terrible taking for a carrying and reverent spirit. Indeed, it is preying, and the work of a predatory animal.
>
> Once it loved "thou shalt" as its most sacred, now it must find delusion and despotism even in what is most sacred to it, in order to wrest freedom from its love by preying. The lion is required for this preying. (Nietzsche, 2006, p. 16-17)

The camel-teacher has renounced the possibility of creating new values by being reverent to the 'Thou shalt' dragon, the symbol of the impossibility to create new value. 'The value of all things' is already prescribed for the camel-teacher who considers as sacred duties its burden. The lioness-teacher 'wants to hunt down its freedom' by battling the 'Thou shalt' dragon with an 'I will'. The lioness-teacher does not create new values but 'freedom for itself for new creation'.

I will consider in this and in the next section the stories of Rosa and Lis. I have been following both of them carefully particularly because having started from different positions, they have come to share a very similar conception of the world. Rosa identifies herself as a political person and has done so since her first years of life because of her left-wing family. She entered the profession as a political teacher, discovering on the way the political importance of pedagogy. Lis, on the contrary, was an intuitively critical teacher but, for a long time, as she argues, was mainly concerned about her pedagogical work. To a large degree, she discovered the importance of politics in her union work and by joining

the MUD in the year 2015, during the teachers' demonstrations. Therefore, Rosa moves from the political to the pedagogical and Lis from the pedagogical to the political. However, both stand up for a political-pedagogical discourse and, of the eight teachers I worked with, are the only ones who are at the same time classroom teachers and the union leaders in their respective schools. They are the ones that more clearly are creating a space for freedom for themselves as political-pedagogical teachers.

To 'create freedom for oneself', both Rosa and Lis needed to establish a limit or to say no to a way of relating with their managers. Rosa's story as a speaking and leader teacher is the first example. Her first enthusiastic and foolish attitudes allowed her to refuse the duties she was told to do but not to create freedom for herself as a teacher, in the sense that she was fired from her jobs. Rosa's subsequent silent attitude for two years enabled her to create a form of freedom for herself, by means of doing all the duties she was asked for:

> I was kind of quiet all year, really quiet (…) So, I started to prove myself to the other teachers. Just a little, so they would see I was serious, that I worked hard. I was – am – one of those teachers that never misses a day, asks for time off, gets sick, takes medical leave. And, in 2013, I got a promotion right away. (Rosa)

Rosa, as an outstanding and silent teacher, became a sort of camel-teacher while patiently cultivating an inner lion-attitude. In order to create freedom for herself as a teacher, she needed to work extra time, to be irreproachable and outstanding in the execution of her duties: to cultivate pedagogical validation, as I have analysed in Chapter 8. She learned the rules of the 'thou shalt' school context and, for that reason, looking like a proper 'camel-teacher', she was able to lead different projects, carrying more burden. It is a moment of transformative transition of her spirit: opening space to create freedom for herself as a teacher but without being able to refuse, being silent. It is interesting to think how long Rosa could have worked in this sort of 'camel-lion' ambiguous mode. The 2014 movement forced the unfolding of the battlefield for her: 'okay, I can't do it any more'. In 2014, Rosa 'started bit by bit to introduce the topic of the union into the school' and eventually became 'the union rep'. She started to suggest a motion for a strike and then the dragon, embodied in her case in the headteacher, showed his real face when: 'he made me leave because I began to talk'. The 2014 spontaneous crisis had its own individual translation in Rosa's experience when the headteacher called her to his office 'and he shouted at me'. Rosa responded:

> I stood up and wouldn't sit down. I was standing like that, and he wanted me to sit down, and I stood up. **"How dare you shout at me!?"** I told him. "How dare you. **I know what my role is**…" (…). That was also important. From that moment on, he didn't talk to me ever again. (Rosa)

When Rosa says 'How dare you. I know what my role is' she is battling a mode of being as a teacher that is forbidden. Rosa was not allowed to speak and share information regarding the teachers' union in the teachers' meetings. Rosa was only allowed to be a 'good teacher', an 'outstanding teacher' by being a 'silent teacher'. However, Rosa refused this prohibition because it implied a limit to her own mode of being a teacher: that she can be both a good teacher and a union rep. She became a lioness-teacher by creating freedom for herself and refusing the limits she was subjected to. It was a sort of 'killing the dragon' moment: 'That was also important. From that moment on, he didn't talk to me ever again'.

The second story is narrated by Lis and is about her experience as a union leader in her school. In 2016, after a decade working in the same private subsided school, Lis was involved in a big collective negotiation in her school. As she puts it:

> **That experience was hugely transformative** because I really had to juggle between my role as a teacher and my role as a union leader within the school. I grew stronger on a thousand levels. On an emotional level, by prioritising which things affect me, and at a professional level, **understanding who is who within the school**. Understanding the role of the headteacher, the role of the UTP. (Lis)

She narrates at length in our first interview the whole process with its sufferings and a concrete victory they achieved as a union dealing with an owner 'who puts up a school just as someone opens a motel or a butcher's'. Among the different experiences she lived as a union rep, she narrates that in December 2015, by the end of the academic year, the head of UTP told her that she had been offered a position as headteacher in another school and told Lis: "I want you to be the head of UTP of this school".

> I was like, wow! Not because of the position but, you know what I thought, the union and that all the process could go to hell. Because the collective negotiation was like our son. And, in a way, this was like a *coup de grace* moment for me, because it was **an ethical definition for me**, I never doubted, never, I said straight away no. "But how? This is a huge opportunity for you, a huge professional opportunity for you, you cannot tell me no, I think you are the right person". She started to cry. I never questioned her good intentions, but I did doubt about the stakeholder society. My political instinct [*olfato político*] made me see that a strategy was being played, because the strategy of the school is to co-opt the union leaders. There are plenty of UTPs that have been union leaders. In fact, one of the managers of my school was a union leader. (…) At that moment I sharpened my vision that – it was a huge issue for me – like **my idea of success wasn't on that road** because I really didn't care about being a UTP, **it's just not what I want to be**. Also, to be working with the stakeholder of the school with whom we have a completely

opposed vision regarding education, we would have clashed from day one. To ask teachers things that I'm not even convinced of, no way. So, I said no. But they started to bother me a lot, "think about it, think about it, the money, you want to buy a house" and all that kind of thing. But **I stood firm in my position**. So then I talked with some teachers who are like my soul friends in the school. (…) So then the headteacher called me, and she also started to cry (…). I was "thanks a lot, but I have other projects". And my colleagues couldn't believe it, "Oh! You didn't accept to be the UTP of the school!" I also told the people from the MUD my experience with power. An attempt to be co-opted. So, I think that after that, **a vision of critical pedagogy was ethically reaffirmed in me**. My colleagues from the union couldn't believe it because they thought that I was going to say yes, they said to me "really!", the president started to cry. I told her "really, I couldn't be the UTP of the school, **it's not what I aspire to become**". (…) I was not going to move to work with those guys. Besides, **what it means to be UTP in this school**, it really was a **seduction of power**, the headteacher said: "your role within the school is going to change, you are not going to be any more in the teachers' room". And I didn't want to go out of the **teachers' room**! That is **my space**, it is **my containment**, there are **my friends**. When I'm sad, or I'm not well, or I'm *agobiada*, between all of us we drown our sorrows, we have a coffee, and we start laughing, we take out the guitar and so on. And to be up there, with the hyenas that at the end of the day are all trying to knife each other, stabbing, like in the Roman senate, was so not for me. (Lis)

At the end of 2015, after the intense political demonstrations, Lis experienced her own personal 'coup de grace' moment. In the teacher's career trajectory, the logical path of the 'thou shalt' discourse is to become a UTP and then a headteacher. In the hierarchical school positions, being a UTP has more 'value' than being a secondary teacher as Lis was, this means, a higher salary, more responsibilities, more influence and, in the particular context of Lis, to begin working on a different level of the building (second level) together with her new administrative and managers peers. Literally, being out of the teachers' room. To refuse this order of things, to refuse the offer of a UTP position, is 'to take the right to new values' which is 'the most terrible taking for a carrying and reverent spirit' as Nietzsche (2006) puts it. The UTP, the headteacher and her colleagues from the union cried when Lis told them about her determination to refuse the position. Becoming a UTP is almost something sacred in teachers' trajectory. Therefore, Lis decision implies to create freedom for herself by refusing to become what she does not want to become. Probably there are no records in the school of someone refusing a UTP position because that person is prioritising their union rep position. Lis is saying no to the Unit of Technical Pedagogy because she is problematising 'what it means to be UTP in this school', defending her own version based on 'a vision of critical pedagogy'. Lis, like Rosa, is defending that she can be both a teacher and a union rep without the need to abandon the teachers' room. She refused to be co-opted into the 'seduction of power', resisting her space of freedom to

create her way of being a teacher. This refusal involves a process of ethical self-formation, which implies for Lis that her ethical ground was 'reaffirmed in me'. Lis had a different idea of accomplishment - 'my idea of success wasn't on that road', that translated to a different kind of subject - 'it's just not what I want to be', with a different *telos* (Foucault, 1997a, p. 265), - 'it's not what I aspire to become'.

Rosa and Lis are both battling a set of given limits that provide order to what it means to be a teacher and how that particular teacher should behave. Rosa felt like a 'lone voice in the desert' during the 2014/2015 demonstrations. Even though in 2016 she began working with 'a couple of colleagues who always follow my lead. They're like my little chicks', she is the leader who is 'training' them. Lis has her 'soul friends' within the school but also feels sometimes that her colleagues are 'not interested' in union issues, and even though she is convinced, 'it is difficult sometimes to be alone assuming battles for all the flanks'. This feeling of being alone can be related to their process of critical self-formation in the sphere of teaching. In a way, as Gramsci (1971) puts it, they have become their 'own guides, refusing to accept passively and supinely from outside the moulding of one's personality'. (p. 324). This practice is one oriented to open a space of freedom where 'new truths and better, more coherent, clearer formulations of the truths themselves' (p. 341) can be created.

The stories of Rosa and Lis are explicit confrontations with their managers who, as I have argued in Chapter 2, have been divided from the managed by the practices of managerialism (Ozga, 1995). Several other examples of transgressive practices refer to the relevance of carefully building their relationships with their colleagues. For example, Maria wrote, "To look for *apeñé*". Apañar is a Chileanism for counting on someone or backing up someone. Therefore, looking for *apañe* is needed 'to realise which battles can be opened and which ones cannot'. Flor speaks of the importance of doing a 'mapping' to understand 'how the flow of power is moving'. Lis speaks about the importance of 'understanding who is who within the school'. Hugo speaks about finding 'some common thing in education' in order to see that 'you are not alone' and that you will 'have allies' when the time comes when 'you will need to fight'. Victor narrates how a significant victory regarding the evaluation policy of the school was achieved because 'we get together as a department and discuss it'. Pedro tells of how he managed to forge a 'relationship' with a young colleague in order to prepare together some teaching material and observe each other's classes. He argues that 'my constant exercise is to listen a lot' as a way to avoid being labelled as a radical and a way of finding with whom he can relate to build teamwork.

Jacinto narrates a long story about how, with some colleagues, he is struggling to recover and have more control within the teachers' meeting that can be understood as the central 'apparatus of decision' (H. Zemelman, 2011, p. 120) of the relationship between colleagues. He argues that:

> There is a problem of distribution of the time, but one can change these problems of **distribution**. Okay, there is no time to work collaboratively, but is it really a problem of not having time? That's one of the questions I have: "Is it a problem of not having time or is it that **we** are not capable of **asking for that time**?" Then is when I said to myself "We need to stop whining". I truly believe that changes come from oneself. I can't continue waiting for the *Colegio de Profesores* to solve something that **they** are not going to solve". (Jacinto)

In this quote Jacinto is not only distinguishing the *we* of the school from the *they* of the *Colegio de Profesores*, marking a distinction with the previous space-time of relationship with society, but also he is arguing that the lack of time can be challenged if they 'stop whining' and start 'asking for that time', which is a way of discussing the problem of distribution of time within the teachers' meetings.

These examples illustrate how the dissident teachers are trying to create a space of freedom involving in one way or another a different relationship with their colleagues. No previous examples exist of how to resist and become a political-pedagogical teacher in the current historical moment. In this sense, the teachers' acts of defiance and standing up against a prescribed mode of being as teachers is a practice of self-formation of a different type of teacher subject. This defiance opens up the possibility of creating something new.

The relationship with students: a sense of freedom, delight and community

> But tell me, my brothers, of what is the child capable that even the lion is not? Why must the preying lion still become a child?
>
> The child is innocence and forgetting, a new beginning, a game, a wheel rolling out of itself, a first movement, a sacred yes-saying.
>
> Yes, for the game of creation my brothers a sacred yes-saying is required. The spirit wants its will, the one lost to the world now wins its own world. (Nietzsche, 2006, p. 17)

The carrying and servant camel-teacher is transformed into a lioness-teacher. The lioness-teacher 'preys' at the limits of what is considered of value for society. By refusing the sacredness of what is valued as a duty, the lioness-teacher detaches from the 'thou shalt' work, and is able 'to create freedom for itself for new creation'. However, 'not even the lion is capable' of creating new values'. The lioness-teacher, by saying "I refuse to do this" holds the space-time of freedom to create, adding "I will create something". The limit for

the lioness-teacher is an act of resistance and refusal, a dissent or a critique, 'a sacred No to duty', that is, a practice of critical ontology on oneself (Foucault, 1997f) or a critical self-awareness (Gramsci, 1971) that enables a field of experimentation to unfold. The spirit of the lioness-teacher is transformed into the child-teacher by stepping into this experimental field. The child-teacher can forget for a moment about the burdens of social duty and has the innocence to start afresh. He or she finds in themselves whatever is needed to get that first movement to roll and begin a new game of creation. The creative energy of the camel-teacher, lost in a world lived with a carrying attitude, now is directed towards creating their own world. The teacher-child, by a sacred yes-saying, has the will to affirm one's own truth.

The child-teacher emerges fundamentally in the dissident teachers' relationships with their students. In the three interviews I had with all of the grassroots teachers, the references to students were constant in very different ways. Abstract mentions of 'the students', all sorts of different kinds of dialogues with them, and very concrete short or long stories about the teacher-student relationship are the bedrock of an underlying narrative crossing their way of speaking about their own teachers' subjectivity. I have selected two long narratives that belong to Rosa and Lis to analyse this section. When I asked them how they go beyond their limits, both spoke about the classroom as their first element. Lis wrote, "I close my door and I am myself", Rosa "The classroom: it's our scenario of dreams, yearnings, passions and utopias". Lis spoke for 40 minutes and Rosa for 30 minutes about their classroom experimental practices. An extended extract of Rosa's first reflections about the classroom:

> We still manage to operate [*funcionamos*] though. **Because teachers often operate more than we create.** Sometimes we do things, we do things, we do things, we do things, and we don't even think about what we're doing. Well, first of all, you operate because you have to work. And you operate with the children. The young kids, the youngsters, with them you unfold, you unfold because you close the door and that's your world. It's something that still needs to be recognised as such though, I don't know, I put this at last, but it's first: **for me, the most important thing of all, is the classroom**. Because you're there, for better or for worse, having an impact on children's lives. (…) Something, especially when you're passionate about what you do, you know that something will stick. So, **when you close the door, you do what you want**. I can write down in my class book that I tackled aim number one, aim number two, three and four from the study programme, but **I do what I want. Sometimes I don't follow any aim, I invent one**. And nobody's going to find out, unless they come and see you, but if not… and if they come and see you, I talk about how it's related to the aim, and that's it. What's also good is that sometimes, not in all schools but at mine at least, you're the one who knows what you're doing, in other words, the one who knows about the subject. (…). **I'm the expert**. I'm the expert. So, it's me who makes that

decision, I'm the one who planned for it, I prepared the class and I know what skill I want to develop. (Rosa)

Rosa adds that the relationship with her students is constructed, for example, by using her 'tone of voice' or 'sometimes I walk around and I show them some affection, I don't know, I ruffle their hair, I joke around with them sometimes as well' or 'I listen to the kids first, loads, loads, loads'. Those practices help Rosa to make 'the relationship a bit more pleasant, more human. It's actually a question of humanity'. The classroom is for Rosa *her* stage:

> You can really get carried away. It's mine. The classroom is my space. **It's my stage**. It's my stage, **the teacher's stage**. You can project your dreams there, your passions, your utopias. **I say freely** to the kids [what I think]. (…) Discussions, whole classes on that. Let them believe what they want, but that's just who I am. So, you can **do these things freely** (…) It's important because you start a debate. When they ask you, you debate. So, they get a bee in their bonnet thinking about things from a different point of view. So, sometimes, entire periods are spent on **all the utopias you have, feel, believe and want, on anxiety, passion, dreams** and, this is the best thing, because they can do stuff with that too. (Rosa)

In this relationship, Rosa teaches but also learns 'you can do projects, you can also learn in the classroom. You learn loads, you learn how children learn, you learn from the kids' interests, you learn how you have to do the classes'. She closes her first reflection about the classroom arguing:

> The classroom is a really important place **for you to unfold as a teacher**. And to develop all the different dynamics connected to teaching. So, you have to know, you have to be open to, I also think, to considering the pupil as an equal. If you think that the kid isn't going to teach you anything, then no, no, there's no room for what I'm reflecting on. There's no room for it. There's no room for it. The thing is totally, totally **with them**. (Rosa)

Rosa argues that 'teachers often operate more than we create'. When the act of 'closing the door' takes place, you can both operate and/or create. If you just 'do things and we don't even think about what we're doing', you are behaving as a camel-teacher following the prescriptions of a given order of things like the ones from a technocratic pedagogy. However, if a lioness-teacher has open space for freedom, the act of closing the door can be experienced as a space-time where a 'sacred yes-saying' emerges. For example, 'you do what you want', 'I do what I want', 'I don't follow any aim, I invent one', 'you're the one who knows what you're doing', 'I'm the expert', 'it's me who makes that decision', 'I'm the one who planned', 'I prepared', 'I know what skill I want to develop', 'My space', 'It's my stage', 'your passions', 'I say freely', 'that's just who I am', 'you can do these things freely', 'all the utopias you have, feel, believe and want, on anxiety, passion, dreams', 'also learn',

'they teach you', 'you have to be open'. The creative 'I' is not operating under a prescriptive code of behaviour but elaborating and experimenting its own mode of being.

The notion of 'closing the door' can be understood as a different form of subjective limit from the one described by *agobio*. It can be argued that subjected to a performative regime (Ball, 2003), teachers' practices are made continuously visible and accountable in a technocratic way. To 'close the door' is a way to produce a sense of intimacy necessary for the child-teacher to unfold. As Rosa explains, the classroom is where you 'unfold as a teacher'. Lis refers to this practice in a similar way:

> I feel very lucky to be working where I am. (…) It's paradoxical, because it's a space that brings together the worst of the system, the enemy to put it bluntly, and it's also the space that has enabled me **to flow with plenty of freedom** because it's kind of mad that so many doors are still not under control. (…). I close the door of my classroom and the world can fall apart. **I close my door and I am myself and do whatever I want**. In these eleven years that I have been working in this school, it has been like this. (…) I have had the surprising possibility **to flow freely**, and I frequently analyse this, and I feel that it's in **this space of freedom** that the managers have left where I have found **a way of expression to develop myself** with different kinds of experiences. (Lis)

The moment of 'closing the door' is the moment where a form of a classroom teacher is enacted. The camel-teacher will operate as an 'automatized teacher' or 'a cog in the machine' as Pedro puts it. As I argued in Chapter 8, if the focus of attention of the pedagogical relationship is fixed on the end result product, the teacher will be operating as a technocratic teacher. However, if a teacher has chosen to make of their teaching and learning practices a 'sphere' to unfold critical thinking upon oneself, 'closing the door' has the potential, as Rosa argues, to create 'the teacher's stage' were dreams, passions and utopias can be performed. This freedom, she adds, is 'something that still needs to be recognised as such' or as Lis puts it 'many doors are still not under control'.

The point, however, is that the technocratic pedagogy can control your mode of being as a teacher, your ethics and aspirations as a teacher, and therefore, it can act throughout your subjectivity. As Zemelman (2006) states, a social order always creates 'interstices' (p. 45, mt) as spaces 'from where the individual can create realities or can create sense (…) This means to accept the idea that the subject is the main interstice within a given order of power' (p. 136, mt). Subjectivity, as Ball (2015b) argues, might not be sufficient, but it is a necessary site of struggle. To close the door of the classroom is a tactic for the political-pedagogical teacher to 'flow with plenty of freedom', critically engaging with the issue Lis phrases as 'I close my door and I am myself and do whatever I want'. The classroom

becomes a possible space, an interstice, to create a different reality for teachers. Lis and Rosa need to close a door in order to open a 'space of freedom' where they can 'develop' themselves as political-pedagogical teachers.

The potentiality of freedom that the act of 'closing the door' entails can be related with the 'ethical substance' aspect that Foucault (1997a) distinguishes in the constitution of oneself 'as a moral subject of his own actions' (p. 263), that I mentioned in Chapter 2. This aspect relates to what the Greeks called '*aphrodisia*', referring to an 'act linked with pleasure and desire' (p. 264) through which a part of one's behaviour is 'concerned with moral conduct' (p. 263). When Rosa speaks about the classroom as her stage where she can take out 'all the utopias you have, feel, believe and want, on anxiety, passion, dreams', she evokes a moment where she can invent, create and 'do what you want', learn and unfold as a teacher, to make the teacher-student relationship 'a bit more pleasant, more human'. As Lis puts it when she evokes this special relationship:

> I'm full of pride in this work because it's like a **silent work**, work that maybe is not recognised. And I don't expect to be recognised either, because it is a thing that **produces satisfaction in me**. Because I have a dialogue with the students and those **beautiful** things are generated, like **magical instants**, like little **sparkles of happiness**, its like **"Wow, yes, this is it!"**, like, I don't know, the students give happiness, and I feel I'm paid. Then I say, well, being happy for this thing is something **sublime**. It's great. Unique moments you live with your students. For that reason, I said that, as a union leader, it would be difficult for me to leave the classroom because the classroom gives you that transgression. (…) They need, deep down, that duality [between freedom and discipline]. The perfect equilibrium and you can get that only from the classroom. I **play with them**, but when they step out of line, "Hey, let's come back". But these are spaces of freedom and that freedom has to do with working with youth. Sometimes I even think about **the sound of the teacher's work**, like an atmosphere sound, kids, teenagers, sounds of a laugh, running, making jokes, like the pencils, when you come back in March, the pencil case, the smell of new notebooks. **They're smells, they're sounds, they're sensibilities**, **unique things, that the teacher knows them**. (…) You live that, like an **ethos**, something that floats in the air. The family trust their hopes in the story of climbing the social ladder, and the possibility of improvement is at the school. **It is a huge responsibility**. (Lis)

There is a sense of *aphrodisia* in Lis' reminiscence of 'the sound of the teacher's work' and 'the smell of a new notebook'. As Nietzsche (2006) argues, 'for the game of creation my brothers a sacred yes-saying is required' (p. 17). Lis 'plays with' the duality between freedom and discipline in such a way that she feels 'satisfaction', creating 'beautiful things', experiencing 'magical instants' and 'little sparkles of happiness', for her 'is like "Wow, yes, this is it!"'. The classroom is also a 'huge responsibility', a part of Lis' behaviour as a teacher that is concerned with ethical conduct. Lis adds:

> In that space of **freedom** I have seen a window, because it's important to my humanist approach of pedagogy, maybe in some moments without being aware of the emotions, it's a great thing the relationship, the interchanges you begin to generate with the students. So, it is a **human relationship** that I found is the escape route that has been left, or that at least it hasn't been intervened yet by the school. A space of **freedom** remains that for me has been a **delight** [*ha sido exquisito*]. One of the reasons I haven't left the school is this. There you **build relationships**. Because part of my **personal growth** has been to understand the transformative pedagogy that is related to letting a thing flow and understand that **you are building community**, you are **building social fabric** in all its planes. I built with my colleagues from the union, and within the organisations I'm part of, but, for me, the **main and most basic**, is **with the students**. That's the **essence** because there are the minds, the guys [*cabros*] understand everything really, really, really clearly as us. (…) With the students, we are friends, which is a beautiful thing. (Lis)

The classroom becomes a creative space-time not only in the sense of allowing personal delight and pleasure for the teacher subject to elaborate their own *ethics* and *ethos* but also as a moment where an *ethnos* can be produced. The 'essence', 'the main and most basic', sense of community for Lis is 'with the students'. For her, the relationship of friendship with her students is a reason not to 'leave school'. Ethics, ethos and ethnos are related. This last element, the 'building of community' and 'social fabric', is related to 'the active bonds of compassion, benevolence, love for one's fellows, and sense of community' (p. 302) that Foucault (2008) argues 'form communities' (p. 305) based on the 'de facto bond which links different concrete individuals to each other' (p. 304). The relationship with students creates a sense of freedom, delight and community for the teacher subject. As Lis puts it, this 'silent work, work that maybe is not recognised', based on the relationship with the students, is what fuels and gives sense to the political-pedagogical teacher. However, it is a relationship experienced behind closed doors.

The last example of how Lis knits what she calls a 'network from the point of view of emotions' with her students is useful to analyse how the classroom enables experimental practices based on a sense of freedom, delight and community. With this story, she ends her 40 minutes speech about 'I close the door and I am myself'. Lis said:

> With the curricular reform in history, the topic of the dictatorship was included. So, I said, "great, this is my opportunity". It was a sensitive topic because, for example, here I work with sons of police officers, sons of militaries. It is an open topic, an **open wound**. Some years ago, I was still unsettled about the topic, because I knew it could awake some kind of suspicion. (Lis)

Lis' tactic, as I have analysed in Chapter 8, is to be 'above suspicion', therefore this was a potentially controversial decision. Lis established a relationship with her students where

they were encouraged 'to make' their own positions regarding the dictatorship, which might involve 'to take distance from the family' or familiars modes of thinking about a concrete historical process. Under this frame, she begins a 'game of creation' becoming a child-teacher:

> This year I asked the guys that we also worked on writing. The idea was that they had to go to their relatives to 'rescue' how they have lived the experience of the coup and it was lovely, **really beautiful**. Because they also read the stories, they read them aloud and it was a beautiful task, beautiful, similar to what you are doing. It was beautiful because **I could realise that there were many victims of violence**, military violence. Some stories left us all shocked. People who did social work and lovely things. And the guys were like, the common story, almost all of them talked with their grandparents, and the common story was that the grandparents wanted to continue talking. They needed more sheets to continue writing, all of them "teacher [*profe*], I didn't find a way to stop my granny because she wanted to continue speaking", and I "**send all my love to your granny**". In all the classes, the guys interviewed their grandparents. A few didn't want to talk, but their stories were really heartfelt. Many people lived experiences as victims, many, many people, I was astonished. Many parents, grandparents or uncles with deep reflections about the topic. I feel that **a work done with the families happened** (…). So, again the transgression of limits, because, for example, now I'm super late with the content from the curriculum, but **I gave myself a great pleasure**, and now I'm like "okay, we need to speed up the machine". But I was two weeks in this activity of the letters, where the guys had to read because at the beginning, they feel embarrassed, and one breaks the ice, and then all of them wanted to read. And after all had read, we did a sort of forum, and that was really amazing. **It's a work that is invaluable**. It was without a grade, without grade, it **was just like a game**, I did put at the end some extra decimals for a test, I gave them some decimals because they did interviews, they wrote, they really work it out, they did it and brought it back, a whole story. Some decimals because, in the end, it was **another value**. Like **the value of them growing up** and all, pursuing **their autonomy** as I have been talking about. Another transgression of the limits. (Lis)

The relationship Lis established with her students creates an emotional network from where Lis can send, for example, 'all my love to your granny', relating with the relatives of her students. The elaboration of this emotional network is a process of taking care of oneself in an *aphrodisiac* sense, 'I gave myself a great pleasure', by taking care of others, 'a work done with the families happened'. Active bonds of compassion, benevolence and love are being worked out in the classroom as a space of freedom and pleasure. The activity 'was just like a game', and maybe for that reason, it enacted the potential of the child-teacher: the creation of new values, the elaboration of 'a work that is invaluable' or that has 'another value. Like the value of them growing up and all, pursuing their autonomy'. This value goes far beyond the narrow margins of the technocratic pedagogy and is based on the pedagogical relationship established with the students. This pedagogical relationship,

as a complex process, is, as Lis argues, 'the main and most basic', 'the essence', of the political-pedagogical teacher subject.

Closing Remarks

This chapter has analysed the tactic of 'employing' or 'giving of one's time' to the unfolding of experimental practices in the field of pedagogy. I would like to end this chapter by briefly discussing three elements.

The first element is related to the idea that a shift in the mode of thinking about pedagogy is being produced by a political-pedagogical teacher subject. As I argued in Chapter 7, the *pedagogy of the bonsai*, according to Zemelman and Quintar (J. Rivas, 2005), involves in the educational field the manipulation of thought in order to fabricate a minimal subject, 'carefully trimming the ability to think, to imagine, to relate with reality, with what is happening' (p. 127, mt). It is the idea that Lis phrases thus: 'they take from us our capacity to think, to create, to organise ourselves, to meet others, to problematise'. If we consider, following Foucault (1997b), that 'thought is freedom in relation to what one does, the motion by which one detaches oneself from it, establishes it as an object, and reflects on it as a problem' (p. 117), to 'trim' the ability to think means to be subdued or subjugated to what one does. It is an automatic or mechanical mode of thinking. For Gramsci (1971), this creates a 'subaltern' (p. 336) subject in the sense of becoming someone who does not think about what one is doing, letting to the forces of circumstance the leading role in defining one's 'place in the social mode of existence' (p. 336).

It is in relation to this problem that the practice of dissent or critique acquires an ontological status. As a 'specific work of thought' (Foucault, 1997b, p. 118) and an ability 'to face the multiple possibilities that are contained in the subject' (H. Zemelman, 2006, p. 136), critique involves a 'critical self-consciousness' (Gramsci, 1971, p. 334) or a 'critical ontology of ourselves' (Foucault, 1997f, p. 316) or a form of 'epistemic thinking' (H. Zemelman, 2007, p. 66, mt). When the subject 'choose[s] one's sphere of activity' (Gramsci, 1971, p. 323) to do a critical work, a possibility of ontological change is presented by 'the formation and development of a practice of self whose aim [is] to constitute oneself as the worker of the beauty of one's own' (Foucault, 1988, p. 259). For the dissident teachers, the creative practice of self-formation takes place in the pedagogical field by closing the doors of their classroom. It is in the relationship with their students that they find a sense of freedom, delight and community, where they can re-think themselves working on their own sense of beauty. This critical self-thinking enables a process of ethical elaboration

within the field of pedagogy which considers that it is, for example, anti-ethical to pressure students for money and ethical to take time to research the biographical experiences of the students and their families with the dictatorship. Different practices can be valued and judged with a different mode of thinking and different ethical parameters. It is in their relationship with their students that the dissident teachers are behaving as historical teacher subjects, as responsible and creative teachers, and not as subaltern technocratic generic workers.

The second element is that this creative historical teacher subject is confined behind closed doors. The Nietzschean (2006) analogy of a child-teacher can only unfold in a protected and safe relationship with their students. However, when the dissident-teachers open the door, they are transformed into lioness-teachers. In the everyday school setting, such as during lunchtime, breaks or the teachers' meetings, the dissident teachers, are not creative subjects but are, as Gramsci (1971) puts it, '"resisting" a will external to itself' (p. 337). They are neither in a mechanical nor in a creative mode, but they are standing up, resisting and refusing to be told how to think, feel and act as teachers. In this scenario, the dissident teachers still feel somehow alone, in the sense that their colleagues are not giving their time to be reps of their schools, as Lis and Rosa do. Additionally, one of the main battles they have to fight in this field of relationships is with their managers. The Unit of Technical Pedagogy, as a material expression of the mode governing the pedagogical field of teachers, is being challenged by the emergent dissident teacher subject who is trying to unite their colleagues, not from a technical but from a political pedagogical point of view. This struggle can, eventually, change the need to close the door in order to be oneself as a teacher and avoid the situation where, if the door is closed, a mechanical teacher will operate.

The third element is that outside the school setting the dissident lioness-teacher is transformed again into a critical camel-teacher in a double sense. On the one hand, the continuity of the demand to end *agobio* from the 2014/2015 demonstrations to the 50 days of strike in 2019, illustrates the relevance this problem has for teachers. There is an increasing awareness of teachers as a professional group that to be treated as 'carrying spirits' is wrong. The strikes are moments in which they become lioness-teachers in a collective sense, interrupting the everyday dynamic to gain control of their own time, becoming more aware of the historical process that has led to their current status as teachers. On the other hand, the process of critique is being led by the organised and dissident teachers, which involves becoming a sort of critical-camel-teacher by giving of

one's time, for example, to analyse critically the new laws, speak in front of 1,200 teachers, dedicate time to an election of the *Colegio de Profesores* or encourage colleagues to vote in a reform of the inner statutes of the *Colegio de Profesores*.

These three elements can be read as the formation of a 'specialised' group of people (Gramsci, 1971, p. 334) within the teaching profession that, by engaging in a practice of critical self-awareness, are elaborating a different teaching ethics, a different mode of being, thinking, feeling and acting as teachers, that is ingrained in a political-pedagogical struggle.

CONCLUSION

Thesis

The focus of this research has been the dissident teacher phenomenon, as described in the introduction. My thesis concerning this phenomenon can be phrased as follows:

> The phenomenon of the dissident teacher is a struggle in the field of pedagogy, enabling the composition of a political-pedagogical teacher subject.

This main argument comprises the following four empirical-theoretical arguments.

A struggle. The dissident teachers' most visible struggle is against *agobio* as a problem experienced in their everyday professional lives as a *lack of time*. One significant contribution of this work is to offer an analysis of what lays 'at the root' (Foucault, 1997b, p. 118) of *agobio*, which is a form of power that, following Zemelman and Quintar (J. Rivas, 2005), can be named as a *pedagogy of the bonsai*. This pedagogy works by 'carefully trimming the ability to think, to imagine, to relate with reality, with what is happening' (p. 127, mt). I identify and analyse three strategies that this form of power uses to produce *agobio* in teachers:

1. *A controlling and regulating-time strategy*
2. *A managing and guiding-practice strategy*
3. *A harming-creativity strategy*

This form of power has several effects: on the one hand, it produces *a lack of time to do things*. It becomes almost impossible to sort out the different tasks a teacher is required to do as a classroom teacher in the regular hours of work. On the other hand, it produces *a lack of time to be*. The classroom-teacher-self demands time from the other spheres of activity of the person who works as a teacher expressed in the notion taking 'work for home'. Both effects involve a hyper-awareness of time and great difficulty to engage in autonomous practices of self-formation in the field of teaching and learning, thus leading to the effect of *agobio* as a lack of delight in oneself as a teacher and the fear of becoming a mechanical teacher. Altogether, the *pedagogy of the bonsai* puts in motion a productive form of power that cultivates an experience of negativity, creating a small, minimal and contained subject,

a *bonsai* teacher. This limited existence is what the dissident teachers' struggles are directed against.

In the field of pedagogy. The main strategy of the dissident teacher when fighting against *agobio* in the field of pedagogy is the elaboration of *political-pedagogical dissent*. This dissent involves two critiques that enable the dissident teachers to detach themselves from the current way of thinking within the field of pedagogy and to critically reflect on how they are being made subjects of *agobio*. These are:

1. *The pedagogical critique*
2. *The political critique*

The *pedagogical critique* is related to a form of politicisation of teachers focused on their economic insecurities that neglects the field of pedagogy. The disdain towards pedagogy fails to understand how the current form of governing teachers uses a technical form of pedagogy to offer a way for them to cultivate both a sense of economic and ontological security by engaging in a practice of self-improvement. The *political critique* aims precisely at this form of technical pedagogy as a way to re-politicise the way in which this pedagogy has captured the field of experimentation of teachers. The technical pedagogy has managed to fix the focus of attention on the end results of the pedagogical interaction, producing the subsumption of the pedagogical relationship into productive and measurable work. Both critiques create a position from which dissident teachers can situate themselves in front of the 'difficult interplay between the truth of what is real and the exercise of freedom' (Foucault, 1997f, p. 311) as a way to open up the possibilities to re-signify what it means to be a teacher.

Enabling. Another important contribution of this work is the identification of two specific tactics of the dissident teachers' struggle in the field of pedagogy. Both tactics enable different relationships with themselves and others within the field of experience of teaching. These are:

1. *A 'pedagogical validation' tactic*
2. *A 'giving of one's time' tactic*

The tactic of 'pedagogical validation' or being 'above suspicion' consists of a set of different experimental practices, from performing well in standardised tests or evaluation policies, to painting the school's courtyard of one's school. These practices enable the dissident teachers' struggle within the pedagogical field and provide them with a sense of being economically and ontologically *secure*, allowing them to *risk* and be *responsible*, three

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basics 'needs of the soul', according to Weil (2002). The feeling of being pedagogically validated within their communities provides the dissident teachers with the courage to practice their own 'ethics of speech' (Foucault, 2005). This tactic uses the practices of self-improvement as a way to open the field of pedagogy as a site of self-formation from which a different type of teacher subject can be experimented with. It is a practice that involves the risk of being shaped by the ethical values that the practices of self-improvement promote, as seen in the case of the outstanding but silent Rosa.

The second tactic, 'to give of one's time' or the care of one's time, is critical not only to challenge the risk of being shaped by the principles of a technocratic pedagogy, but for enabling a different form of teacher subject. Because being a 'good teacher' in the current mode of governing pedagogy involves a *lack of time*, the way to open up the field of pedagogy to a practice of self-formation by a tactic of pedagogical validation requires the paradoxical process of *giving* what you *lack*: your time. This tactic carries its own additional risks, being the clearest one to be subsumed as a person in the sphere of activities of being a teacher. 'Are you going to a meeting on a Sunday?', as Lis' family asked her, is an expression of the risks of this second tactic.

The composition of a political-pedagogical teacher subject. For a struggle in the field of pedagogy to be enabled, active participation in the organisation of the field of experience of teaching and learning is required. This entails participation in 'the complex relationships between the social bond and relationships of authority in the form of government' (Foucault, 2008, p. 308). Every field of experience involves socials bonds that establish complex relationships with specific forms of governing. A political-pedagogical teacher has active participation in the ways in which pedagogy is governed when he or she behaves as a *hegemon* (Foucault, 2005); this is, has a leading relationship with the concrete form of governing their everyday pedagogical interactions. Therefore, to be an active participant in the form of governing the field of pedagogy changes the mode of experiencing teachers' everyday work. I have identified three fields of relationships where a political-pedagogical teacher expresses different degrees of leading or 'organic capacity' (Gramsci, 1971, p. 341):

1. *The relationship with the students*
2. *The relationship with colleagues and managers*
3. *The relationship with society*

It is in the first relationship where the political-pedagogical teacher can unfold practices with the most intense degree of organic capacity. By closing the doors of the classroom, a dissident teacher creates a significant degree of affective and guiding capacity of the

pedagogical teacher-student relationship. A creative practice of self-formation is unfolded, producing a sense of freedom, delight and community. A process of ethical elaboration takes place in these relationships which implies, as Lis puts it, the recovery of 'our capacity to think, to create, to organise ourselves, to meet others, to problematise'.

In the second relationship, the political-pedagogical teacher is not creating, but resisting and standing up against a form of technical pedagogy. The most challenging task in this relationship is to defend the possibility to be both a 'good teacher' and a 'political teacher'. This struggle involves standing up against the embodiments and seductions of the technical pedagogy expressed in roles such as the Unit of Technical Pedagogy, in certain policies such as SIMCE, or in concrete persons such as the managers, who defend a mode of being whereby a teacher cannot be 'good' and 'political' at the same time. To refuse to be co-opted by becoming the head of UTP, or to recover the time to speak about pedagogical issues in teachers' meetings are examples of experimental practices aimed at increasing the organic capacity of the dissident teachers in these relationships.

In the third relationship, the political-pedagogical teacher is recovering the public and formal organisations of decision, such as the *Colegio de Profesores*, from where teachers relate with society. The aim is to increase awareness among both teachers and the society, in terms of their precarious labour conditions. It is less a space-time of resistance and more a space-time where the first steps towards understanding the historical processes that have constituted the current state of affairs of teachers are taken. The dissident teachers have managed to find some form of organic capacity by leading conjunctural struggles, such as the 2014/2015 and the 2019 demonstrations, which 'give rise to political criticism of a minor, day-to-day character' (Gramsci, 1971, p. 177) without giving 'rise to socio-historical criticism' (p. 178) against the current mode of being governed.

Therefore, by defending the thesis that the phenomenon of the dissident teachers is a struggle in the field of pedagogy, enabling the composition of a political-pedagogical teacher subject, I argue that this emergent subject has transgressed important subjective limits and is experimenting with new forms of being as a teacher. However, it is a subject that is still, in a large degree, confined to the classroom.

Limitations, implications and connotations

I would like to finish this work by formulating a series of questions and reflections that open implications that I see as suggested by the work I have done. These questions and

reflections connote potentialities in different social and educational dimensions and are, at the same time, limitations of my work in the sense that I could have reflected on and analysed some of these issues using the empirical data I produced. However, I did not have the clarity nor the space-time to analyse these topics.

The broadest way to frame this series of implications in an inclusive category is as the problem of the potential of teachers and how a certain pedagogical policy can limit or free this potential. Teachers' potential, following Hannah Arendt (1961), can be understood in a broad sense as the task 'to mediate between the old and the new' (p. 193). The field of pedagogy can be understood as a field in which the social bonds of mediation between the old and the new are governed in the school institution by the teaching force. The act of education is a task that involves 'always to cherish and protect something – the child against the world, the world against the child, the new against the old, the old against the new' (p. 192). As Arendt (1961) puts it:

> To preserve the world against the mortality of its creators and inhabitants it must be constantly set right anew. The problem is simply to educate in such a way that a setting-right remains actually possible, even though it can, of course, never be assured. Our hope always hangs on the new which every generation brings; but precisely because we can base our hope only on this, we destroy everything if we so try to control the new that we, the old, can dictate how it will look. Exactly for the sake of what is new and revolutionary in every child, education must be conservative; it must preserve this newness and introduce it as a new thing into an old world. (p. 192-193)

The *pedagogy of the bonsai* is a way of limiting the potential of the teaching force by producing a small, minimal and contained subject, a *bonsai* teacher. This pedagogical policy opens a series of questions regarding its effects on the broader task of mediation between the old and the new. For example, what sort of consequences are there for a given society to minimise its teaching force? If GERM involves a form of minimisation of the teaching force on a global scale, what sort of consequences will this have for the global mediation between the old and the new? How is the newness of every generation 'preserved' with a minimal teaching force? Are, for example, the current school strikes for climate change that are taking place in different places of the world a way to reconfigure the teaching force beyond the physical space of the school? There might be global implications involved in the way a global pedagogical policy enacts a mode of governing the global teacher.

It is possible to continue this line of thought arguing that in different parts of the world a pedagogical policy that controls, regulates, manages, guides and harms teachers' time and creativity is currently in place. Following Gramsci (1971), this can implicate a 'crisis of

authority'. As he argues, a crisis of authority of a specific mode of governing 'consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear'. (p. 276). For Gramsci, this problem relates to the 'problem of the younger generation', which is 'caused by the "crisis of authority" of the old generations in power' (p. 276). The organic capacity of the old mode of governing has lost its organising capacity to lead the new generations. In this case, the problem is not the one Arendt (1961) feared – 'we destroy everything if we so try to control the new' –, but one of trying to control the old that has as its task to mediate the 'interregnum'. For the specific case of Chile, for example, this problem opens questions such as: is there any relation between the elaboration of a minimal and absent teacher subject in the last 35-40 years in Chile and the fact that secondary and university students led the first criticisms of the neoliberal regime in 2006 and 2011? Were these demonstrations in any way a threat not only to the neoliberal Chilean society but to the social order called Chile as a whole? Is the elaboration of a minimal teacher subject a danger for the preservation of the old world? Is the elaboration of a minimal teacher subject a failed form of trying to preserve the old world or of trying to control the new? There might be implications for a given society involved in the way it governs the mediation between the old and the new.

The dissident teachers from Chile, in this sense, demonstrate a way of resisting *the pedagogy of the bonsai*. Are the dissident teachers offering a new form of governing their field of experience? This question can be related to the most vital need of the soul according to Simone Weil (2002). As she argues, 'to be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul. It is one of the hardest to define' (p. 43), adding that a 'human being has roots by virtue of his real, active and natural participation in the life of a community which preserves in living shape certain particular treasures of the past and certain particular expectations for the future' (p. 43). The recent history of teachers and teaching in Chile and other parts of the world is one of being forcefully *uprooted* from their old traditional civil servant identity and school communities (some old 'treasures') and being *re-rooted* in a general worker and technocratic identity (certain particular expectation). A series of questions are opened up from this perspective: What is the role that the teaching force has in rooting the memory or the future of a given social order? What are the different ways in which a teacher can participate in the life of a community? How do teachers preserve the past and create a certain future among people? If teachers do have a central role in the past-future elaboration and conservation, what happens to a given society when teachers are uprooted and not organically assembled in the life of their communities? In

the case of Chile, is the creation of memory, for example remembering Manuel Guerrero, a way to also root a potential future? How is the relation between past and future enacted by a teacher rooted in the life of a community? The mediating task between the old and the new entrusted by society to teachers can implicate a series of additional complex tasks of mediation such as the relationship a given community establishes between its past and future.

From this point of view, a *pedagogy of the bonsai* might imply a crisis of authority for a given society which entails the possibility of erasing the memories and shrinking the future expectations of the different communitarian formations articulated within that society. This form of pedagogical policy, 'trims', as Zemelman and Quintar (J. Rivas, 2005) put it, 'the ability to think, to imagine, to relate with reality, with what is happening' (p. 127, mt). It cuts the roots of thinking as the ability to detach from a given order of things and engage in the process of critical self-awareness (Gramsci, 1971) and the possibility of a critical ontology of oneself (Foucault, 1997f). If the teaching force of a given society is re-rooted as a minimal and technical one, with a minimal need to think about itself and its pedagogical work, there is no need for a teacher to think about his or her 'real, active and natural participation in the life of a community', as Weil (2002) puts it. How many ways of 'trimming' the ability of teachers to think and imagine exist? Is a *pedagogy of the bonsai* always a technical pedagogy? Can, for example, an ideological pedagogy that might try, as Arendt (1961) argues, 'to control the new' become a form of *bonsai pedagogy*? How are both forms of pedagogy related? How can a pedagogical policy cultivate teachers' 'ability to think, to imagine, to relate with reality, with what is happening'? There are different theoretical and practical implications related to the notion of pedagogical policy.

In the concrete case of this research, the dissident teachers have found behind the closed doors of the classroom a space-time to participate, in a 'real, active and natural' way, in the life of their students' community. As Arendt (1961) argues, 'everything that lives, not the vegetative life alone, emerges from darkness and, however strong its natural tendency to thrust itself into the light, it nevertheless needs the security of darkness to grow at all' (p. 186). The relationship behind closed doors between teacher and students is a way the dissident teachers have found to feel secure, '*de-bonsai*' themselves and grow differently as teachers. In the classroom, they find a sense of freedom, delight and community.

The need for teachers to close the doors of their classrooms to have a sense of freedom, delight and community represents a subjective limit for the formation of a political-

pedagogical teacher. I would like to offer some final reflections about this subjective limit in three dimensions: theoretical, epistemological and political. In terms of theory, closing the door of the classroom is showing that a subjective limit can work not only as a restriction or limitation to one's freedom but as a boundary to experiment with a sense of 'security of darkness to grow' (Arendt, 1961, p. 186). The notions of limit-attitude (Foucault, 1997f), limit-situation and limit-act (Freire, 2005) create the idea that the fundamental problem to transform a given subjective order of things is to move beyond and transgress its limits. However, it seems that once a movement, beyond the limits, has been put in motion what is needed is a new subjective limit from where new practices can find a sense of security to grow. The relationship between subjective limits and experimental practices is not just a movement beyond the limits as a way to experiment but the creation of new limits as a way to create a space for the unfolding of experimental practices. In this sense, when Foucault (1997f) argues that 'criticism indeed consists of analysing and reflecting upon limits' (p. 315), it is possible to say that the analysis and reflection are not only directed to identifying a limit to be crossed but also a limit to be formed. A critical ontology of ourselves dwells between limits of different signs: a negative one which confines the subject and a positive one which has the potentiality to enable practices of self-formation. The theoretical problem to highlight is to include in our practice of critical thinking about subjective limits a reflection not only about how to transgress negative limits, but also how to create positive limits than can enable experimental practices to find 'the security of darkness to grow'.

In epistemological terms, I began this research with *agobio* as the main subjective limit I wanted to better understand. Now I am curious about a form of teaching that needs to close the door to find a sense of freedom, delight and community. My research interrogates the dissident teachers as everyday teachers that were engaged in critical thinking about their own working conditions. The narrative work I did with them was designed to let them rehearse with me their story of themselves as teachers, their limits and their experimental practices. From *agobio* to closing the doors of the classrooms seems to be a process of reduction of complexity, a narrower topic, and, at the same time, it feels like a wider topic in terms of the construction of knowledge, in the sense that every time a classroom door is closed a pedagogical policy is enacted. *Agobio* is a shared subjective state of teachers and closing the doors is a concrete practice enacting multiple ways of behaving as a teacher in the space-time of the closed doors. To research *agobio* involves researching a sort of public subjective state of teachers, but to research the practice of closing the doors involves

researching a more private dimension of teachers' work, which can be made a public dimension. The challenge, in this sense, is how to create knowledge about this new subjective limit. My impression is that narrative and ethnographic-oriented studies could be useful ways to continue this line of research.

In political terms, I wonder about the possibilities for the political-pedagogical teacher to move outside the closed doors and experience forms of freedom, delight and community in the broader space of the school. For me, this means finding ways to create a subjective limit providing a sense of 'security of darkness to grow' (Arendt, 1961, p. 186) for example, in the staff common room and teachers' meetings. A different way to consider this political problem is to ask if is it possible for the UTP, the Unit of Technical Pedagogy, to become a space-time to think about the pedagogical policy of a school? Or, to put it in other words, is it possible to transform the UTP of schools into Units of Pedagogical Policy or Units of Experimental Pedagogy, and what would this transformation entail? I believe that the UTP has the potential to offer a space and time to critically reflect on the ways teachers participate in organising and governing the field of experience of teaching and learning. In this particular sense, I think it is a key political site of the teachers' struggles.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

A last analogical evocation to finish this work. The idea of *the pedagogy of the bonsai*, as I argued in Chapter 7, was elaborated by Hugo Zemelman and Estela Quintar (J. Rivas, 2005) to try to make sense of how teachers are being shaped in the neoliberal educational context of South America. Quintar states that 'to make a bonsai you need to manipulate with plenty of "care", plenty of "love", and a lot of "sweetness" the taproot of what could become *a large tree*' (p. 11, mt). If a *bonsai pedagogy* produces a *bonsai teacher*, what type of pedagogy produces '*a large tree*' teacher?

The forest ecologist Suzanne Simard (2017) has dedicated her work to observing how trees interact. She argues that a forest can be analogically thought of as a community and that in 'the forest, the foundational species are the trees, and the elders of this foundation are the biggest and oldest trees. Elder trees provide an anchor for the diverse structure of the many-sized trees in their neighbourhoods' (2017, p. 67). In a TED talk called 'How trees talk to each other', Simard (2016) considers that her 30 years of research in the Canadian forest have contributed to 'change the way we look at how trees interact in forests, from not just competitors but to cooperators' (7:57 - 8:06). She adds:

Forests aren't simply collections of trees, they're complex systems with hubs and networks that overlap and connect trees and allow them to communicate, and they provide avenues for feedbacks and adaptation, and this makes the forest resilient. That's because there are many hub trees and many overlapping networks. But they're also vulnerable, vulnerable not only to natural disturbances (…) but high-grade logging and clear-cut logging. You see, you can take out one or two hub trees, but there comes a tipping point. (13:14 - 13:51)

Is it possible to change the way we think about teachers as effective and efficient technical workers competing for improving learning outcomes to rooted communitarian workers cooperating in nourishing the complex overlapping networks of their everyday labour? Is it possible to change the way we think about teachers, schooling, teaching and learning from a mechanical and inorganic metaphor to a set of organic interconnected systems? What type of pedagogy entails, for example, a *pedagogy of the forest*? What it means for a teacher to freely grow as a tree? What sort of relationships of authority and power would this form of pedagogy involve? Would 'hub trees' be needed? Could a 'hub tree' be a collective subject? Is it possible for a school community, as a complex system, to engage in a process of self-healing? What time and space does a tree teacher subject need to grow? Is it possible to think of a tree teacher subject as someone with time, as Lis puts it, 'to think, to create, to organise ourselves, to meet others, to problematise' their pedagogical practice? An evocation to continue with the political process of sense-making and imagining different ways to engage with the broader task of mediation between the old and the new.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>
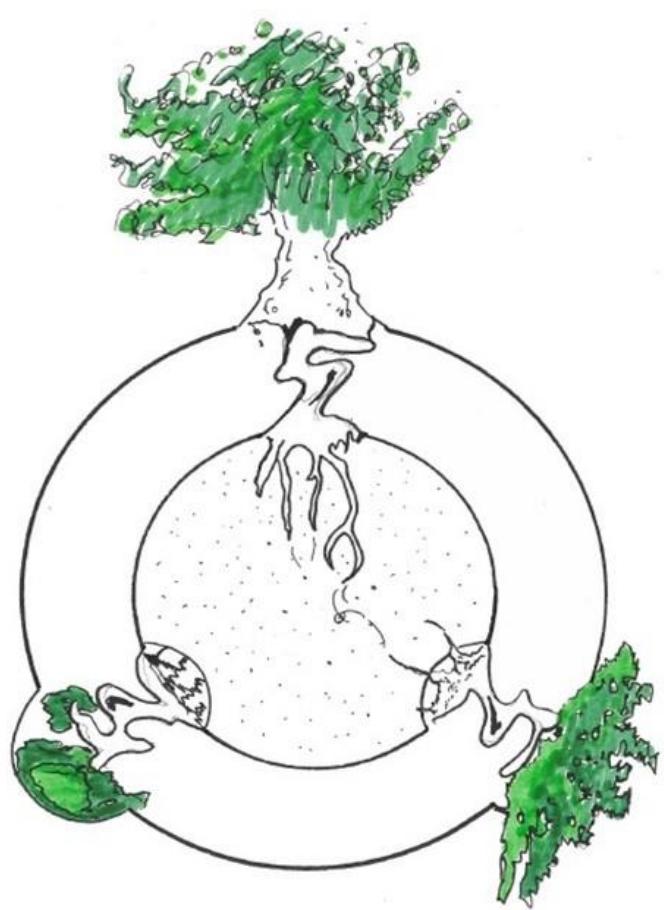
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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: References of the News Headlines

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Appendix 2: Procedures to create the personal narratives

The procedures for creating the eight personal narratives consisted in:

4. Transcribing of the three audios
5. Merging and editing the three interviews into one document
6. Identifying *in vivo* codes (C. Rivas, 2012) in each case

I will use an extract of the transcription of Victor's first interview to give an example of these three preliminary analytical procedures. For example, the transcript looked as follows:

> Regrettably, then, well, we ended the negotiation like in July 2013, and in September, we found out that the owner had sold the school to a building company.
>
> No!
>
> Get it? [*cachai*]… We had negotiated with him a collective contract for three years. Collective contract, okay, great, we had gained long-term benefits, staffing adjustment, recognition of seniority, and the man [*hueón*] had sold the school.
>
> So, he just did a show
>
> He was just acting out with us, well [*po*]… He put all the benefits for the next year, get it? [*cachai*]. So, "in 2013 we will keep it like this, and the benefit will be nested for next year".
>
> When there will be no school
>
> Exactly. It was a big disappointment.
>
> So, the school closed?
>
> It's closed, well [*po*]. It's closed. Now it's a building. It's a building, and **we were all fired**, we were all sacked. (Victor)

After the literal transcription of the three interviews, I edited them. The main reason for editing the interviews was that I did not want to send back to the eight teachers I worked with their transcripts but a sort of translation of their 'spoken words' into 'written' ones. Therefore, in the previous example, I took out all the underlined bits of the extract. By doing this, the extract was transformed into:

> Regrettably, we ended the negotiation in July 2013 and in September, we found out that the owner had sold the school to a building company. We had negotiated with him a collective contract for three years. Collective contract, okay, great, we had gained long-term benefits, staffing adjustment, recognition of seniority. He had sold the school and was just acting out with us… He put all the benefits for the next year. So, "in 2013 we will keep it like this, and the benefit will be nested for next year". It was a big disappointment. **The school closed, is closed. Now it's a building. It's a building, and we were all fired, we were all sacked.** (Victor)

I had three criteria for editing:

1. Slang: I edited the '*po*', '*cachaí*', '*hueón*', or '*wea*', among other slang that is quite abundant in Chilean oral speaking.

2. Myself: I edited the following up and probing interventions such as 'So, he just did a show' or 'No!' However, when I make a substantial question or intervention, i.e., one that changed noticeably the direction of what was being said, I have kept my interventions.

3. Swear word: I edited swear words like shit [*mierda*] or moron [*hueón*], among others, when they were not playing an important role in providing a sense or specific emphasis.

Even though the process of editing has the disadvantage that one loses track of the subtleties of oral language, my analysis does not have a focus on these subtleties as a more linguistically based or psychoanalytically based (e.g. slips of the tongue) analysis might have.

During the editing process, I worked with the 'comments' tool of the software Word. A comment played the role of a 'memo', where ideas and more abstract codes such as 'studies at the university', 'labour experience', 'vision of the country', among others were produced. I then collected all the 'comments' in one document per case where I made, first, a general overview of the main ideas conveyed by the person in the three interviews. Second, I began to identify and use some common codes such as the ones I just outlined to organise the comments.

I included in each personal narrative a front page and introduction, and I sent to each one of the eight teachers their own narrative. I told them three additional things: first, I asked them if they wanted to use any particular pseudonym. Second, if they read the narrative and found anything to change, add or alter, to feel free to do it and let me know. Third, I was going to wait a prudent time (all 2018) before doing anything else than the analysis with their personal narratives. Flor was the only one of the eight who sent me her pseudonym. Lis, Pedro, Maria and Jacinto, wrote back to my email saying thanks, telling me a little about their current affairs and hoping to find the time to read the narrative. Rosa, Hugo and Victor did not reply. None of the eight wrote anything back.

Regarding the last procedure of the preliminary analysis, the *in vivo* coding (C. Rivas, 2012), an example can be seen in the paragraph of Victor I quoted above. The *in vivo* coding was "The school closed, it's closed. Now it's a building. It's a building, and we were all fired". I highlighted with bold the *in vivo* section and used inverted commas in front of the paragraph. In the following Figure 9 you can see an example of how the *in vivo* coding worked to make distinctions within a personal narrative.

Figure 9 – Example of In Vivo Coding

Therefore, each personal narrative had three types of analytical codes. The table of contents of Rosa's personal narrative, as seen in Figure 10, is useful to discuss these three types of codes.

Figure 10 – Rosa's Personal Narrative Table of Content

Table of content

The first type of codes was the most abstract and deductive: 'My story as a teacher', 'My everyday limits as a teacher' and 'My ways of experimenting beyond my limits as a teacher'.

These responded to the three topics of the interviews. Then, in section two and three, the codes were made using the limits and experimentations they wrote in their notebook or, in those cases where they did not bring the book with them, the limits they recalled in the interview. Finally, the *in vivo* code that I have exemplified with Victor's case. The criteria for producing an *in vivo* code was based mainly on the change in the story being narrated. I said 'mainly' because in some cases the stories where too long, therefore I introduced additional in vivo codes within the same story.

Appendix 3: Experimental Practices

Table 11 – Experimental Practices and Mistral's Three Times

	First time	Second time	Third time
Pedro	• "First nucleus: the classroom space' • "To work outside the classroom"	• "Second nucleus: the teamwork"	• "Third nucleus: outside school and more institutional and structural, where you relate to organisations'
Rosa	• "The classroom: it's our scenario of dreams, yearnings, passions and utopias" • "Convincing by example: demonstrating that things can be done differently" • "To assume resilience: to stand up, resist and try again at every moment"	• "Organization between colleagues: insisting in our need of being organised, fighting for recovering and strengthening our dignity"	• "Working to influence changes in the pedagogical paradigm"
Flor	• "Clandestine Pedagogy" • "The didactic concerts" • "Or you give them away or you help them"	• "The space has to be created by the teacher even if what is at risk is your job"	• "An academic profession needs to generate its own concepts"
Jacinto	• "Are there really walls?" • "The allotment" • "To stop whining" • "To be coherent"	• "To recover the spaces" • "Plans and Programs" • "To change a little bit the Teachers' meetings"	
Maria	• "The positive annotations"	• "To look for support [apañe]" • "The anthem" • "The day of Physical Education"	
Hugo	• "With the students"	• "With the colleagues"	

		• "The Improvement Plan and the Institutional Project"	
Victor	• "To work outside the classroom" • "To diversify the evaluation" • "The environment, the cleanliness, the hygiene" • "To approach students in informal instances"	• "To look for interference on the macro decisions of the school"	
Lis	• "I close my door and I am myself" • "The levels of consciousness that I myself has achieve" • "My soul divides in two"		