

CERFI ANALYSIS EVERYWHERE

Hand-drawn pedigree chart showing three generations:

- Generation 1 (Top Row):** Sophie, Marine (J), Simone, Valérie, Nadine, Sophie (J), Alice, Muriel.
- Generation 2 (Middle Row):** Beatrix, Colette, Julie, Florence, Nathalie, Sophie (J).
- Generation 3 (Bottom Row):** B.A., Emmanuelle, Mathilde, Cécile, Estelle, Sophie (J), Christelle (J), Clara.

Relationships are indicated by lines connecting individuals. Horizontal double slashes (//) between individuals in the same generation indicate consanguinity.

MILITANCY RESEARCH ARCHITECTURE AND PSYCHIATRY

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CERFI – ANALYSIS EVERYWHERE
Militancy, Research, Architecture, and Psychiatry
Susana Caló and Godofredo Enes Pereira
ISBN 978-1-57028-398-8

Cover image: CERFI's diagram of nurses schedules at Pont Blanc nursery,
Aubervilliers. *Recherches* 17, p. 54

Design by Pedro Nora

Printing and Binding by Orgal, Portugal
Legal Deposit: 557723/25

Released by Minor Compositions 2025
Colchester / New York / Port Watson

Minor Compositions is a series of interventions & provocations
drawing from autonomous politics, avant-garde aesthetics,
and the revolutions of everyday life.

Minor Compositions is an imprint of Autonomedia
www.minorcompositions.info | minorcompositions@gmail.com

Distributed by Autonomedia
PO Box 568 Williamsburgh Station
Brooklyn, NY 11211

www.autonomedia.org
info@autonomedia.org

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**SUSANA CALÓ
GODOFREDO ENES PEREIRA**

**<...Min0r...>
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FIRST OF ALL, WE WOULD LIKE TO THANK Anne Querrien, Michel Rostain, François Pain, Claude Harmelle, Gérard Grass, Olivier Quérouil, Lion Murard, Florence Pétry, Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, Thierry Rosenzweig, Philippe Gumpelwicz, Claude Rouot, Claudine Dardy, Michel Peraldi and Catherine Foret, whose experiences and memories, as members of CERFI, made this book possible. In particular, we would like to extend a very special thank you to Anne Querrien for helping us every step of the way, and caring for the development of this research, from the first ideas to providing comments on the manuscript, and to Michel Rostain and François Pain, who supported us over the years in a way that only friends can. We also thank Annick Kouba and Paul Brétécher, who made Susana's visits to France incredibly special. Their insights into the vibrant period of CERFI's life were invaluable.

We would like to acknowledge how our interest in CERFI evolved through the many discussions we had on architecture and collective equipment within the ADS7 studio, taught by Godofredo alongside Platon Issaias, at the Royal College of Art, as well as through our interactions with the students and everyone we connected with via the Research Group on Architecture and Social Movements, particularly Tiago Mota Saravia and Tonet Font. In the early years of this research, Jean-Claude Polack sat with us several times for long conversations that took us from Algeria to Saint-Alban, to La Borde, to the present day, all the while making us reflect why we were doing this book. We were very early on introduced to a selection of films on institutional psychotherapy by Olivier Apprill, for which we are grateful, and Franco 'Bifo' Berardi drew our attention to the negative impact of the new philosophers on French intellectual life during this period while pushing us to reflect on CERFI's work from a contemporary perspective.

The work of Patrick ffrench and Susana on their project *La toupie folle* was very important for this research. We would also like to thank Patrick for his support throughout the project, and for reading the manuscript and providing feedback.

The project was carried forward despite the difficulties of securing grants to develop research on the collective history of a group like CERFI. We are grateful for the invaluable financial support we received from the Royal College of Art and Het Nieuwe Instituut, as well as from the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts. We would also like to thank Mark Wasiuta, Franco 'Bifo' Berardi, Ethel Baraona Pohl and César Reyes, Marina Otero Verzier and Adrian Lahoud, for their help in securing it. We would like to extend our thanks to Antonio del Giudice, Marina Andronescu and Cécile Diama-Samb for their research assistance at various stages of the project; Joanna Figiel for her help with proofreading; Sophie Eager, Joey Hornsby, Benjamin Dalton and Patrick ffrench for their translation contribution, and to Pedro Nora for his patience in dealing with our constant delays and, more importantly, for helping us to bring our ambition to foreground the polyphony of CERFI's work into visual and material form.

Never was it so evident for us the importance of archives for a political practice of history and to rescue the collective life of concepts. We are thankful to librarians and archivists at the Guattari and Foucault collections at the Institut Mémoires de l'édition contemporaine (IMEC), the Pastrana collection at the Centre Pompidou/MNAM-CCI/ Bibliothèque Kandinsky, the Archives départementales de l'Essonne, Melun-Sénart and Marne-la-Vallée. The archives of François Fourquet, which are held at the Archives Nationales in Paris, were crucial for our research. We were able to consult these thanks to the permission of Fourquet's family and the invaluable help of Yann Pontin. Emmanuelle Guattari allowed us to use unpublished documents by her father for our research and public presentations. Jacques Reboud kindly provided photographs of the CERFISE intervention at the Petit Séminaire, and Martine Barat granted us the use of Hélio Oiticica's documentation of her work. The discovery of archives carefully kept by Olivier Quérouil were pivotal to this work, as they contained unexpected materials and revealed hitherto unknown lines of research. Most of the film material in this book was shared with us by François Pain, whose pioneering films and videos on alternative psychiatry

have been a source of inspiration and work for many artists and writers, and whose presence, art, humor and zeal for friends continues to fill our hearts. Together with Marion Scemama, in their presence everything becomes a possibility of art. Our visit to La Borde was all the more special because of the company of Mariana Lacerda, Peter Pál Pelbart, Clara Novaes, Joris De Bisschop and Christophe Naud.

We would also like to thank the many rhizomatic friendships that have sustained us. This includes our friends at Chaosmosemedia and the UK Network for Institutional Analysis, as well as the Other Ways to Care and FreePsy research collectives. We would also like to thank those whose research directly influenced this book, and all those who invited us to present our work, providing us with the insight and energy to continue: Paola Debellis, Andy Goffey, Pantxo Ramas, Meredith Tenhoor, Gerald Raunig, Óscar Guardiola-Rivera, Anderson Santos, Laura Savidge, Ludovica D'Alessandro, Camille Robcis, Mireia Sallarès, Joana Masó, Valentin Schaepelynck, Olexii Kuchanskyi, Edward Thornton, Né Barros, Silvia Franceschini, Anna Santomauro, Anthony Faramelli, Rachel Wilson, Alba Colomo, Paweł Mościcki, Elena Vogman, Kevin Sawar-Polley, Megan Clinch, Maria Turri, Janna Graham, Bárbara Szaniecki, Cristina Ribas and Gary Genosko. Marina Otero Verzier's unconditional support from the outset, along with her continuous encouragement and enthusiastic input, deserves our particular gratitude.

Any work, but especially one that involves ideas, only makes sense within a collective horizon and when there is a group of friends and people who care about it and whose complicity transforms it into a possibility of life. In addition to those already mentioned, we are thinking of Ana Bigotte Vieira, Nabil Ahmed, Jon Goodbun, Matteo Pasquinelli, Margarida Mendes, Sasha Warren, Dubravka Sekulić, Sam Jacoby, Yaiza Hernández Velázquez, Tuncay Gurhan, Bernardo Amaral, Kamil Dalkir, Dina Poursanidou, Raluca Soreanu, Lizaveta Van Munsteren, Ana Minozzo, with whom we kept a continued and rich dialogue and to whom we are very grateful for their comments on parts or aspects of this book.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank our editor, Stevphen Shukaitis, and Minor Compositions, whose commitment to making books into tools for political composition we admire and fully believe in. Getting to work with Stevphen, witnessing his joy of books, comradeship, humor and generosity has been one of the best things of making this book.

To all our friends and family who supported us with love, food, or childcare, enabling us to write, travel, and attend conferences and meetings, we remain grateful every day.

Finally, a special thank you goes to our very dear friend and companion in all things, Adrian Lahoud, who encouraged and supported this work since the beginning and in many ways, and with whom it is always joyful to discuss theory, architecture, institutions and all the really important things in life.

We dedicate this book to our son Ernesto.

“I TELL THIS STORY BECAUSE IT IS VERY CHARACTERISTIC OF THE spirit in which we worked. I’ll summarise. One day, there was a patient, a very reclusive patient, who came to a club meeting.

Then this very isolated man, who never spoke to anyone and always stayed in a corner, didn’t move and didn’t participate in anything – we almost had to force him to come to the meeting – said, ‘I would like a bicycle. I would like someone to buy me a bicycle’. The others said, ‘Oh, but that’s not possible. You don’t do anything; you don’t work; you have no interest in anything.’

And then Félix asks to speak and says, ‘Well, our problem, fundamentally, is not managing a clinic, but treating people. Even better, it’s enabling some of them to return to society and live with everyone else. Even if he doesn’t work, even if he doesn’t replace the monitors, we can still give him what he’s asking for. After all, it’s rare that he asks for anything. It could be very important to him. It could change his whole situation. We’re not going to start applying the laws of capitalism – only work is rewarded? No! We give money because we think it can help the person concerned, get them out of their psychotic lethargy.’

The others replied: ‘Well, all right then.’

The pensioner didn’t want to go to Blois, to the town, on his own. So, four or five of them went with him to buy the bicycle.

Immediately, a group of people formed around him who rode bicycles, went on outings and went for long rides. Sometimes they would leave for the whole day. They would sometimes go to a small restaurant. They discovered the region. There are lots of other castles, real ones. That’s the spirit of it: you have to break deep-rooted habits, that is to say, the capitalist alienation of giving money in exchange for work.”

— Interview with JEAN-CLAUDE POLACK, Paris, January 2020

INTRODUCTION

ONLY DESIRE
CAN READ DESIRE

Thirty years ago, I was one of those people for whom any new issue of the CERFI's journal Recherches was likely to be an event. 'Les équipements du pouvoir', 'L'haleine des faubourgs', 'Le petit travailleur infatigable' and so many others not only left their mark on the imagination and on thought in terms of their content, but also – and it's difficult to say above all – in terms of the possibility they brought into existence: social science researchers had given themselves the means to research, in other words to produce active knowledge, inciting, transforming into collective practice what might otherwise have remained the thought of 'Great Men' – Foucault, Guattari.

— ISABELLE STENGERS, preface to *L'école mutuelle* by Anne Querrien¹

Only desire can read desire (...) the subject producing a study must be 'meshed', in one way or another, with the mode of enunciation of the subject concerned by the study. In the absence of a certain assemblage of enunciation between the knowing subjects and the subjects to be known, research can only become sterile, or what is worse, take its place amongst the oppressive systems of power.

— FÉLIX GUATTARI, *Lines of Flight*²

- 1 Isabelle Stengers, Préface *Une école mutuelle? Ça existe?* in Anne Querrien's book, *L'école mutuelle*, 2005, Paris, Les empêcheurs de penser en rond, Le Seuil, p.7. Querrien's work featured in this book first appeared as issue 23 of the journal *Recherches* under the title "L'enseignement".
- 2 Félix Guattari [2011] 2016, *Lines of Flight. For another World of Possibilities* trans. Andrew Goffey, London, Bloomsbury, p. 39.

The *Centre d'études, de recherches et de formation institutionnelles* (CERFI – which in English translates as Centre for Institutional Studies, Research and Training³) was an independent research cooperative established in 1967. It brought together students with backgrounds in psychoanalysis and psychotherapy with sociologists, video artists, educators, urbanists, architects, and economists. Emerging from the militant student movements formed on the back of the struggles for Algerian independence in the early 1960s, and inspired by the experience of institutional psychotherapy at the Clinique La Borde, CERFI set out to reinvent modes of militant organising by placing desire front and centre.

Despite the acclaim that CERFI enjoyed during its existence, having published 46 issues of the journal *Recherches* and relying on a wide network of contributors to its research and publication, the work of CERFI is little known today. In scholarship, references to CERFI tend to occur as notes to the biographical itineraries of prominent individual figures associated with it, such as Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault, who occasionally collaborated with the group, and to its founder, Félix Guattari. Both in France and internationally, the legacy of CERFI has been mostly recovered through the tireless work of Anne Querrien, who has continuously brought the experience of CERFI to bear on current debates⁴. Liane Mozère and François Fourquet, who like Querrien were founding members of CERFI, each provided crucial insights into the emergence of CERFI in *Le printemps des crèches*.

³ While in English, the word “research” is an uncountable noun and is used in both singular and plural forms, in French, the term “recherches” is plural and means *studies* or *investigations*.

⁴ See for instance, Anne Querrien, “Le revenu universel, condition d’une finance post-capitaliste”, *Multitudes*, 2018/2 no. 71, 2018, pp. 104-110; Querrien, “Le CERFI, l’expérimentation sociale et l’État: témoignage d’une petite main” in *L’État à l’épreuve des sciences sociales La fonction recherche dans les administrations sous la Ve république*, La Découverte, 2005, pp. 72-87; Querrien, “Vivre en recherche”, *Multitudes*, 2021/4 no. 85, 2021, pp. 259-263, and Querrien, “La Borde, Guattari and Left Movements in France, 1965-81”, *Deleuze Studies* Vol. 10, 3, 2016’ pp. 395-416.

*Histoire et analyse d'un mouvement*⁵, and on its multiple strands of research in *L'accumulation du pouvoir*⁶, written in 1982, shortly before the dissolution of CERFI. Janet Morford's Master's thesis⁷, a detailed and insightful account of the group's history and collective life based on interviews with group members, is a unique resource for those interested in CERFI, published in 1998, and is the only monograph devoted to the group to date. Gary Genosko's studies of Guattari's thought, Andrew Goffey's translations with key introductions and contextualisation to his work, and François Dosse's biography of Deleuze and Guattari, supported by Virginie Linhart's interviews, have all contributed to bring visibility to CERFI.⁸

With this book we want to put CERFI front and centre. However, while we hope to draw long overdue attention to CERFI's work and to its members, our main goal is not to write its history. It's clear to us that there was not one CERFI, but many, and that its history would be better written by its members, by those who participated in it or were directly affected by it. Instead, our goal with this book is to draw out an aspect of CERFI's work that we feel to be uniquely relevant from

5 See Liane Mozère, *Le printemps des crèches. Histoire et analyse d'un mouvement*, Éditions L'Harmattan, 1992, and Mozère, "Foucault et le CERFI: instantanés et actualité", in *Le Portique*, 13–14, 2004, available at <http://leportique.revues.org/642> (accessed November 2016).

6 François Fourquet, "L'accumulation du pouvoir ou le désir d'État. Synthèse des recherches du Cerfi de 1970 à 1981", *Recherches* 46, September 1982, pp. 47–72.

7 Janet Morford, *Histoires du CERFI: La trajectoire d'un collectif de recherche sociale*, EHESS/DEA, October 1985.

8 See Gary Genosko, *Félix Guattari: A Critical Introduction*, London, New York, Pluto Press, 2009. See also Andrew Goffey, "Translator's Introduction. Planetary equipment: from institutions and assemblages to integrated world capitalism and assemblages", in Guattari, Félix [2011] (2016), *Lines of Flight. For Another World of Possibilities*, London, Bloomsbury; Goffey, (2015) "Introduction to Guattari on Transdisciplinarity", *Theory, Culture & Society*, 32(5–6), pp. 125–130; Goffey, "Guattari, Transdisciplinarity, and the Experimental Transformation of Research", in *Deleuze, Guattari, and the Problem of Transdisciplinarity*, ed. Guillaume Collett, Bloomsbury Academic, 2020, pp. 35–46. Consult François Dosse, *Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari: Intersecting Lives*, Columbia, 2011.

today's standpoint: CERFI's deployment of analysis as part of an experimentation with new forms of militant practice. To clarify, by analysis we mean the creation of situations in which unconscious or libidinal relations can manifest themselves and be worked on. This idea was at the core of CERFI's organisation as an autonomous research centre and characterised its work in a multiplicity of contexts, from urban planning to the programming of mental health or educational equipment, to its research and the constitution of itself as a site of analytical experimentation. We are interested in reflecting on this mobilisation of analysis not only from the perspective of the historiography of psychotherapy and psychoanalysis, but also from that of left political militancy. We are also interested in how the theorisations of analysis emerging from the post-war institutional psychotherapy movement resonated with the concerns of a growing network of communist students and activists on the fringes of the main union and party organisations, who were increasingly disillusioned with centralist and bureaucratic forms of militant organisation. Finally, while researching CERFI's experience, its challenges, difficulties, and shortcomings as well as its achievements, we will be trying to think through what lessons can be drawn to bear on similar experiences today.

Founded in 1953 and run by Jean Oury and Félix Guattari, in continuity with the revolutionary psychiatric work by François Tosquelles and others at the Saint-Alban hospital, in Lozère, the La Borde clinic in Cour-Cheverny plays a fundamental part in this story. Working to avoid serialisation, hierarchical structures, mindless repetitions or the crystallisations of roles and identities, La Borde provided a unique counterpoint to the bureaucratic and centralist logics of existing clinical institutions. In the mid-sixties, at Guattari's invitation, a mix of students, artists, militants, and political refugees were drawn to La Borde, where they came to live and work, amongst which were future members of CERFI. It was an important milieu of political and psycho-analytic experimentation, a place outside of social 'normopathy'. All the CERFI members we spoke with describe the periods, sometimes years, spent working there as inspiring, transformative and decisive

in their lives. It was Jean Oury who, in response to the question of what institutional psychotherapy was, said that it was ‘every little thing’. In both theory and practice, La Borde became a machine from which to imagine new forms of militant organisation. Thus, the story of CERFI is also the story of La Borde.

It is this rich encounter between Institutional Psychotherapy and leftist militancy that we trace in **Chapter 1: One, Two, Many Vietnams**. Instead of the generic picture of a naive youth movement concerned with the satisfaction of individual forms of ‘desire’, we trace how emerging forms of collective work and reflection within student unions and professional organisations came together with professionals and militants from the institutional psychotherapy movement – in particular with Félix Guattari – and eventually led to the constitution of CERFI. Preceded by OG (*Opposition gauche*) and FGERI (*Fédération des groupes d'études et de recherches institutionnelles*), CERFI embodied the commitment to explore forms of organising that would be able to confront capitalism at all scales, across urban, institutional or professional spaces, and in particular, its main enforcer, the French state.

Much of our work in this book is dedicated to these explorations, particularly **Chapter 2: The Creation of CERFI** and **Chapter 3: Programming Against the State**. In these chapters, we examine how CERFI approached research into ‘collective equipment’ as a key site of anti-capitalist struggle. The term ‘collective equipment’ refers specifically to equipment from the state, which for CERFI were important sites of axiomatisation and normalisation. Neither following the Maoist practice of infiltrating the factory (*établissement*) nor US-style counter-culture and its escape to the countryside, CERFI claimed that analysis should be put to the test within and against the state. Investigating existing forms of programming ‘collective equipment’ and proposing new ones, became an entryway into receiving state grants. Their investigations would take both the form of genealogical research, and of action-research, claiming that researchers – like analysts – could only work through direct engagement, allowing *their desire to read other desires*.

At this point we foreground CERFI's exploration of the concept and practice of *programming*. As a central practice within French urban planning and administration, programming – i.e., the production of design briefs to be given to the architectural teams – was seen by CERFI as an opportunity for introducing institutional analysis into the state's functioning. Through programming they hoped to contest the way in which norms were developed, and introduce processual, collective and self-management models into what were typically normative top-down structures. We also reflect on how CERFI negotiated the immense bureaucratic constraints it faced, and how the group became increasingly fractured along both conceptual, political, and practical avenues of research.

It is worth noting that CERFI's work extends far beyond programming or investigating collective equipment. Our decision to centre these aspects stems from the conviction – from today's viewpoint – that collective equipment remain not only crucial sites of capitalist axiomatisation, but also of political resistance and institutional invention – considering not only the collective equipment of the state, but all those of popular organisations, militant groups, artists' collectives, or the like – in an extended use of the word. While CERFI initially used the term collective equipment to refer to the state apparatus, in the second half of the 1970s it began to use the term in a broader sense. The fact that CERFI became increasingly divided over the possibility of programming collective equipment speaks to the enormous difficulties and challenges surrounding such a project. It is also clear that not everyone in the group saw programming as a continuation of their original analytical project. Nevertheless, it is these debates and difficulties that interest us, as many of them are as relevant today as they were then.

As our work evolved, we came to focus more and more on CERFI itself as a site of analytical experimentation. While we understood its collective and cooperative nature from the start, the encounters and interviews we had the privilege of conducting, unveiled a far more complex scenario. We realised CERFI itself was a crucial object

of analytical experimentation – if not the most important one – in ways that could hardly make their way into their publishing arm, *Revue Recherches*. In realising this, our initial aim expanded to explore how ‘institutional analysis’ worked through CERFI. This is what takes place in **Chapter 4: A Group Analytical Experiment**, which looks at how analysis informed CERFI: from the polyvalence and rotation of research and administrative roles, to general assemblies and the frequent collaboration with other organisations, CERFI experimented upon itself different ways of escaping bureaucratic identification and power crystallisations, and in that way came face to face with the realities of analytical militancy.

Ultimately, it is from the intense internal disputes these mechanisms were designed to both negotiate and reveal that **Chapter 5: One, Two, Many CERFI’s** and **Chapter 6: Militant Analysis or Analysis Everywhere** can be approached. In these final sections we had two main goals: firstly, to avoid falling in the trap of hasty interpretations of internal conflicts, but in a way that would not pacify the work. We propose ways of interpreting CERFI’s internal tensions in a way that avoids simplistic commentary and allows reflecting on the analytical nature of CERFI’s project. Secondly, we hoped to approach the end of CERFI, the research centre, in a way that would do justice to its thinking of institutions: that they are entitled to end, without such end having to be immediately interpreted as a failure of the reasoning that originally led to their constitution; and that CERFI as an institution was never isolated from its milieu, but always existed as an attractor with porous boundaries, and that in being so, its demise could not speak to the demise of an entire movement, but of only one of its forms.

We are aware that our proposed recovery of ‘analysis’ and its role in leftist militancy, cannot simply be brought onto today’s discussions without significant caveats, for these questions are being approached from a different time wherein the terms and objects of questioning have changed. ‘Analysis’, ‘the left’, ‘militancy’, ‘institutions’, ‘collective equipment’ and of course, ‘desire’, are all terms that

resonate differently today than they did in the 1960s and 1970s, and even more when translated. ‘Analysis’ after all resonates with the detachment that so many objectivist methodologies rely on; or with the individual focus of so many psychoanalytical discourses – and in that sense precisely the opposite of CERFI, for which analysis was about making the collective unconscious if not visible, then at least workable. And what of ‘institutions’, a term that in most cases is associated either with the state apparatus or with the bureaucratisation and centralisation of struggles? The broad range of meanings for the word *institution* in French is lost to the English translation, something that poses difficulties to the reading of this book. It is the same case with ‘desire’, converted as it has been into an individualised problem of consumption and fulfilment...

Secondly, we depart from a very different perspective in what concerns the history (or histories) of the left, its goals and disappointments. The events of 1968 are no longer in the near past, and despite their prevalence as one of the key events of leftist thought, other political histories and events have since shifted the terms of the global anti-capitalist discussion. Most notably, the emergence of large-scale social movements across the world, the political impact of indigenous and black movements, the world social forums, the decades of pink-tide across Latin America, the example set by the Zapatistas or by Rojava, the emergence of radical municipalism, *indignados*, Black Lives Matter, or crucially, the ongoing reconfiguration of political and militant structures (and strategies) as demanded by the climate breakdown, the acceleration of the extractive frontier across the world or the return of fascism to the public eye of western countries (even if for everyone else, it never really went away).

Recovering this ecology of terms and concepts – as is necessary in writing such a book – allows us to return to issues that we feel to be crucial to the left today, precisely because they remain unresolved: the problem of organising beyond the opposition between vertical and horizontal or beyond institutional vs anti-institutional, as if there were always only two mutually excluding options to choose

from; the problem of what constitutes leftist militancy, an issue to which CERFI dedicated much of its time; or perhaps more importantly, the importance of addressing the capitalist co-optation of the ‘unconscious’ and ‘desire’ or in other words, of ‘collective subjectivities’.

A generalised avoidance of such issues is surely the result of 1968’s history of ‘desire’ being reduced to one of individualised fulfilment, or perhaps due to the concept’s lack of capacity to take hold within militant and popular contexts. Regardless, the negative impacts of such narration of history are visible today: the issues that CERFI and others tried to tackle with words such as ‘desire’ or ‘libidinal’ – namely, the normopathic and sociopathic axiomatisation of subjectivity that all institutional and militant structures are inevitably traversed by – remain, mostly, unaddressed. A focus on groups, like CERFI, that have seriously engaged with these questions, can be an important contribution to contemporary discussions on militant organising. A focus that we would describe in the terms of *bringing analysis into militancy*, while committing to *analytical militancy* anywhere and everywhere.

Yet, while our goal was to rescue the experience of CERFI for discussions today, it was important for us to do so with the help of the many people who have lived the experience of CERFI. During the course of our research, we have met and interviewed as many CERFI’s members and collaborators as we could. These meetings and conversations, conducted between 2018 and 2024, provided us with singular accounts of CERFI’ life and milieu. We have learned about the life of concepts and we have experienced them through these meetings and the relationships we formed. CERFI’s profound impact on its members’ lives is a symptom of its analytical workings. The distance of all these years, of memory and of age, has certainly been a factor in the recollection of events, as have the various critical and emotional rearrangements that distance has allowed. But it is the disagreements, often painful and intense, the friendships and memories of a unique period, and the rather different views on what CERFI was that we treasure. These encounters provided us with an important reminder that CERFI was never based on an intellectual agreement. Instead,

as most members have noted, it was the result of the decision to live and work collectively around a common set of questions and difficult problems. Without the generosity and commitment of CERFI members a book like this would not have been possible.

In composing this book, we included a selection of transcripts of collective discussions and key texts from CERFI. One of such texts is Félix Guattari and Anne Querrien's unpublished 1970 text, *Institutional and Urban Research*, where for the first time CERFI's approach to the programming of collective equipment was articulated. We have also included texts written at the end of this period, such as the collective discussions *CERFI Takes Stock* and *A Psychiatric Place But De-psychiatrised*, as well as Guattari's *The Institutional Programmer and the Analyser of Social Libido*, all from 1975, written after several years of engagement with the French state and its bureaucratic apparatus. Some of the selected texts are discussions, while others have been collectively written. An example of the latter is a text by the group Imago, *Institutional Analysis and Video*, in which video practice is discussed in terms of its analytical operation, with the camera functioning as a collective analytical tool. We have also included *The Right to Research*, a manifesto written by Michel Rostain and Lion Murard, alongside a discussion about the professionalisation of research. We believe these will resonate with many of us who work at the intersection of academia and activism today. Translated into English for the first time, this selection aims to convey the different ways in which analytical perspectives and practice informed the group's work, allowing – hopefully – to convey the diversity of opinions that made up CERFI, the intensity of its disagreements, and the collective dynamics in action.

During the course of our research, we have been granted access to a broad range of documents and visual materials. While many were readily shared, others had been forgotten. In some cases, they had all been destroyed. More than archives, these documents are often personal, having played an important role in people's lives. With each new visit, new materials came to light, perhaps as an exercise

in memory, perhaps as the result of a growing trust. Or perhaps it was something else. Our goal in looking for visual materials was conveying CERFI's work beyond its scholarly or textual production. They allow us to foreground the broad range of projects CERFI engaged in, from the programming of collective equipment, to the multiple research groups that CERFI members were part of, such as the film or music groups. They show the polyphony of CERFI's work, the diversity within its modes of engagement with research, the existential possibilities it engendered and the collective life it fostered. In our view, CERFI's exploration of research as a form of analytical militancy can only be understood when its main projects are placed in the context of many other marginal or minor lines of experimentation; and when its theoretical claims and debates are understood in relation to their visual, graphic, and polysemiotic modes of expression.

Finally, the questions and concerns around which we have structured this book result from our own commitment to the idea that research cannot take place through 'objective' detachment, but by objecting, by working from our own political position and situation, from our political desires and allowing them to lead the research as it develops. After many years of irregular but intense engagements, we can say that the published work results as much from the intellectual and political curiosity that led us to CERFI, as much as from its reconfiguration by doing the work itself. Unquestionably, our initial intuitions got complicated by the many conversations, by the frustrations, by the lack of funding, and trying to find ways to continue. This labour was only possible due to the commitment to political claims that we felt urgent to debate today, and more importantly, due to the many friendships that emerged along the way.

We are certain that without the nurturing of personal relations, the purpose of the work would be lost. Analytical practices, research or militancy are nothing without care and friendship. In the process of doing this work, we often brought members of CERFI closer together than they had for many years been apart. At times, for us, it was as if CERFI itself came back to life, re-emerged within long forgotten

memories, and re-assumed a social life capable of new, collective enunciations. At the same time, developing this work opened many avenues of discussion with our contemporary academic and militant friends. If anything, we came to realise that the best outcome for a work of this sort was for it to allow new collective enunciations, not only for those that participated in its making, but for all those that will make use of it. Hopefully this book can contribute to allowing CERFI's *desires* to go on recomposing and connecting with those of equally *desiring* militants for many years to come.

CHAPTER 1

ONE, TWO, MANY VIETNAMS

1962: THE RECOGNITION OF ALGERIAN INDEPENDENCE BRINGS AN end to several years of war in Algeria, and to mobilisation across France in support of the cause of liberation. A few years earlier, Cuba had managed a revolution that few imagined possible. At the same time, the war in Vietnam was reigniting the memories of the French colonial dirty-war in Indochina.

Anti-colonial and revolutionary struggles across the global south are the context for the gestation of the *Centre d'études, de recherches et de formation institutionnelles* – CERFI. Despite being a group whose life mostly unfolded after 1968, we feel that it is necessary to introduce CERFI starting from events that took place a decade before its creation. This is so that the political nature of its work and ambitions – concerns so often disregarded in the literature of French intellectual production – can be grasped. We concur with the history of the period by authors such as Kirstin Ross, Belden Fields or Daniel Singer in refusing to reduce 1968 to a circumstantial youth event about democracy and difference, as has been crystallised in the post-1968 public memory.⁹ CERFI's history is bound up with the history of the left in France during the years that preceded 1968, and decisively influenced by anti-colonial struggles across the world. It was during those years of militant struggle that the main political ideas behind its constitution started taking form. So, this is where we have to start.

The Algerian decolonisation war was responsible for widespread student radicalisation in France. On 17 October 1961, a demonstration in Paris with some 30,000 pro-FLN (*Front de libération nationale*) demonstrators was violently repressed by the police, leading to hundreds of dead bodies being left floating in the Seine.¹⁰ And in February

9 Kirstin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives*, Chicago University of Chicago Press, 2002, p. 40; Belden Fields, "French Maoism", in *Social Text – The 60's without Apology*, no. 9/10, eds. Sohyna Sayres, Anders Stephanson, Stanley Aronowitz, and Fredric Jameson, 1984, pp. 148–77; Daniel Singer, *Prelude to Revolution: France in May 1968*, Chicago, Haymarket Books, 2013.

10 See Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives*, pp. 42–43. On this, see also Leopold Lambert's, "Chrono-cartography of the October 17, 1961 Massacre of Algerians

1962, the death of nine people at the Metro station of Charonne after a left-organised protest against OAS's violence¹¹ caught the public's attention and stayed in the memory of those that would later participate in the events of 1968. These were only two of many events that decisively impacted French leftist circles. While the dominant position in relation to Algeria was the refusal to support the war, not all organisations were supportive of the Algerian liberation movement.¹² The most active backing for the Algerian *Front de libération nationale* came from a small network of militants coordinating the transport of money.¹³

This period was also marked by internal conflicts within communism across the world, following Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin in 1956 and the growing Soviet-Chinese rift. In France, the *Parti communiste français* (PCF) lack of appetite for revolution led to declining to actively support the Algerian liberation movement – at least, not from the start.¹⁴ The PCF presented itself, instead, as a partisan of

in Paris", 2017, available at <https://thefunambulist.net/editorials/chrono-cartography-october-17-1961-massacre-algerians-paris>

¹¹ Organisation de l'armée secrète (OAS) was an extreme-right organisation constituted in 1961 by disillusioned French army members, whose aim was to defend the French colonisation of Algeria. It engaged in bombings and extra-judicial executions as an attempt at preventing Algerian independence.

¹² See Anne Querrien and Constantin V. Boundas, 'La Borde, Guattari and Left Movements in France 1965–81', *Deleuze Studies* 10, no. 3, *Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari — Refrains of Freedom*, 2016, pp. 395–416.

¹³ As Ross notes in *May '68 and its Afterlives*: "the difficulty lay not in collecting the money from Algerian inhabitants of the makeshift *bidonvilles* (slums) surrounding large French cities like Paris, but rather in transporting the cash through the city (where any person appearing to be an Arab driving a car was immediately a suspect and searched) and ultimately out of the country. Thus, the services rendered the FNL by Henri Curiel, Francis Janson, cartoonist Sine and Félix Guattari, and the network of other French supporters of the Algerian cause, the 'porteurs de valise', consisted mostly in moving cash, across the city and over national borders", p. 51.

¹⁴ A case in point was the PCF 1956 vote to pass the 'Special Powers Act', that would give the government *carte blanche* for military violence in Algeria, or the PCF preference for slogans focusing on 'peace in Algeria' instead

negotiation, according to Khrushchev's principle of peaceful coexistence: at stake was avoiding a nuclear confrontation with the US. At this point, many leftist militants thought that the party was too focused on becoming a statist and nationalist figure. According to Gilles Deleuze, the 'peaceful coexistence' doctrine led leftist militants to consider that the party was "detracting its attention from a properly revolutionary machine, that would allow an actual transformation in modes of production."¹⁵ Algeria worked as a magnifying glass, foregrounding the tensions within French communism and exacerbating its internal oppositions.

Disputes within international communism manifested in the student movements. In the late 1950s, a minority of French students came together in support for Algerian independence and the FNL. This was mostly via the *Union nationale des Étudiants de France* (UNEF) – traditionally aligned with the socialists, but from 57 infiltrated by multiple leftist tendencies¹⁶, and later with the *Front universitaire antifasciste* (FUA), created in 1961.¹⁷ In contrast, the *Union des étudiants communistes* (UEC), constituted in 1958 by the PCF as a mass organisation,

of independence. See Bracke Maud, *Which Socialism? Whose Détente?: West European Communism and the Czechoslovak Crisis 1968*, Budapest, Central European University Press 2007, pp. 49–81. As remarked by Adam Shatz, the special powers vote would have a long-lasting negative impact on the relation of the PCF with the Algerian nationalist movement and militants such as Frantz Fanon. See Adam Shatz, *The Rebels Clinic. The Revolutionary Lives of Frantz Fanon*, London, Head of Zeus, 2024.

15 Gilles Deleuze, 'Introduction' in Félix Guattari, *Psychoanalysis and Transversality: texts and interviews, 1955–71*, South Pasadena' Semiotext(e), [1974] 2015, p. 13.

16 See Mozère, *Les printemps des crèches: histoire et analyse d'un mouvement*, p. 120.

17 First created by Alain Krivine in 1961 as *Front étudiant antifasciste* (FEA), it was subsequently expanded to incorporate other movements and renamed FUA. Its purpose was the organisation of demonstrations, support and accommodation for Algerians in difficulty, and the evacuation of student deserters. See Guy Trastour, 'Mouvements autour des questions d'hygiène mentale en milieu étudiant. 1952–66. Histoire et avatars d'une équivoque', *Les séminaires de Félix Guattari*, 08.04.1986, available at https://www.revue-chimeres.fr/IMG/pdf/4._08-04-86_guy_trastour_histoire_et_avatars_d_une_equivoque.pdf

still removed itself from a demonstration in 1960 organised by the UNEF in support of the FLN, despite increasing internal tensions between its leadership and the PCF and a covert contestation of the party line.¹⁸ That the PCF would eventually declare its support for Algerian independence didn't make up for the student's perception of its anti-revolutionary and statist perspective.

Following 1962 and Algerian independence, the student movement didn't fade. Instead, it found a new common cause in the international critique of US Imperialism, as a result of the Vietnam War. That the US presence in Vietnam was a continuation of France's previous colonial rule, did not go unnoticed. Equally important was the support for revolutionary movements from Latin America, Africa and Asia, and the influence of writings by Jean-Paul Sartre, Régis Debray, Louis Althusser, or by third world Marxists such as Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, Frantz Fanon, Amílcal Cabral, Ho Chi Min or Mao Zedong often in the form of transcribed speeches.¹⁹

According to Liane Mozère, a student militant and future founder of the CERFI, students participated in occupations and protests together, leading to an emerging collective life not only in terms of ideological affinities but also of revolutionary organisational practices and habits.²⁰ During the years leading up to 1968, it was common for students to be part of multiple student organisations at the same time, such as the already mentioned UEC and UNEF, as well as MNEF (*Mutuelle nationale des étudiants de France*), GEP (*Groupe étudiants philos-*

18 Even if it was at the same time allowing leftist tendencies within its ranks, with many student members non-inscribed in the PCF. See *Les Printemps Des Crèches: histoire et analyse d'un mouvement*, p. 120.

19 A few examples are Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1952; Jean-Paul Sartre, *Critique de la raison dialectique*, 1960; Mao Zedong, *Citations du Président Mao Tsé-Toung* (also known as *Petit livre rouge*), 1964; 'Che' Guevara, *Message du commandant guevara aux peuples du monde au travers de la Tricontinentale*, 1967; Régis Debray, *Révolution dans la révolution? Lutte armée et lutte politique en Amérique latine*, Paris, Maspero, 1967.

20 Mozère, *Les Printemps des crèches: histoire et analyse d'un mouvement*, p.123.

ophie), or FGEL (*Fédération des groupes d'études en lettres*) and political organisations such as FUA, the CVN (*Comité vietnam nationale*, Trotskyist aligned) or their Maoist alternative, created in 1967, the CVB (*Comité vietnam de base*), in a relation of porosity and imbrication between organisations, that according to Mozère, differed in focus, much more than in members.²¹

Of these student organisations, UEC and UNEF were the major actors. While at that time the UEC was captured by infighting between different currents, the UNEF turned its attention to the university and the student body, focusing on its immediate problems and organisational politics, such teaching methods, pedagogical relations, issues of power and democratic organisation in the university. Organisations supported by UNEF such as MNEF, or its sub-departments, the GTUs (the self-organised *Groupe de travail universitaire*) or the CERS (*Centre étudiant de recherche syndical*) prioritised the development of pluridisciplinary research groups, focusing on institutional processes in the academic milieu and with that they were crucial in promoting student autonomy. This active collective student life was to be pivotal as it helped the student movement to grow not only in terms of numbers but of experience, allowing students to learn responsibilities of work, organisation, research and coordination.

Increasingly, student unions became interested in the health conditions of students, focusing on issues of homosexual and women's rights, abortion, contraception, suicide, and mental health. It was this broadening of focus beyond internal disputes within communism, and into the conditions of student life and its politics, that saw students seek to engage with practitioners involved in the institutional psychotherapy movement.²² In this context, the creation in 1963 of the BAPU (*Bureaux d'aide psychologique universitaire*), within

²¹ Mozère, *ibid.* p. 125.

²² See Félix Guattari, [1969] 2015, 'The Students, the Mad, and the 'Delinquents'', trans. Rosemary Sheed, in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality: texts and interviews, 1955-71*, pp. 306-317.

MNEF, would become a crucial point for our story. Between 1963–65, BAPU organised several meetings with members of the GTPSI or *Groupe de travail de psychothérapie et de sociothérapie institutionnelles* (Institutional Psychotherapy and Sociotherapy Working Group), inviting them to speak with students about the mental health of the student body.²³ Among the members of the GTPSI was Félix Guattari, who was working at La Borde at the time and with whom many students bonded with, due to their shared preoccupations. CERFI would later emerge from this encounter and so it is important to explain Guattari's trajectory until this point.

In the context of left militancy, Guattari was by that time a well-known figure. From a young age he had been part of the Trotskyist wings of the French youth-hostel movement or CLAJPA (*Centre laïque des auberges de jeunesse et de plein air*)²⁴ which allowed him to establish

²³ The GTPSI or *GTΨ* was formed in 1960 around François Tosquelles and Jean Oury and psychiatrists from Saint-Alban and the La Borde clinic, with Roger Gentis, Horace Torrubia, Jean Ayme, Yves Racine, Jean Colmin, Maurice Paillot and Hélène Chaigneau as its founding nucleus. They were joined by Ginette Michaud, Philippe Koechlin, Félix Guattari, Claude Poncin, Henri Vermorel, Michel Baudry, Robert Millon, Philippe Rappard, Jean-Claude Polack, Nicole Guillet, and occasionally by Gisela Pankow and Jacques Schotte. The group met intensively between 1960 and 1966. Meetings lasted for days to discuss and reflect on the practice of the clinic, both from a practical point of view and from the point of view of theoretical coherence between practice and theoretical elaboration. The group went on to found the *Revue de psychothérapie institutionnelle* and, in 1965, the *Société de psychothérapie institutionnelle* (SPI). From these alliances sprang the *Fédération des groupes d'études et de recherches institutionnelles* (FGERI), with its journal *Recherches*.

The GTPSI has been the subject of a major study by Olivier Apprill, according to whom the GTPSI was the first attempt to think systematically and collectively about institutional psychotherapy as a specific field and in the face of the difficulty of conceptualising clinical practice. See Apprill in *Une Avant-garde psychiatrique. Le moment GIPSI (1960-1966)*, Epel, Paris, 2013. See also, Apprill, "A Short History of GTPSI", *Le Coq-héron*, 2015/2, no. 221, 2015, pp. 138–140.

²⁴ The *Auberges de jeunesse* date back to the Popular Front period in 1936, when they were created to provide holidays for workers' children. Many houses in the mountains, countryside or by the sea were made available for this purpose. For their political history and importance for Guattari,

close relations among others with activists from the UJRF (*Union de la jeunesse républicaine de France*).²⁵ He became part of the MRJ (*Mouvement révolutionnaire de la jeunesse*), the youth wing of the International Communist Party (PCI)²⁶, and a few years later, in 1954, of the PCI itself. As the major Trotskyist formation in France, the PCI advocated for *entrism* with the aim of infiltrating the PCF. Guattari's militant curiosity, according to François Dosse's biography, led him to Yugoslavia in support of Tito during the period of the Tito-Stalin split²⁷; and even to China, which he visited in 1954.

At the core of his militancy was his vehemently anti-bureaucratic critique. Together with Denis Berger and Lucien Sebag he created, in 1956, the bulletin *Tribune de discussion* criticising Stalinism, the USSR invasion of Hungary and PCF's lack of support for the Algerian independence movement. The bulletin attempted to establish a dialogue between the various critical factions within the Communist Party. In 1958 this became the magazine *La voie communiste* (LVC), set-up as an attempt of changing the party from the inside.²⁸ Here, Guattari was

see Gary Genosko, "The Formation of a Young Militant", in *Félix Guattari: A Critical Introduction*, London, Pluto Press, 2009, pp. 31-33.

25 The Hispano-Suiza was a factory that made aeroplane engines in La Garenne-Colombes, the commune where Guattari had spent his childhood. The UJRF was a youth organisation, communist led, that aimed at drawing together a broad range of republican forces. The UJRF ended in 1956.

26 *Mouvement révolutionnaire de la jeunesse* (MRJ) was the youth wing of the *Parti communiste internationaliste* (PCI) founded in 1944. The PCI was the major Trotskyist formation in France and the French section of the IV international.

27 Dosse, *Gilles Deleuze & Félix Guattari: Intersecting Lives*, pp. 28-29.

28 See Félix Guattari, [1970] (2015) *Raymond and the Hispano Group*, in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, pp. 348-357. Note from the original French publication: "Letter published as an appendix to *Ouvriers face aux appareils*, Maspero, 1970, a collective book recounting an experience of militancy in the Hispano-Suiza factory. The letter was also a tribute to Raymond Petit, the initiator of the experiment and co-editor of the book, who had just died when the book was published". *La voie communiste* was created in 1958 by Denis Berger, Félix Guattari and Lucien Sebag (previously in *Tribune de discussion*) with Gérard Spitzer and Victor Leduc (previously at *L'Étincelle*).

writing under the pseudonym of Claude Arrieux, and from 1959 to 1965 participated in the editing of 49 issues, including, among other things, the *Manifesto of the 121*.²⁹ LVC was one of the rare voices, with a wide publication, openly supporting the Algerian National Liberation Front. And yet, the most crucial aspect to point out in this quick biographical summary, is how intensely Guattari was marked by the encounter with Jean Oury. After meeting Guattari through his brother Fernand Oury – who had witnessed Guattari's ability as an organiser in the youth hostels – Jean Oury invited the young Guattari to work with him in organising the life and activities of the La Borde clinic in Cour-Cheverny, Loir-et-Cher, which he had created in 1953. As Guattari often recounted, he would drop out of his role in the youth-hostel movement, drop out of his studies at the Sorbonne, and go and work with Jean Oury at *La Borde*.³⁰

La Borde Clinic

At La Borde, Oury, Guattari and many others were developing concepts and practices of institutional psychotherapy [See *La Borde*, pp. 65–80]. The movement of Institutional Psychotherapy³¹ developed

Other members would be Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, Pierre Bourdieu or future CERFI member Michel Rostain.

29 The *Manifesto of the 121*, also titled *Declaration on the Right of Insubordination in the Algerian War*, was a letter published on 6 September 1960 and signed by 121 French intellectuals on the right and importance of disobedience against the French state in regard to the Algerian war. The Manifesto was one of the first and few public statements in France against the war, since there was a strong political repression from the government against every pro-Algerian publication.

30 Read "Raymond and the Hispano Group" in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, pp. 348–357.

31 The term institutional psychotherapy was proposed in 1952 by the psychiatrists Georges Daumézon and Philippe Koechlin to describe the practices and concepts developed at the Saint-Alban hospital where François Tosquelles had worked since 1940. See Georges Daumézon and Philippe Koechlin, 1952, "La Psychothérapie institutionnelle française contemporaine", *Anais portugueses de psichiatria*, 4, Hospital Júlio de Matos, Lisbon.

gradually, as part of a movement in which many psychiatrists and nurses became involved at the end of the Second World War. The experiences of those who lived through fascism, war, exile, and life in refugee camps resonated with the way psychiatric practices and milieus perpetuated the same structures of segregation. According to Jean Oury, “we could see this ‘history’ as the ‘impact’, on such diverse ‘people’, of events such as the Spanish war, the popular movements of 1936, the Second World War, the concentration camps, the wars in Vietnam and Algeria, and so on. (...) We could therefore define institutional psychotherapy as a set of methods designed to resist everything that is concentrationist (...) of all kinds of means to fight, each day, against everything that could cause the collective as a whole to revert to a concentrationary or segregative structure.”³²

A radical transformation of practices ensued. At a time before the appearance of the first neuroleptic, Largactil, in France in 1955, the focus of institutional psychotherapy was on an active and permanent ‘institutional therapeutics’ concerned with the question: how can hospital care be redesigned to avoid the reproduction of oppression, segregation and fascism? The Saint-Alban psychiatric hospital was at the centre of this revolutionary psychiatric practice during the years of resistance to the Occupation, particularly under the directorship of the exiled Catalan psychiatrist François Tosquelles.³³ With Paul

See also Jean Oury, “Psychanalyse, psychiatrie et psychothérapie institutionnelles”, *VST – Vie sociale et traitements*, 2007/3 no. 95, 2007, p.110–125, available at shs.cairn.info/revue-vie-sociale-et-traitements-2007-3-page-110?lang=fr; Francesc Tosquelles, 1967, *Le travail thérapeutique à l'hôpital psychiatrique*, Paris, Éditions du Scarabée.

32 Jean Oury, “Discours sur la psychothérapie institutionnelle”, 1970, in *La Borde’s Journal du Personnel*, January 1973, n.1. Unpublished, La Borde archives. [Our translation]

33 For a detailed study of Tosquelles’ work, see the anthology of his texts, meticulously prepared and introduced by Joana Masó, *François Tosquelles: Soigner les institutions*, Paris, L’Arachnéen, 2021), which is forthcoming in English from Semiotext(e) and Divided Publishing. See also, *La déconniatrie. Art, exil et psychiatrie autour de François Tosquelles*, eds. Carles Guerra and Masó, with the collaboration of Julien Michel and Annabelle Ténèze,

Balvet, André Chaurand, Lucien Bonnafé and others³⁴, under the name of the *Société du Gévaudan*, he developed its theoretical and practical foundations, inheriting from Agnès Masson's reorganisation of the hospital.³⁵

Because asylums and large-scale psychiatric institutions were seen to do more harm than good, institutional psychotherapy focused on how the hospital milieu as a constellation of exchanges and material life served as a tool for therapy.³⁶ Guattari noted that "one

Barcelone, Arcàdia, 2021. See also, the film directed by Mario Ruspoli at the Saint-Alban: *La fête prisonnière*, 1962.

34 Many psychiatrists benefited from the formative experience of Saint-Alban and went on to develop and reinvent institutional psychotherapy in their own practices: Jean Ayme, Robert Millon, Jean Oury, Frantz Fanon, Maurice Despinoz, Claude Poncin, Roger Gentis, Horace Torrubia, René Bidault, Jean Colmin, Yves Racine, Félix Guattari, and others. But what also made Saint Alban unique was that it was also home to those others in exile, from artists to writers and political refugees, on the run, or just passing through, such as Georges Canguilhem, surrealist artists Nusch and Paul Éluard, Tristan Tzara, Jean Dubuffet, among others.

35 In the article "Du collectif avec des femmes: Soin et politique autour de l'hôpital psychiatrique de Saint-Alban, 1930-1960", Joana Masó explores the overlooked role of women in the transmission of institutional psychotherapy and 'geo-psychiatry': psychiatrists, such as Agnès Masson, but also Germaine Balvet, as well as sex workers and nuns. See Joana Masó "Du collectif avec des femmes: Soin et politique autour de l'hôpital psychiatrique de Saint-Alban, 1930-1960", *Cahiers du Genre*, 2022/2 no. 73, 2022, pp. 233-262. Additionally, see the film by Mireia Sallarès, *Histoire potentielle de Francesc Tosquelles, Catalonia and fear*, 2021, co-written with Masó.

36 For an in-depth reflection on both the history of the institutional psychotherapy movement, as well as its "precarious concepts" read the article by Jean Oury, "Psychanalyse, psychiatrie et psychothérapie institutionnelles", *VST - Vie sociale et traitements*, 2007/3 no. 95, 2007, pp. 110-125, available at shs.cairn.info/revue-vie-sociale-et-traitements-2007-3-page-110?lang=fr.

An essential source of insight into the richness of institutional psychotherapy and some of its practitioners is the pioneering work made by the artist François Pain, who lived and documented life at La Borde and filmed and interviewed key practitioners of institutional psychotherapy such as François Tosquelles, Jean Oury and Félix Guattari. On Tosquelles, see *François Tosquelles. Une politique de la folie* (1990) with Jean-Claude Polack and Danielle Sivadon. In English, see the recent book

could not consider psychotherapeutic treatment for the seriously ill without taking the analysis of institutions into account”³⁷, and Jean Oury remarked that “to treat the mad without treating the hospital is madness.”³⁸ Among the many people who trained with Tosquelles at Saint-Alban and then went to practice and transform institutional psychotherapy was Jean Oury.³⁹ When La Borde was created, there were no psychiatric hospitals or clinics in the Loir-et-Cher. One had to

Psychiatry and Materialism, edited by Marlon Miguel and Elena Vogman, with an in-depth introduction by the editors into the history and praxis of institutional psychotherapy, together with newly translated texts by Oury ‘Institutional Psychotherapy: From Saint-Alban to La Borde’, 1970, and Tosquelles “Psychopathology and Dialectical Materialism” (1947), accompanied by a text by the French editor Sophie Lesage. Also see Francesc Tosquelles, ‘A Politics of Madness’, translated by Perwana Nasif and available at <https://parapraxis.squarespace.com/articles/a-politics-of-madness> (accessed November 2024). This is a transcript from the film *François Tosquelles: A Politics of Madness*, 1989, by François Pain, Danielle Sivadon and Jean-Claude Polack; originally published in *Chimères*, Autumn 1991 (No. 13). For a history of ideas in the institutional psychotherapy movement, see Camille Robcis’ *Disalienation: Politics, Philosophy and Radical Psychiatry in Postwar France*, London: University of Chicago Press, 2021.

37 Félix Guattari, Extracts from interventions during the meetings of the GTPSI [1962-1963], published as ‘Introduction to Institutional Psychotherapy’ in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, [1974], 2015, p. 61.

38 “Soigner les malades sans soigner l’hôpital, c'est de la folie” in Joseph Mornet “S'il faut entrer dans la clandestinité”..., *Hommage à Jean Oury* (1924-2014), *Le Coq-héron* 2014, pp. 161-163.

39 Jean Oury arrived in Saint Alban on 3 September 1947. He stayed for two years and then went to work at the Saumery clinic in 1949, intending to be closer to Paris and to attend Lacan’s seminars. After some disagreements with the owners of the clinic, he left and founded La Borde, in 1953, taking all of Saumery’s patients and as well as staff with him. According to Danielle Roulot, it was Tosquelles who asked Oury to replace his colleague Solanès at Saumery, who had been appointed professor at the University of Caracas, to test the private sector’s: “Oury did not find out about Tosquelles’ trickery until twenty years later (Tosquelles, fearing that he would not be naturalised, sent him to ‘test the waters’ in the private sector)”. See Danielle Roulot, “Ceci n'est pas un hommage, tout au plus un témoignage”, *Chimères*, 2014/3 N° 84, 2014, pp. 221-229. available at shs.cairn.info/revue-chimeres-2014-3-page-221?lang=fr (accessed February 2021).

make do with what one had. Oury referred to his practice at La Borde as a “psychiatry of debris”, that only exists in function of what exists in a certain “human geography” and from there constructing the institution collectively. For example, if there were not enough beds, how could people be treated otherwise (without hospitalisation)? Importantly, one should observe how the term ‘institution’ for the members of institutional psychotherapy, referred not to the institution that exists – for that they would use the term establishment (*établissement*) – but to the institution which is made, or the *instituting*. As remarked by Oury “the establishment is a structure that is plunged into global society, and which relates to state criteria: it must answer to a large quantity of necessary administrative conditions; whereas institutions are something that can develop inside the establishment: they are quasi-infinite in number and variety.”⁴⁰ Speaking about La Borde: “We call the whole enterprise a *collectif*; it is a response to what Tosquelles calls an *établissement*. Within this collective, an extraordinary number of institutions have been experimented with, always with the aim of creating a space, in the topological sense of the term, that can accommodate what we will call the ‘users of psychiatry’. The meaning of the term ‘institutional psychotherapy’ is based on the use and the way in which these multiple institutions are arranged to produce what we might call a ‘psychotherapeutic effect.’”⁴¹ [See *La Borde*, pp. 65–80]

At the La Borde, the clinical practice was focused on the therapeutic potentialities of the institution as an expanded practice of care, with its social, material, bodily and affective dimensions at the core. A configuration of concepts and practices developed through an active engagement with the concrete institution and its pragmatic affordances. There, Guattari’s specific work (he organised the club,

⁴⁰ Jean Oury, in *Onze heures du soir à la Borde*, Galilée, Paris, 1980, quoted by Andrew Goffey, *Radical Philosophy* 195, Jan/Feb 2016, p. 38.

⁴¹ Jean Oury, “*La notion de sujet dans la pratique de la psychothérapie institutionnelle*”, *Recherches* 11, *Journées d'études sur la psychothérapie institutionnelle (Extraits des débats du colloque de Waterloo)*, January 1973, p. 5.

and set up meetings such as the Sub-Committee for Daily Activities or SCAJ and the General Assembly) revolved around the unconscious and subjective dimensions of group and institutional phenomena. He focused on the therapeutic importance of collectivising institutional processes, and on reinforcing what he called ‘transversal’ passages between the multiple aspects of the institution’s life, replacing ‘bureaucracy with institutional creativity.’⁴² Elsewhere we have written at length about the multiple institutional processes that have been put in place both for the clinic’s self-management and to allow for collective analytical opportunities⁴³, and of the environment as a problem of subjectivity and relations of coexistence.⁴⁴ CERFI member François Pain explains how La Borde was influenced by the youth hostel movement (*Auberges de jeunesse*): “In the experience of the youth hostels, there are similarities with what would be implemented a few years later at La Borde. On the one hand, there was gender mixing, which was forbidden in all the psychiatric hospitals in France, and on the other hand, there were shifts and rotations, i.e., in the daily tasks between the *ajistes* (the term used to describe the young people who attended the Youth Hostels) (...) La Borde was largely inspired by this model, with the grid, the rota, for washing up, cleaning, animation,

42 Guattari, ‘Introduction to Institutional Psychotherapy’, in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, p. 62.

43 On the importance of socio-spatial dimensions and environmental semiotics in the process of analysis, such as the heterogeneity of spaces and freedom of circulation, see Susana Caló and Godofredo Enes Pereira, 2018, “Equipamento Colectivo. Semióticas Ambientais e Programação Institucional”, *Lugar Comum. Estudos de Mídia, Cultura e Democracia*, 53, pp. 96–103, and Caló and Enes Pereira, “From the Hospital to the City”, in *London Journal of Critical Thought* (LJCT), *The Quality of Therapeutic Space*, Vol. 1, 2, ed. Edward Thornton, June 2017, pp. 83–100.

44 See, for instance, Godofredo Enes Pereira, “Towards an Environmental Architecture”, July 2018, *E-Flux*, available at <https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/positions/205375/towards-an-environmental-architecture/> (accessed August 2024); and Enes Pereira, 2022, “Ecologies of Existence: The Architecture of Collective Equipment”, in *Hybrid Ecologies*, ed. Marietta Kesting, Maria Muhle, Jenny Nachtigall, Susanne Witzgall, Diaphanes, pp. 263–270.

etc.... The person who is designated as responsible – for a rotational period – is not definitively in charge and does not have time to become paranoid about what the others are doing or not doing.”⁴⁵ [See *La Borde*, pp. 65–80]

La Borde was crucial to Guattari’s theoretical work, with the term ‘transversality’ - which he proposed as an alternative to the idea of institutional transference - standing out as a clear example.⁴⁶ Prior to Guattari, Ginette Michaud had used the concept of transversality to overcome the inadequacy of the concept of transference to speak of institutional psychotherapy. In *La Borde. Un pari nécessaire: de la notion d'institution à la psychothérapie institutionnelle* Michaud proposed that the institution can only operate as a surface for the inscription of unconscious desire, insofar as there is a coefficient of ‘polyinstitutional transversality’.⁴⁷ If this does not happen, the institutional environment or its multiple institutions become alienated and alienating.⁴⁸

45 Interview with François Pain, January 2020. On the “grid”, at La Borde as a social-environmental tool see: Susana Caló, ‘The Grid’ *Axiomatic Earth – Anthropocene Curriculum & Campus*, Haus der Kulturen der Welt, 2017, available at <https://www.anthropocene-curriculum.org/contribution/the-grid> (accessed October 2024).

46 Félix Guattari, “La Transversalité”, *Revue de Psychiatrie Institutionnelle*, 1964.

47 Michaud wrote this influential text in 1958 and initially circulated it among her peers. It was not published until 1977. Ginette Michaud, *La Borde. Un pari nécessaire: de la notion d'institution à la psychothérapie institutionnelle*, Paris, Gaulhier-Villars, 1977. Guattari’s first published essay on the concept of transversality dates from 1964.

48 In a 1966 article reflecting on institutional psychotherapy Guattari says: “In a somewhat eclectic manner, we have thus been led to reshape a series of concepts from various sources for our ‘institutional’ use. (...) such as transference, [which] required a more thorough re-evaluation; in classical analytical doctrine, such a concept seems to be irreducibly linked to the person and speech of the analyst. How could a group or an institution be the support for a transference relationship? Can a group, in the same way as a psychoanalyst, interpret the ‘material’, the symptoms, the slips, etc., that manifest themselves in it because of a ‘latent content’ relating to complexes of unconscious meanings? This is an important question. We must either accept all its implications or completely abandon the use of the concept of transference outside the ‘couch relationship’ and reject

The use of the expression ‘coefficient of transversality’ in texts by Jean Oury and Jean-Pierre Muyard, further points to its collective dimension, even if it would be Guattari who would more systematically continue its development.⁴⁹

While the other GTPSI members may have seen the processes set in motion by institutional psychotherapy in an exclusively therapeutic sense, Guattari would later adopt the term ‘institutional analysis’ instead of institutional psychotherapy. The reason behind this is that he saw that what they were doing impacted beyond questions of therapy:⁵⁰ “In my first articles, I put forth the idea of an overcoming of institutional psychotherapy by a technique of institutional analysis. It was then a question of refusing a too restrictive definition of institutional psychotherapy. In my view, we had to study and make use of the link that exists between it and similar practices in other domains: pedagogy, city planning, militancy (especially in the UNEF and the *Mutuelle nationale des étudiants de France*, with which I was associated.)”⁵¹ And elsewhere, he wrote: “It was a question of ‘discerning’ a field which was neither that of institutional therapy, nor that of institutional pedagogy, nor that of the struggle for social emancipation,

its extension under the headings of lateral transference (Slavson), institutional transference and countertransference (Tosquelle and Sivadon)”. Félix Guattari, “*Reflexions quelque peu philosophiques sur la psychothérapie institutionnelle*”, *Recherches* 1, 1966, p. 6.

49 Jean-Pierre Muyard, “Lendemain de fête à l’asile”, *Recherches* 1, 1966, p.117; Jean Oury, “Notes et variations sur la psychothérapie institutionnelle” *Recherches* 2, 1966, p.74; See as well Guattari “Transversality” in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, pp. 102-120 and Félix Guattari “D’un signe à l’autre”, *Recherches* 2, 1966.

50 “If the analysis of unconscious subjective formations was to have a role in the social field, it could not be that of the psychoanalysts or psychiatrists, or even that of a group of individuals, but rather that of a complex group of social processes”. Félix Guattari, “Institutional Intervention” [1980] 2009, trans. Emily Wittman, in *Soft Subversions. Texts and Interviews 1977-1985*, Los Angeles, Semiotext(e), pp. 37-38.

51 Félix Guattari, “Institutional Intervention” [1980] 2009, trans. Emily Wittman, in *Soft Subversions. Texts and Interviews 1977-1985*, Los Angeles, Semiotext(e), p. 34

but which implied an analytical method capable of crossing these multiple fields (hence the theme of ‘transversality’)."⁵²

The point for Guattari, was not to look at La Borde as a model that should be transposed, but to look at the need of exploring analytical processes (and potentials) across every institutional context. The concern should be with the concrete issues institutions were dealing with, to grasp their ‘institutional unconscious’, and to put mechanisms in place to support institution’s capacity for singularisation. For Guattari, if both clinical institutions, left-wing parties, trade unions, professional organisations and all other group settings suffered from common pathologies such as hierarchisation, bureaucratic crystallisation or falling into normativity, then analytical practices were indeed needed everywhere.

It was this approach developed at La Borde⁵³ that would shape Guattari’s involvement with students. During their encounters, Guattari insisted that the militant concern with revolutionary politics should not be reduced to a focus on events at a distance – such as Indochina or Vietnam – and should be grounded on the concrete issues of the lives of students. He believed students ought to reflect upon the fantasies that traversed them, for example, how it was that certain revolutionary desires took precedence over others.⁵⁴ Many of these ideas were published in the article “*Réflexions sur la thérapeutique institutionnelle et les problèmes d’hygiène mentale en milieu étudiant*” in is-

52 Félix Guattari, in *Pratique de l’institutionnel et politique (Pédagogie et pratique de l’institutionnel)*, Paris, Matrice Éditions, 1985, p. 48. [Our translation]

53 François Pain’s film work is invaluable in conveying the political nature of daily life at La Borde. See, for instance, *Le divan de Félix* (1985) with Félix Guattari and Danielle Sivadon, available at *chaosmosemedia*, <https://chaosmosemedia.net/2021/05/25/le-divan-de-felix/> (accessed October 2022), and *François Pain and Joséphine Guattari, Min Tanaka at La Borde* (1986). Also see the recently released English publication *Everybody Wants to Be a Fascist by François Pain. Institutional Psychotherapy as a Resistance Movement by François Pain*, designed by Hedi El Kholti and edited by Perwana Nasif, Semiotext(e), 2025.

54 Félix Guattari, “The Students, the Mad, and the Delinquents”, *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, 307.

sue 3, no. 2 of *Recherches Universitaires*, in 1964, which was a journal of MNEF.⁵⁵ According to Guy Trastour (militant at l'UNEF, MNEF, future member of FGRI and participant of the student meetings with Guattari), Guattari's essay brought together what had been the main aspects debated during the previous year of discussions, namely that: "mental hygiene must be multifocal"; that "it must be controlled or approached analytically" and that "environments can be therapeutic without being specified as such."⁵⁶

At stake in these discussions was Guattari's unique theorisation of analysis. From his early writing the term analysis signified the capacity to interpret the pragmatics of a situation, this is, grasping the shifting political forces and revolutionary desires and possibilities at stake.⁵⁷ Instead of the enlightened vanguard, carrier of the truth, Guattari found interest in Lenin's speeches and his capacity for grasping a situation and recognising how it shifted in time. For Guattari, the idea of institutional analysis was to understand how the institutional unconscious was traversed by all sorts of group fantasies, reactive and micro-fascisms, to understand how subjectivity was at work. That is what he claimed to be lacking in the PCF, Trotskyist, and most other militant organisations.

Of course, none of it was easy. According to Anne Querrien (CERFI founder, who at the time was a militant at MNEF), "the claim that it is the institution that must be cured first and not the deviant behaviours was inadmissible to militants who were anxious to

55 This technical report was later republished in Guattari's first book, *Psychanalyse et transversalité: Essais d'analyse institutionnelle*, 1974, see pp. 59–71. In English, see Guattari, *Psychoanalysis and Transversality: Texts and Interviews 1955–1971*, "Reflections on Institutional Therapeutics and Problems of Mental Hygiene among Students", trans. by Ames Hodges, Los Angeles, Semiotext(e), 2015, pp. 86–101.

56 Guy Trastour, 'Mouvements autour des questions d'hygiène mentale en milieu étudiant. 1952–66. Histoire et avatars d'une équivoque'.

57 "Students, the Mad, "and 'Delinquents," in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, p. 311.

distinguish themselves from the insane and the bad apples.”⁵⁸ But even if for many the relation between revolution and desire was not obvious, for a few students these encounters were transformative. Among the group of participants in BAPU’s meetings that were sympathetic to Guattari’s perspective we can find Michel Rostain, Claude Harmelle, Hervé Maury, François Fourquet, Lion Murard, Luc Rosenzweig, François Pain, Anne Querrien, and Georges Préli: all of them future members of CERFI.

Of this period Michel Rostain recalled: “Félix Guattari came along with a set of questions that I thought were formidable precisely as a whole: how can we have personal, ‘private’, amorous, professional and political lives that are all in phase with each other? I was horrified to see certain militants who claimed to be making a revolution on the one hand, but who, on the other, could beat their wives or behave like cops at school – private life and professional life were things you couldn’t talk about in politics. The same applied to the profession.”⁵⁹

From 1964, this emerging group of student militants started going during the weekends or on their holidays to live and work at La Borde.⁶⁰ In there, they met Liane Mozère, Nicole Guillet, François Pain, Jean-Claude Polack, Ginette Michaud, Danielle Roulot, Danielle Sivandon, Françoise Garbarini, Lucien Sebag, Brivette Buchanan, Danielle Sivandon, among others. Students became monitors, cleaners, drivers, and administrators. La Borde was a singular site of political and affective experimentation where the political and the clinical were intertwined. François Pain explains its unique characteristics: “You were not fixed in a status: nurse, sweeper, animator, potter or whatever. We were hired for a particular role, but we could also do what we liked, singing, theatre, newspaper writing, painting, accom-

⁵⁸ Anne Querrien and Constantin V. Boundas, ‘La Borde, Guattari and Left Movements in France 1965–81’, p. 396.

⁵⁹ Interview with Michel Rostain, February 2021.

⁶⁰ Morford, *Histoires du CERFI: La trajectoire d’un collectif de recherche sociale*, p. 36.

panying the residents (*pensionnaires*⁶¹) on visits to the châteaux of the Loire, etc. It was fundamental to do what we liked to do with the residents. That's why the rota was invented, so that we wouldn't be stuck in a single task, in a single office, etc. This is what also allows us to fight against what Oury called institutional paranoia: 'The office next door is nothing but jerks! And in the office next door, you think the same thing about your neighbour. That's institutional paranoia.'⁶²

Or according to Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel's account (who would later join CERFI): "(...) La Borde as a place to learn, as a way of living together, as a philosophy. It shook up all the representations we had of ourselves, of others, of space, of each person's potential (...) The thinking, the reflection, the discussions with the residents were not too framed, or labelled, or too formal as they could be in another psychiatric establishment. Precisely because we shared their lives. We had a plasticity of thought, in our relationship with others that changed our perceptions of ourselves, of others, of life. I've never experienced that anywhere. I've never experienced that (...) it made me discover completely different dimensions of life, particularly because psychological life, economic life and social life were not separate."⁶³

It was in this way that a student network started to emerge, around the transformative experience of La Borde and Félix Guattari, sharing a common aim of developing forms of militant organisational practice that were not abstracted from unconscious phenomena. As noted by Lion Murard: "La Borde is the convergence, if you like, of the history of the workers' movement and the history of psychoanalysis."⁶⁴

61 The term 'pensionnaires', rather than patients, was used to refer to the people being treated at the clinic. This comes from the French tradition of living in a 'pension' or being a 'pensionnaire', which refers to a circumstantial state of being housed in someone else's home for a payment. The use of the term 'pensionnaires' rather than 'patients', which we have also translated as 'residents', indicates that people were not defined by being ill, but by living in a particular collective place.

62 Interview with François Pain, January 2020.

63 Interview with Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, March 2022.

64 Interview with Lion Murard, June 2021.

And in the words of François Pain, the aim was “the encounter of Marx with Freud.”⁶⁵

International splits within communist organisations around 1964 and 1965 further reinforced the network, as most of these militants were eventually expelled from the organisations that they were part of.⁶⁶ Finally, after pressure to limit the students’ role in *La voie communiste*, Guattari also broke with it in 1964. According to Anne Querrien “Guattari thought that the revolution had to be done in every aspect of one’s life, whereas the other side thought it was impossible in France, and we have only to support the revolutionary people of other countries.”⁶⁷ According to Dosse, this dissidence with the *La voie communiste* was also pushed for by the Maoist side, which was becoming more prevalent.⁶⁸ Of course, at the time, multiple leftist students had joined *La voie communiste* because of Guattari. Unexpectedly, they left when he left. According to Michel Rostain, these multiple expulsions of leftist groups led to the cooperation between Guattari and dissent student groups becoming much stronger.⁶⁹ Li-

⁶⁵ Interview with François Pain, January 2020.

⁶⁶ Since the early 1960s there was an attempt by leftist groups at liberating UEC from the PCF control, as the PCF was not in support of UNEF’s behaviour as an autonomous and independent union that responded to students’ demands more than to the party. At the same time, the UEC was divided into three main groups, the ‘Italian’ (who controlled UEC till 1964 and were aligned with the Italian PC and Khrushchev’s report on Stalin), ‘stalinist’ groups, and ‘diverse lefts’ currents (including Trotskyists, Chinese followers and others). Ultimately the break didn’t work, and the Italian and the diverse lefts were expelled from the UEC after its congress in 1964. The new direction was made up of an alliance between Stalinists and the emergent but still small Maoist group of *Rue de Ulm* [as was known the École Normale Supérieure], which would later form the UJC (m-1), the *Union de jeunesse communiste marxistes-Léninistes*, created in 1966. Disputes over UNEF, increasingly controlled by leftist groups – with people such as Serge July, Mark Kravetz or Jean-Louis Peninou – would also come to an end in 1965 – and again here, the leftist tendencies were expelled from the organisation. See Morford, p. 28; see as well Dosse, pp. 80–84.

⁶⁷ Interview with Anne Querrien, February 2021.

⁶⁸ Dosse, p. 36.

⁶⁹ Michel Rostain in Morford, p. 36.

ane Mozère equally saw this as a positive event that would release the group to other adventures. In her words, “a grain of sand came to stop the machine and led this small group of activists to take a side road.”⁷⁰

The Left Opposition

The predicted rupture with these multiple organisations led to the creation at the end of 1964 of the *Opposition de gauche* (Left Opposition), a network of communists in rupture with the main Stalinist but also Trotskyist lines, that included ex-militants from UNEF, MNEF and UEC.⁷¹ The task that this network group sought to undertake was the constitution of a left opposition to the Stalinist and bureaucratic currents of international communism, striving towards a new type of militant organisational form able to properly interpret revolutionary demands. In this network we can find the above-mentioned future CERFI members – among others such as Gérard Spitzer. *Opposition de gauche* published a pamphlet, coordinated by Guy Trastour, the *Bulletin de l'opposition de gauche*, also known as the Red Square (*Le Carré rouge*), and among other things, participated in the *Mouvement du milliard pour le Vietnam*. It also supported the creation of the *Organisation de solidarité à la révolution latino-américaine* (OSARLA) in 1967 by Michèle Firk, Alain Krivine, Denis Berger and other Trotskyists. Future CERFI members, Lion Murard, Michel Rostain, Prisca Bachelet, Serge July, Anne Querrien and Claude Harmelle were among its members.⁷² [See *Militant Humus*, p. 82]

70 “Un grain de sable est venue enrayer la machine et a conduit ce petite groupe de militants à prendre un chemin de traverse”. Liane Mozère, “Le Cerfi: une communauté de travail, une expérience politique, une démarche analytique”, in *Les Cahiers de l’Institut d’Histoire du Temps Présent*, no. 11, April, 1989, p. 121.

71 According to Georges Préli there were “about 30/50 people at *Opposition de Gauche*”. See Morford, p. 35. See also Dosse, p. 52.

72 According to Guattari in “Raymond and the Hispano Group”, OSARLA was an initiative of Michèle Firk (see Guattari, *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, p. 355). However, according to Mozère, it was instead created by Prisca Bachelet, Jean-Paul Étienne, Évelyne Haas and Serge July, in support of

In 1965, Parisian members of this small group came together for a series of discussions that led to the production of a text titled *Neuf thèses de l'opposition de gauche* (Nine Theses of the Left Opposition). It was written by Félix Guattari and François Fourquet, and its first version presented by Jean-Claude Polack to the 8th congress of UEC.⁷³ The text was later expanded by Guattari, and further reviewed by Fourquet. Also titled *Étude préliminaire sur les données et perspectives du mouvement révolutionnaire*, the Nine Theses addressed two key problems: “denouncing the false-problem of Sino-Soviet confrontation and refuting the strategy of peaceful coexistence, and the Chinese strategy.”⁷⁴ From the group’s perspective, both strategies left in place the structures of the bourgeoisie and its domination, namely the state and its institutions, and were operating mistakenly under the guise of nationalism.⁷⁵ In the Nine Theses the key issue was that “a general integration between the state’s coercive power and the process of capital accumulation remained as an international phenomenon” hampering a proper revolutionary process. This was a crucial point, for it expanded beyond the mere critique to the PCF’s lack of support for revolutionary processes. More than unsupportive, according to the Nine Theses, the PCF, in line with many other organisations from the

Régis Debray who had been arrested in Bolivia (see Mozère, *Les Printemps des crèches*, p. 146, footnote 85).

⁷³ Although the text appears in Guattari’s “Psychanalyse et transversalité” (1973), it was first published as a brochure in 1966, and is the product of a collective work involving Jean-Claude Polack, Félix Guattari, François Fourquet, Militants of the Left Opposition, Michel Rostain, Jean-Pierre Muyard, Jean-Jaques Lebel, and Jo Panaget. See Félix Guattari, Jean-Claude Polack, François Fourquet, Michel Rostain, Jean-Pierre Muyard, Jean-Jaques Lebel and Jo Panaget, and Militants of the Left Opposition, “Nine Theses of the Left Opposition” [1966] 2015, *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, pp. 136–178. See also “Excerpts from Discussions: Late June 1968, “[1968] 2015, in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, pp. 286–317, trans. Rosemary Sheed. See also footnote 10, p. 372 for information about the collective nature of the text.

⁷⁴ Jean-Claude Polack (as P) in “Excerpts from Discussions: Late June 1968”, in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, p. 300.

⁷⁵ “Nine Theses of the Left Opposition”, pp. 147–150.

international communist movement, namely the Chinese and the Soviets, had given up on Marxist Leninism: “Not only in theory but in their opportunistic practice, in their defence or marginal and sometimes reactionary demands, the leaders of the communist movement have shown that they have given up developing a revolutionary strategy on an international scale.”⁷⁶

In a report elaborated in preparation for an *Opposition de gauche* meeting on 1-2 May 1965, it is noted that two keys issues had to be avoided by revolutionary organisations: falling into rigid and hierarchical organisational structures (which for them was the real problem of the “groupuscular” field of the left, i.e., the constant multiplication of the same organisational pathologies) and to avoid becoming an organisation with vague contents and incoherent focus.⁷⁷ A new type of revolutionary organisation had to be able to answer these two contradictory demands. [See *Militant Humus*, p. 83]

According to Liane Mozère, due to the encounter with Guattari and with La Borde, the group was slowly coming to realise that such a revolutionary process would need to articulate the political with analytical work.⁷⁸ And it became apparent to many that such articulation should focus on the forms and operations of militant institutions. This is evident in the remarks by Jean-Claude Polack, in a discussion after 1968 with Guattari, Fourquet, and Rostain. For Polack, thesis number eight, on “Revolutionary Organisation”, was the most interesting one, and the one that, in hindsight, required dedicating more time to.⁷⁹ This comment seems crucial for it is in this thesis that the text calls for planning the “production of institutions” towards a

76 “Nine Theses of the Left Opposition”, p. 150.

77 *Sur les perspectives de travail et le mode de fonctionnement. Rapport Préparatoire à la réunion des 1er et 2 Mai*. Unpublished document, CERFI archives. [Our translation]

78 Mozère, *Le Printemps des crèches: histoire et analyse d'un mouvement*, p. 126

79 See Félix Guattari, Jean-Claude Polack, François Fourquet, Michel Rostain, Jean-Pierre Muyard, Jean-Jaques Lebel and Jo Panaget, “Excerpts from Discussions: Late June 1968, p. 300. P stands for Polack.

“decentralisation of the direction of mass struggle at its various sectoral levels”, and calls for a “new type of party.”⁸⁰ From the Nine Theses: “It is not a question of only considering planning from the perspective of production, circulation and distribution, but also planning the ‘production of institutions.’”⁸¹ In those terms, Polack’s comment marks some of the earliest manifestations of what would be one of the key concerns of CERFI: a reflection on institutional creation.

FGERI

The year 1965 further marks the creation of the *Fédération générale de recherche institutionnelles* (FGERI). FGERI was constituted by many of the *Opposition de gauche* members, and at the start, the differences between both organisations were unclear, with some of the first working groups of FGERI emerging from *Opposition de gauche*, and FGERI activities being frequently the core of the Opposition's Red Square publications.⁸² [See *Militant Humus*, pp. 85–90] But while *Opposition de gauche* was mainly focused on bringing together militants from the margins of the main student unions, FGERI aimed at networking them with a broader field of those working across professional and syndicalist organisations and to explore the possibility for revolutionary change at every level of professional practices.⁸³ As a network, FGERI organised meetings between 1966 and 1969 that brought together students from the leftist margins of the communist party with professionals from multiple areas. These included

80 “Nine Theses of the Left Opposition”, p. 173.

81 *Ibid.*, 171.

82 “I'd say that in terms of numbers, there must have been around fifty or thirty people from the *Opposition de Gauche*, and then there must have been around a hundred people from the FGERI.” [Our translation]. Georges Préli in Morford, p. 41.

83 Despite the ideological proximity between both organisations, there were different views on whether to invest more on one or the other. *Opposition de gauche*, meeting minutes, September 1967. Unpublished document, CERFI archives.

psychotherapists from La Borde, a group of teachers known as the *Groupe d'Education Thérapeutique* (G.E.T.), led by Fernand Oury and Aida Vasquez⁸⁴ (Therapeutic Education Group), workers dissidents of the communist cell of the Hispano-Suiza factory, as well as architects, economists, psychiatrists, lawyers, health workers and filmmakers. Indeed, it was FGERI, more than *Opposition de gauche*, that Guattari, Fourquet, and Polack, saw as the important investment.⁸⁵

In the third issue of one of its journals – *Cahiers de la fgeri* – the federation is introduced in the following way: “The FGERI was founded as a result of the convergence of two currents. These were the institutional psychotherapy movement, spurred on by the wartime deprivation of psychiatric hospitals and inspired by Herman Simon’s motto that the *quartier* should be treated first before any individual treatment, and by the emergence of therapeutic clubs, and the institutional pedagogy movement, represented in the FGERI by the *Groupe d'éducation thérapeutique*. This was a group of educators who, first inspired by Freinet, introduced a decentralisation from the individual to the group, like that of institutional psychotherapy.”⁸⁶

Following La Borde’s model of running meetings without a pre-defined theme or topic, Michel Rostain recounts how FGERI started organising Tuesday meetings:

“Our meetings were held on avenue de Verzy, near the Étoile – we had a large room there. There were lots of us, 20 or 30 around a big table.

84 Institutional pedagogy, as developed by Fernand Oury and Aida Vasquez, builds upon the work of Célestin Freinet and institutional psychotherapy, aiming to create a liberating pedagogical process.

85 For Guattari, the *Opposition de gauche* was a transitional organisation: “I would say that the *opposition de gauche* functions, has functioned and by necessity will continue to function for some time as a transitional organisation”. Félix Guattari, *Opposition de gauche, meeting minutes*, September 1967. Unpublished document, CERFI archives.
[Our translation]

86 *Cahiers de la fgeri*, January 1968, issue 3, February–March. Courtesy Annick Kouba.

It wasn't really a meeting. There was no set agenda. But there was something incredible about this mad ambition to hold an absolutely free meeting, where anything was possible, where you could say anything you wanted, on any subject, from the most theoretical to the most personal, including dreams. As a result, half an hour could go by without anyone saying anything.... We don't know what we're going to talk about, so what do we talk about? You secretly have a subject: your life, your dreams, your sexuality, but it's not easy to talk about it, in fact it's terrifying. But clearly, even in silence, it was part of the discussion about Bataille, Freud or whatever. Result: we could talk about nothing. 20 minutes, half an hour, three quarters of an hour of dreadful hesitation to say a word. And then it was over... Miraculously, we were never deterred by this chaos... And even, from time to time, we came up with some incredibly rich ideas – theory, poetry, etc... Here we are, our Tuesdays as I remember them sixty years later..."⁸⁷

Despite this, as an organisation made up of groups, FGERI did not hold a formal meeting with all its members present. Instead, the different groups mostly met autonomously, or, as Georges Préli remarked, in an ad-hoc way at the *hermesses* at La Borde.⁸⁸ [See *La Borde*, p. 76] Indeed, La Borde's importance for the formation and, as we will see later, for the development of CERFI, is constantly re-appearing along this story. FGERI's lack of central coordination should not be seen as a lack of organisation: quite on the contrary, the constitution of autonomous working groups on particular topics or concerns was FGERI's main point. In that way, FGERI was the model for a new rhizomatic form of organisation in line with the principles that CERFI would later explore.

In addition to those that pre-existed its constitution, FGERI went on to support the creation of multiple new militant-research groups,

⁸⁷ Interview with Michel Rostain, February 2021.

⁸⁸ Georges Préli, quoted in Morford, p. 42.

such as the *Groupe de recherche milieu proche* (Research Group on the Close Environment), G.E.T. /*Groupe d'éducation thérapeutique* (Therapeutic Education Group), *Groupe educateurs* (Educators Group), *Groupe de recherche psychotherapeutique* (Psychotherapeutic Research Group), *Groupe de recherche institutionnelle en milieu étudiant* (Group for Institutional Research in the Student Environment), *Groupe d'étude et de travail en milieu ouvrier* / GETMO (Group for Institutional Research on Student Environment), *Groupe d'action culturelle* (Cultural Action Group), *Groupe de recherche institutionnelle sur le mouvement étudiant* / GRIME (Institutional Research Group on the Student Movement), *Psychopharmacologie et exercice concret de la psychiatrie* (Psychopharmacology and Practical Psychiatry Working Group), *Groupe d'étude et de recherche du mouvement ouvrier* / GERMO (Study and Research Group on the Workers' Movement); *Association pour la recherche analytique dans les collectifs* /ADRAC (Association for Analytical Research within Collectives); *Groupe de bonne femmes de gauche* / GROBOFEGA (Group of Left-Wing Ladies) which supported activists for free contraception and abortion, among many others. *Recherches* and *Cahiers de la fgeri* included lists of the groups that made part of FGERI at the time. If the Maoist line at this point was to 'become a worker' and infiltrate the factory, in contrast, FGERI's line was that it was necessary to establish alliances between workers in their different locations, establish transversal relations across multiple fields – in ways that would be in line with the shifting compositions of work of the time.⁸⁹ [See *Militant Humus*, p. 91]

89 For context, many Maoist militants were at this point following the idea of bringing together intellectual vanguards with the popular masses, leading many into settling into units of production, a strategy they called "établissement." In his introduction to *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, Deleuze makes a point we believe to have been common to most CERFIs. Deleuze considered the Maoist strategy "was just in keeping with the same capitalist structures of production, with their social and political internalised power relations, without noticing them, and nonetheless insufficient to bridge the massive gap between the workers and the students' life and world perspectives". See Deleuze, introduction to *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*. On this topic, we should note how in her

The structural and hierarchical crystallisation, or bureaucratisation that Guattari and many others saw in militant organisations required a new form of militancy based on institutional creation, whose logic was neither horizontalist nor vertical, against what he would call in *Anti-Oedipus*,⁹⁰ with Deleuze, the forces of anti-production. According to Anne Querrien, the idea behind FGERI was that "...in every domain where intellectual labour is deployed – and the labour of the manual worker is also intellectual labour – the workers encountered forces that Félix called forces of anti-production, that is, social forces that prevented them from reaching the best possible realisation of whatever it was they planned to do."⁹¹

With FGERI, a federation comprising groups and 'groupuscules' multiplying across the social field (the term 'groupuscules' was used by the PCF in a derogatory sense in reference to leftist currents). Instead of relying on centralised structures, a multiplication of groupuscules *qua* new types of institutions everywhere, would be able to trace revolutionary lines instead of foreclosing them – a logic Guattari would later describe as rhizomatic. This was following the motto, as is argued in the Nine Theses of the Left Opposition, of the need for interpreters for each aspect of the revolution.⁹²

Although FGERI did not come together as a single group, it did have two crucial points of congregation, the journal *Recherches*, first created in 1966, and the *Cahiers de la fgeri*, created in 1968, which would publish the texts produced by its working groups. In particular through *Recherches*, FGERI had a mechanism for dialogue between its constituent groups and many others, both militant and professional. As quoted

systematic review of 1968, Kirsten Ross accuses Deleuze of 'theorising the becoming-worker,' a claim with which we do not agree. See Ross, p. 106.

⁹⁰ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, [1972] 2004, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

⁹¹ Querrien, *La Borte, Guattari and Left Movements in France*, 397.

⁹² "Nine Theses of the Left Opposition" in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, p. 167.

from their editorial: “*Recherches* is the organ of expression of any group working in a sector of the social field oriented towards the analysis of the institutions in which each one is inserted and accepting to be constantly questioned by other groups established in other sectors. This means that questions of architecture and urban planning, for example, are not simply a matter for technicians locked up in their discipline, but concern the psychiatrist, the pedagogue, the economist and the film-maker.”⁹³

In addition to publications by key FGERI groups on institutional psychotherapy, pedagogy and architecture, earlier issues of *Recherches* focused on international revolutionary struggles. This is evident for instance in *Recherches* 5 where the group GRIME coordinated an issue on the revolutionary practices of Latin American liberation movements, and the challenge they posed to debates within the international communist movement, including an interview with Wilfried Burchett upon his return from the meeting of the *Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad* with Latin America (OLAS).⁹⁴ This was accompanied by the translated publication of “Create two, three, many Vietnams”, Che Guevara’s 1966 message to the *Havana meeting of the Organisation of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa, and Latin America* (OSPAAAL) – also known as the *Tricontinental* – as well as a 1967 speech from Fidel Castro on the ten years of the Cuban revolution.⁹⁵

While these encounters of different types of militant groups were taking place, the international rhythm of events kept at a fast pace: in 1966 the *Tricontinental* had met in Havana to bring together revolutionary struggles of Asia, Latin America, Africa and Palestine. In the same year, the Black Panther Party was created in the US. In 1967,

93 *Recherches* 2, 1966, p.1.[Our translation]

94 Founded in August 1967, the *Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad* was created in the wake of the Tricontinental Conference (*Primera Conferencia Tricontinental de Solidaridad Revolucionaria*) that took place in Havana in 1966. Not to be confused with OSPAAAL or *Organización de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Asia, África y América Latina*, founded in January 1966.

95 See *Recherches* 5, 1967.

Israel annexed the Palestinian territories and PLO's (*Palestine Liberation Organisation*) international campaign started. FGERI's publication of *Recherches* 5 captures this revolutionary potential and forces, very much under the Guevarian motto of *two, three, many Vietnams*. A collective endeavour to find one's own Vietnam. Guevara was murdered later in that year in Bolivia. As explained by Anne Querrien:

“The ongoing offensive in Vietnam gave us wings, and we sought to obey Che Guevara's slogan: create one, two, three, many Vietnams. Our little Vietnam was in Nanterre, next to the shanty town where Algerians still lived and from where those who supported the FLN left and were murdered by the police in Paris in October 1961.”⁹⁶

From there to 1968 a short distance, a year whose story has been told many times, and that, as is well known, was marked by revolutionary student protests across the world, not only in France or the US, but also in Senegal, Japan, Czechoslovakia, or Mexico, among many others countries. By all accounts, the international political events were picking up a revolutionary pace, shaking the foundations not only of imperialism but also of the ‘peaceful coexistence’ doctrine. During the months that followed, its groups and networks would be completely immersed in the protests that ensued and took the country by storm. Many of its members were active participants in the events that preceded (*the 22 March movement*) and followed from May 1968. But by the end of the year, the energy and enthusiasm required to keep FGERI's network had dissipated, invested elsewhere. After 1968, FGERI was no more.⁹⁷

It is worth summarising the typical framing of the history and impact of the events of 1968: a moment of synergy between student

⁹⁶ Anne Querrien, “Le mouvement du 22 mars: de Nanterre à Seattle”, unpublished paper, courtesy Anne Querrien.

⁹⁷ Querrien, “Le mouvement du 22 mars: de Nanterre à Seattle”.

militants and factory workers that suggested a possible revolution, but whose idealism, naivety and lack of support by the broader society, meant that it was disconnected from 'reality' and bound to fail. Ex-militants like Alain Finkielkraut or Bernard-Henri Lévy - amongst other *New Philosophers* - were key to this simplification of history that would foreground the 'youthful' or 'cultural' aspects of May, while dismissing the large-scale labour mobilisation that took place.⁹⁸ Others would look back to note the PCF and CGT's lack of willingness to coordinate with the student movement.⁹⁹ In any case, implicit to most interpretations is the idea of a revolutionary process that had failed. In that way, May 1968 inscribed itself in yet another failure of the left, inevitably contributing to an increasing distance between militancy and leftist theory to be explained by even more creative theoretical approaches.¹⁰⁰

And yet, regardless of how we might position ourselves in relation to some of these descriptions of 1968, the fact is that FGERI had a different approach to revolutionary politics in mind. While it dissipated as an organisation, this was not because its aims had become

⁹⁸ The term *Nouveaux philosophes* comes from the title of a dossier edited by Bernard-Henri Lévy and published in *Les Nouvelles Littéraires* in June 1976. The self-proclaimed 'new philosophers' - many of them with a common background of past left-wing militancy - shared a rejection of all forms of Marxism and socialism. While they quickly acquired a negative and derisive reputation in French academic circles, they became mass-media celebrities. The media portrayed them as a generation disillusioned by the events of May 1968, but also as the bearers of the truth of that movement. In *La barbarie à visage humain*, Bernard-Henri Lévy directly attacked the CERFI, arguing that it was proof of the negative effects of the "ideology of desire". Bernard-Henri Lévy, *La barbarie à visage humain*, Éditions Bernard Grasset, Paris, 1977, p. 139.

⁹⁹ See, for example, Daniel Singer, *Prelude to Revolution: France in May 1968*, Chicago Illinois, Haymarket Books, 2013; or Bracke Maud, *Which Socialism? Whose Détente: West European Communism and the Czechoslovak Crisis 1968*, Budapest, Central European University Press, 2007.

¹⁰⁰ This is Shukaitis and Graeber's argument in the introduction to *Constituent Imagination: Militant Investigations, Collective Theorisation*, ed. Stephen Shukaitis, David Graeber, Edinburgh, AK, 2007.

invalid, but because the student networks and energy on which it relied were demobilised. That capacity exhausted itself with the events of 1968. But FGERI's originality and relevance remained: the ambition of finding revolutionary spaces, openings at every institutional level, wherever the militant's concrete existence would dictate, at work, in school, in the university, in the hospital, in the union, in the factory. And it is this work that will be picked up by CERFI in the coming years.

Dossiers and Visual Documents

LA BORDE

The Cour-Cheverny Clinic (La Borde) was founded by Jean Oury in 1953. Oury and a group of patients and caregivers left the clinic at Saumery to create something new. Building on the legacy of institutional psychotherapy developed by Tosquelles at Saint-Alban, the guiding therapeutic principle at La Borde was to maintain a non-alienating milieu through the creation of multiple dynamic institutions. Analysis was no longer confined to the privacy of the consulting room; it extended to the entire institutional environment. The organisational and spatial dynamics of the institution were monitored to prevent the consolidation of power relationships, and freedom of movement was promoted to encourage active re-engagement with life and heterogeneity of experience. A series of institutions were developed primarily to stimulate the autonomy of the residents and create self-management opportunities for residents and staff alike.

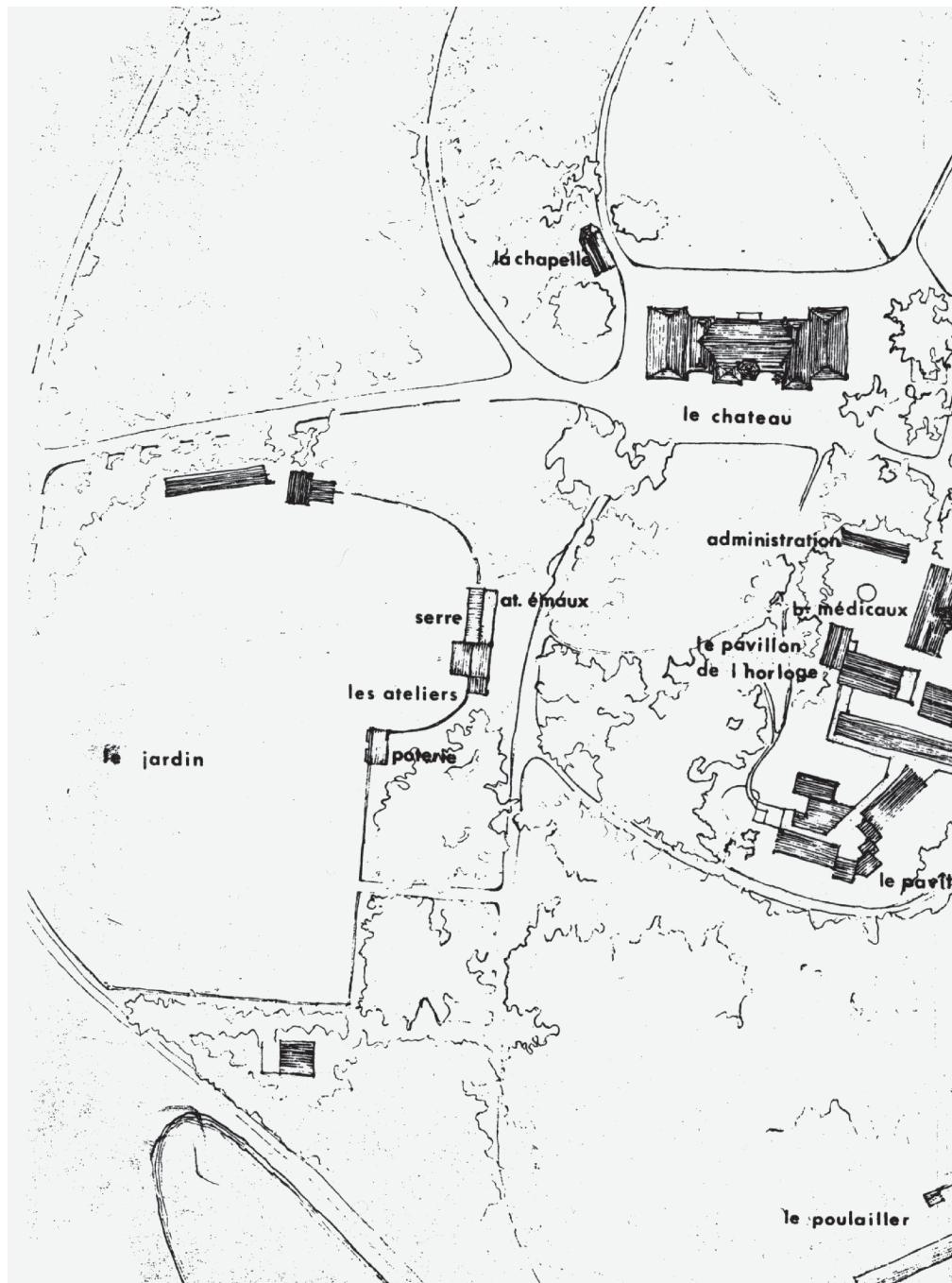
Staff institutions mostly consisted of meetings, such as daily meetings at 3 p.m., 6 p.m. or midday, as well as weekly medical meetings where symptomatic acts were analysed or self-analysed (as the analysis included those of the doctors present) and case review meetings. Examples of patient-led institutions included workshops, a bar, a chicken coop, La Borde's journal and the patient's club. The latter was crucial as it was independent of the rest of the clinic's management. It oversaw all patient institutions, thus guaranteeing their autonomy and economic independence. Economic desalienation was at the heart of the therapeutic work at La Borde and collective management of community resources. Patient meetings included the daily SCAJ meeting (*Sous-commission des activités de la journée*, Sub-Committee for Daily Activities), or weekly meetings such as the General Assembly of Patients. Other meetings included the Sunday meeting with members of the Patient Club (president, vice-president and secretary) and members of the medical management team, where the therapeutic approach for the week's activities was discussed jointly.

Several groups of student militants spent time at La Borde as interns. The first group, who became known as the 'barbares', arrived around 1955–1956 and included Ginette Michaud, Lucien Sebag, René

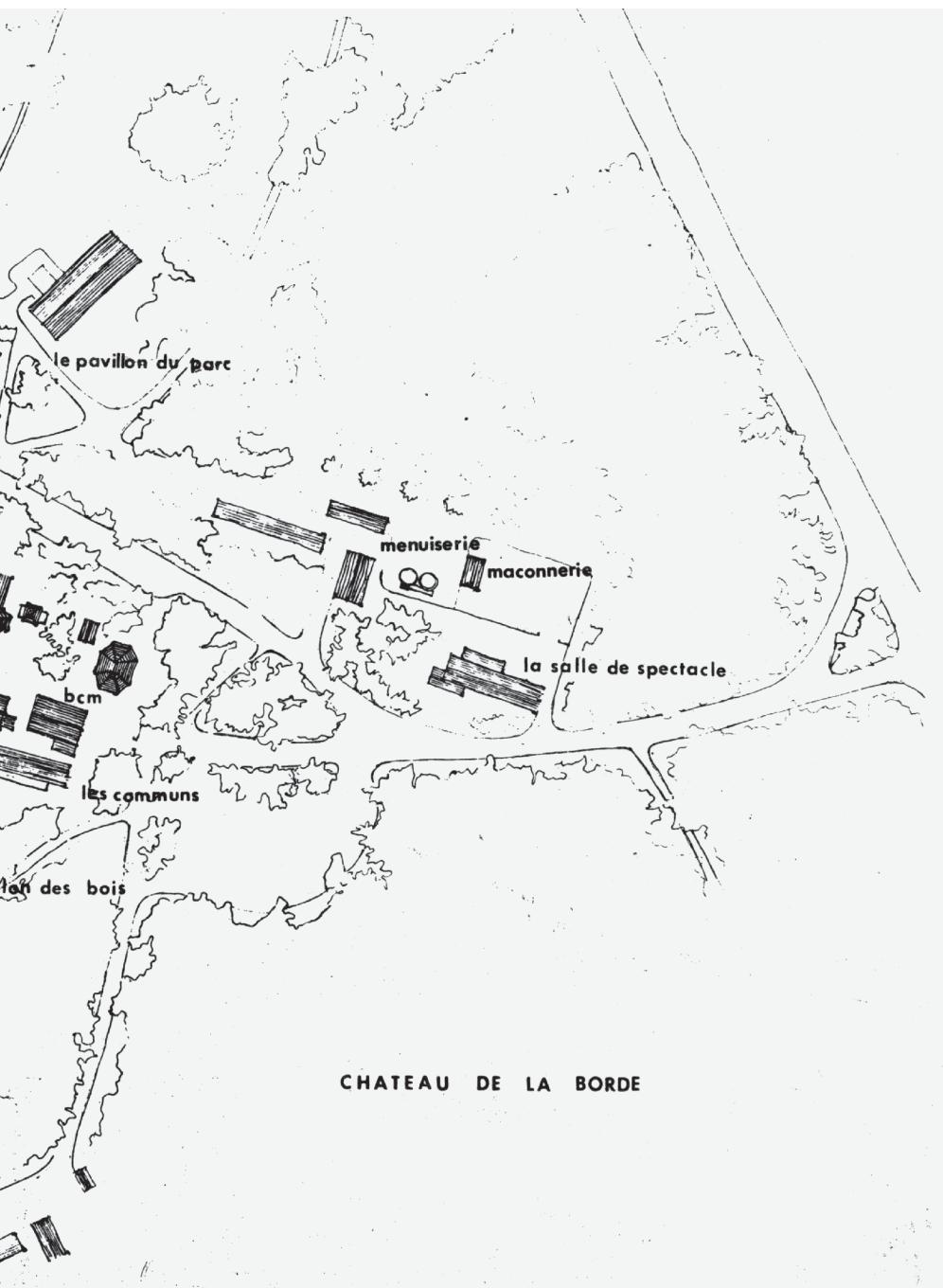
Laloux, Roland Dubillard, Nicole Ladmiral and Paul Oury. Then, from around 1964 to 1966, a new group of students joined La Borde. This group included François Fourquet, François Pain, Lion Murard, Georges Préli, Liane Mozère, Hervé Maury and Luc and Thierry Rosenzweig, all of whom would go on to become members of CERFI. Many of them stayed in La Borde for a longer period.

CERFI had multiple contracts with La Borde over the years. Michel Rostain and François Fourquet both worked as administrators of the clinic under a CERFI contract; other contracts were for CERFI to take over the management and organisation of daily life at the clinic.

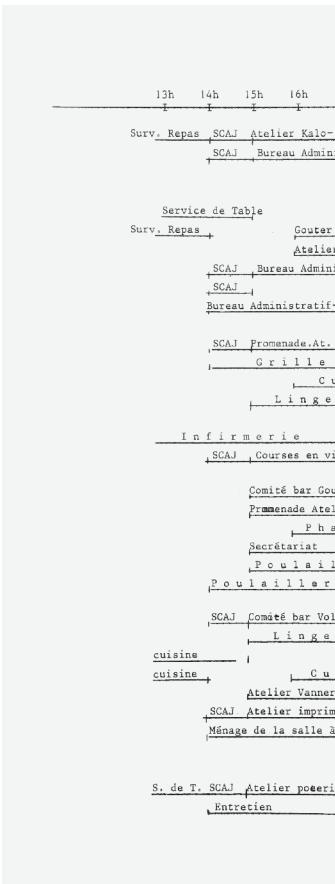
“I remember living in La Borde. It was the revelation of my life. La Borde as a practical, philosophical way of life. It shook up all the representations we had of ourselves, of others, of space, of the potential of each of us – it was unbelievable. La Borde wasn’t structured in a fixed, confining and normalising way. There wasn’t one life that was a good normal life. It was crazy, it was unbelievable. I’d have discussions with the residents and you’d say, why are they here? there was plasticity, in the other person’s thinking, in your thinking. I’ve never seen that anywhere. It made me discover that all these categories of the other, of the self, of the subject, are much more fluid and elastic than we might imagine. It wasn’t theoretical, you were living it. And because you were living it, it impressed you in a different way than when you read a book, because you were committed to it yourself. It’s about standards that are always being transgressed. And that was life down there. And we realise that we ourselves, in our categories, are completely locked into a corner.” Interview with Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, March 2022.



▲ Hand drawn depiction of the general site plan of La Borde circa 1960 (author unknown). Reprint from *Histoires de La Borde. Dix ans de psychothérapie institutionnelle à la clinique de Cour-Cheverny, Recherches 21, 1976.*



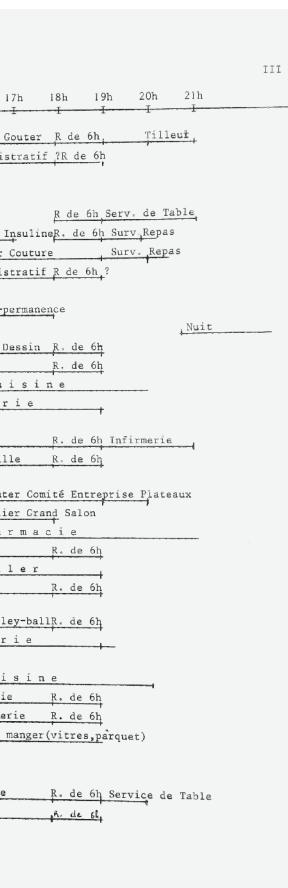
II Jeudi 31 Février 1959	8h	9h	10h	11h	12h	13h
Emma						Platesaux
Oscar					Bur. Administratif	Secr. du Club
Clémence Joumel	5 heures				2 ^e étage	Soins Ménage
Nadine						Comité
Seito					S. de Table	Menus. Plateaux
Esther					Insuline	
Mlle Paupinelle						Infirmierie
Ariane						Electromyéphalogrammes
Hélène	6h30'				Insuline	Bur. Administratif-Permanence
Croizart						
Paméla						
Leïon					At. Dessins	Secr. du Club
Blandine					1 ^e étage	Soins Ménage
Jocelyne					2 ^e étage	Soins Ménage
Pauline						Ménage Rez de Chaussée Chateau
Georgette					Congé	
Mathilde						Infirmierie
Giuseppa						Atelier Mime
Berthe					Congé	
Carole						2 ^e étage
Séverine						Soins Ménage
Pascal Dega						Ménage Rez de Chaussée
Barbara						Pharmacie
Nicolas Joumel						Secrétariat
Valjan						Poulailler
Amandine						Chauffe
Jérôme Fofana					Congé	
Blanche					1/2 Congé	
Guillaume						Lingerie
Anna					7h Cuisine	Comité
Eliane Fraisier						Cuisine
Claudien						Atelier pluché
Honorine						Voirie-Poubelle
Dr Zarka						Ménage
Dr Biellent						bur. de l'Ordre Sanitaires
Antoinette						
Ramon						Caisse dépôts, S. de T.
						Entretien

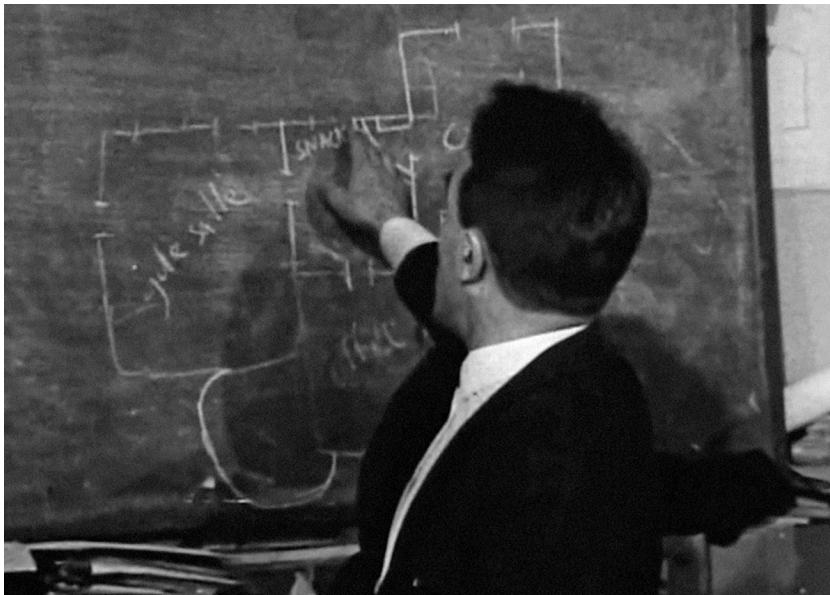


↑ Illustrative schema of a day-to-day grid drawn by CERFI. Created around 1957 due to necessity – given the small number of staff, it was inevitable that everyone would be involved in the day-to-day running of the institution – the grid was one of the most important institutions at La Borde. It was a tool of institutional analysis, dealing with individual preferences and desires in relation to the general tasks to be carried out. It was constantly changing and different functions could be rotated. The

grids were discussed collectively, with ongoing processes of collective negotiation taking place. CERFI, *L'institutionnalisation des collectifs de travail. Monographie sur la clinique La Borde*, 1973.

▼ The grid as it was in 1971, quite literally an inscription of time and space on a piece of paper. In *Un pari nécessaire: de la notion d'institution à la psychothérapie institutionnelle*, 1958, Ginette Michaud pointed out that "the novelty was that, once admitted to work at the clinic by Oury, the nurse - or 'caregiver', given the broad meaning of the term 'nurse' - could direct their work as they saw fit. They managed their time according to their own ideas and those of the group, with each member contributing by making proposals or counter-proposals based on the tasks to be performed and their comrades' opinions. The 'timetable' is therefore a schedule of tasks in which everyone participates. The results of these decisions are recorded on a daily schedule, which is submitted to the 6 a.m. or 3 p.m. meeting depending on the shift. The grid also includes the two hours of daily rest that each person takes according to their tasks and personal preferences" Michaud, p. 52. Still from the documentary *Psychiatrie, Science Parole et Liberté* by Pierre-Henri Zoller and Frank Richard, RTS Radio Télévision Suisse, 22 November 1971.



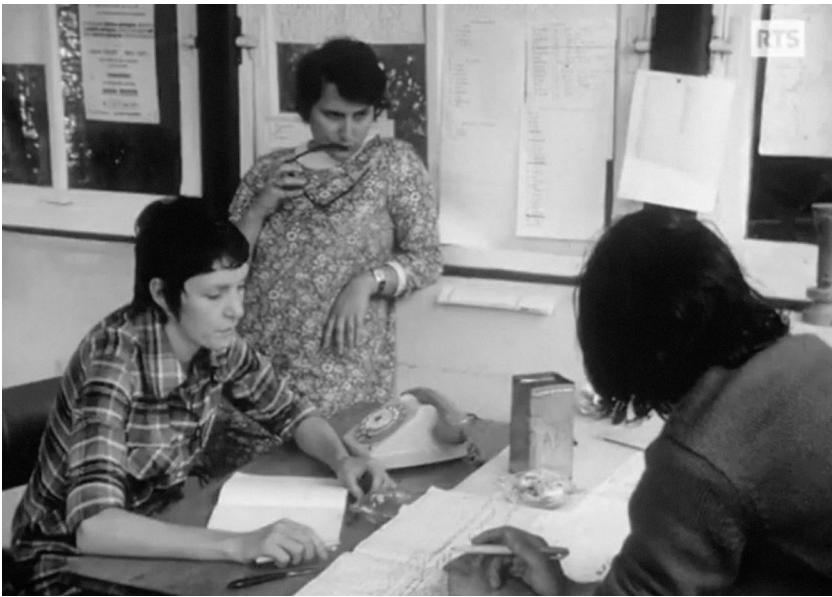


- Still from a film of a collective discussion about the importance of keeping the space of the kitchen open to everyone. Jean Oury can be seen discussing the kitchen layout and the doors leading to other areas. The kitchen was not only a space for the preparation of food but also an important therapeutic space. Patients helped in the preparation of meals, peeling vegetables and fruits. By therapeutic insistence the kitchen was always open, circulation was free, there was no door. Archival film by Claude Edelman, *Approche d'une Psychotherapie Institutionnelle*, circa 1955. La Borde Archives.

- *The Grilleuses*. Avoiding the existence of a manager determining the schedule and the role of each member of staff, the grid consisted of a small team of four or five members of the clinic staff taking turns at organising various activities. These were called "grilleuses." Membership of the group was rotating and was not supposed to be made up of doctors, so as to avoid dividing

the work and structuring the daily routine of the clinic according to a hierarchical medical structure. Still from the documentary *Psychiatrie, science parole et liberté* by Pierre-Henri Zoller and Frank Pichard, RTS Radio Télévision Suisse, 22 November 1971.

••• A patient, or *pensionnaire* as patients were referred to at La Borde, calls for treatment of the nursing staff. Still from *Every Little Thing*, directed by Nicolas Philibert, 1997. The film's title is a reference to the micro-politics of care and the ways in which institutions such as La Borde relied on a militant focus on the smallest and most ordinary of details. The title was also Oury's response to the question, 'What is institutional psychotherapy?' The scene captures one of the most fundamental ideas behind La Borde: the notion of a healing collective that mutualises the relationship of care, blurring the boundaries between those who receive care and those who provide it.



• The patients' club. A still from the documentary *Psychiatrie, science parole et liberté* by Pierre-Henri Zoller and Frank Pichard, RTS Radio Télévision Suisse, 22 November 1971.

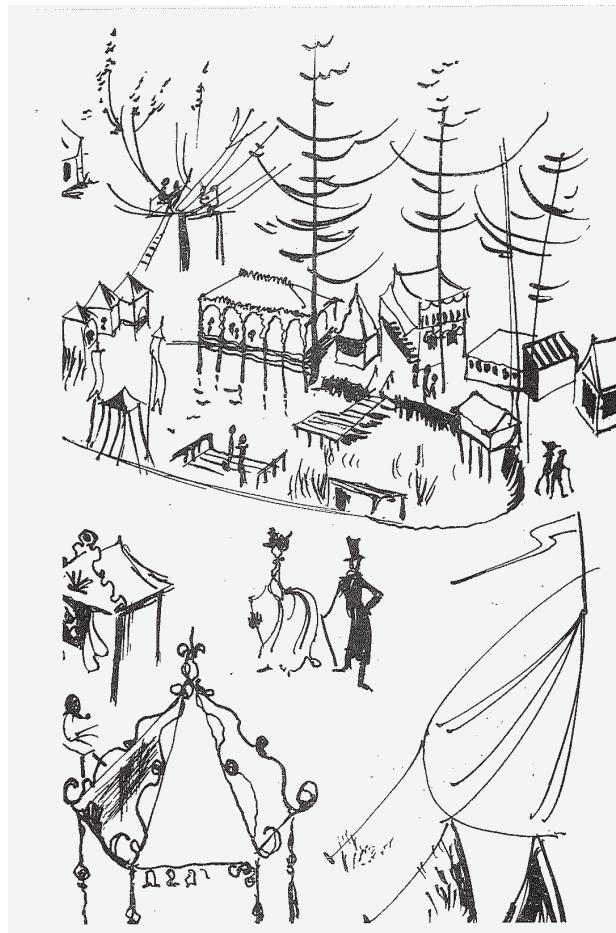
• At La Borde, various institutions were created for staff and patients, including specific daily or weekly meetings. One of these was the AG (General Assembly of Patients, in french *Assemblée générale des malades*), which served as a general assembly for the entire La Borde community and included all patients and caregivers, as well as doctors. One other institution was the group of groups or 'le grand groupe' that met every Thursday at the end of the day and included the less verbal patients. Still from the documentary *Psychiatrie, science, parole et Liberté* by Pierre-Henri Zoller and Frank Pichard, RTS Radio Télévision Suisse, 22 November 1971.

•• The crèche at La Borde. A still from the documentary *Psychiatrie, science parole et liberté* by Pierre-Henri Zoller and Frank Pichard, RTS Radio Télévision Suisse, 22 November 1971.

••• A moment of collective conversation after the performance of Min Tanaka. In May 1986, Guattari invited Min Tanaka to dance at La Borde before an audience of residents (pensioners), monitors, carers, and guests (patients' families, friends, etc.). Still from François Pain and Joséphine Guattari's film, *Min Tanaka at La Borde*, 1986. Courtesy of François Pain.







LE CLUB DE LA BORDE
Comité Hospitalier de la Société d'Hygiène
COUR-CHEVERNY

Kermesse 19

Cora VAUC

avec

Léo NOEL

Paule MARJ

L'OBJET AIMÉ D'ALFRED

Gala

Johnny HALLY

Guy BEDO

Françoise HA

Jean HÉBRARD

Eric CHARDEN

Jean-Noel MIC

Christine LEBAIL

présentés par Roger

Bal

Claude LUT

J. ALAN et son

G. BOYER et son

▲ A flyer for the annual *Kermesse*, organised by the Patient's Club of La Borde, 5 September 1965.

→ The Summer Fair, Circa 1970s, open to all. Author unknown. La Borde Archives.

MENTALE
Mentale

00
AIRE

ORIE

JARRY

YDAY
5
RDY

HELET

LANZAC

TER
Orchestre
Quintette

LA BORDE
1965
5 SEPTEMBRE

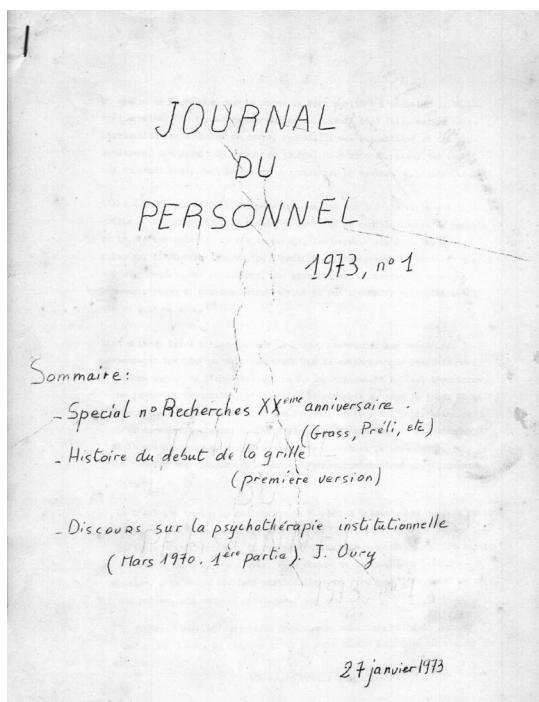


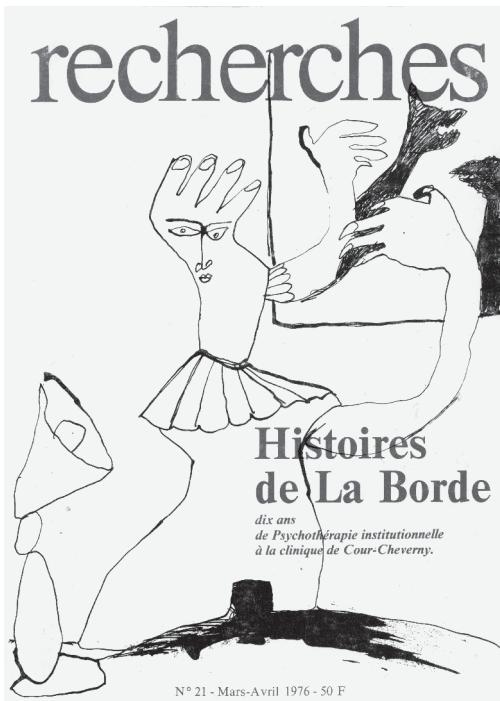
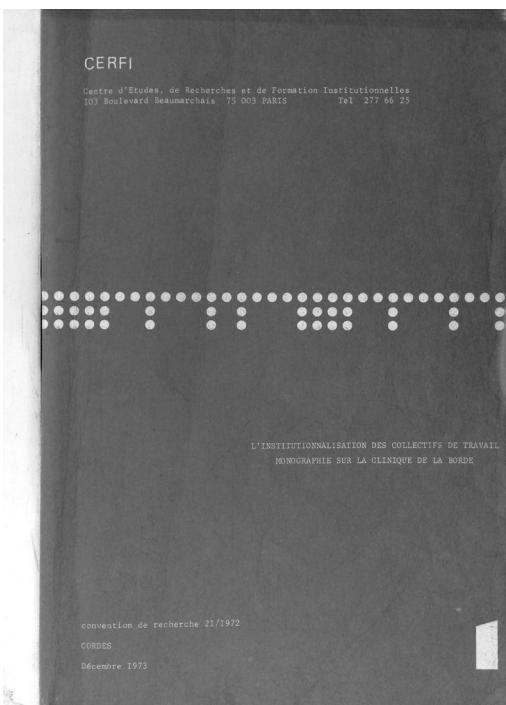
- Cover of the La Borde staff journal from January 1973, announcing a special edition of *Recherches* to mark La Borde's 20th anniversary. Everyone was invited to contribute ideas for the issue and descriptions of life at La Borde: "Perhaps a dream, a poem, a song written for an old woman?", wrote Gérard Grass and Georges Préli. La Borde Archives.

- CERFI had several contracts with La Borde between 1968 and at least 1977. In 1972, a research project funded by CORDES resulted in the CERFI's report *L'institutionnalisation des collectifs de travail. Monographie sur la clinique La Borde*, 1973. The research involved a series of around 120 interviews and meetings with staff, supervisors, doctors, and patients. The funding contract described the project as a "research intervention

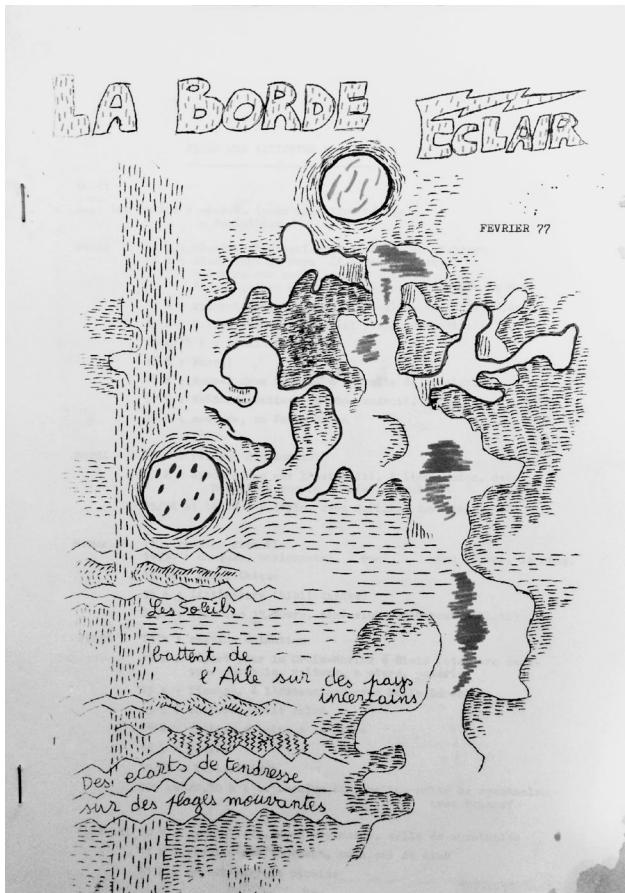
on institutional animation techniques (...) to study the problems raised by the use of institutional therapeutic techniques in a specific institution", which would include "the organisation and management of activities". Courtesy of Annick Kouba.

• *Recherches 21, Histoires de La Borde* was published in March 1976, based on material collected during the research for *L'institutionnalisation des collectifs de travail. Monographie sur la clinique La Borde*. It includes a discussion between the editors-researchers of CERFI: Claudine Dardy, Numa Murard, Michel Rostain, Georges Préli, Gérard Grass, and directors of the clinic - Guattari and Oury (all under pseudonyms). Typical of CERFI, it provides another instance of critical, collective self-reflection.





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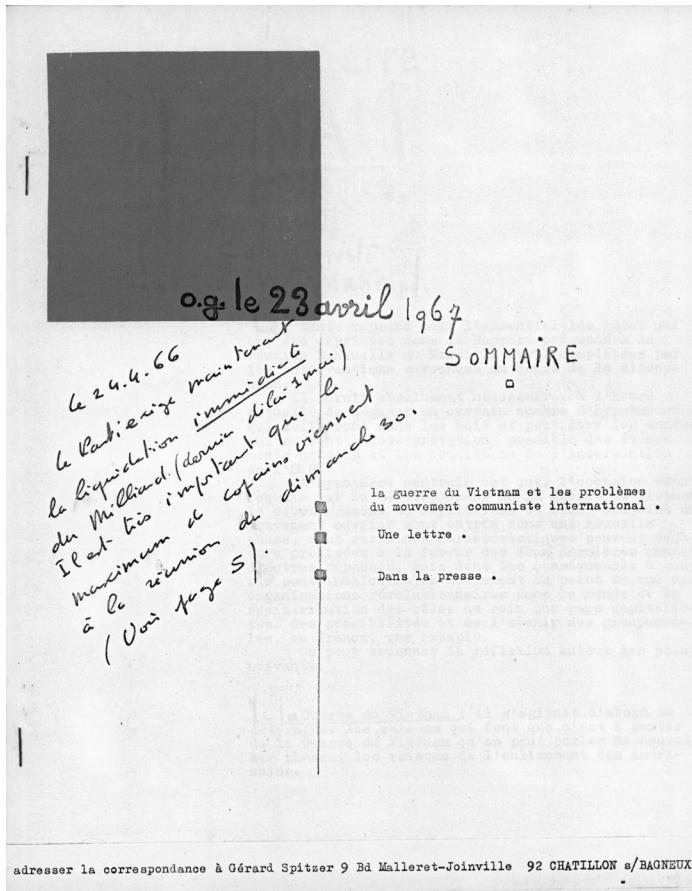


▲ La Borde journal, *La Borde éclair*. February 1963 and February 1977. Journal written, edited and illustrated by patients, mouthpiece of the community, included poems, film reviews, interviews and satires, as well as reports on assemblies, meetings and activities of the patients' club. La Borde Archives.

"La Borde Eclair belongs to the genre of 'hospital journals.' Daily for a long time, then monthly, then nothing, then weekly. A local opportunity for encounters that are sometimes disconcerting, sometimes harmonious. Texts that respond to each other, without knowing it, a bit like a 'sequence' of anagrams. (...) It keeps writing despite the wind and rain. There is something there that reaches out, that looks at you from the other side of your face, and that gives you answers before you even ask questions. Words of silence, rumours crashing against shores of tranquillity. Soon, never, always starting over". Jean Oury, *Recherches 36, Déraisonnances*, 1979. p. 77.

Dossiers and Visual Documents

MILITANT HUMUS



• Cover of *Red Square*, the left opposition bulletin (*Opposition de Gauche*), 23 April 1967. The Red Square was released every fortnight, sometimes every week. This issue focused on the Vietnam war and the problems of the international communist movement. The cover includes the following handwritten note: "The Party now demands the immediate liquidation of the *Milliard*. It is very important that as many friends as possible come to the meeting on Sunday 30th." CERFI Archives.

• *Étude préliminaire sur les données et perspectives du mouvement révolutionnaire* – also known as *Neuf thèses de l'opposition de gauche* (Nine Theses of the Left Opposition). This version dates from 30 April 1965. CERFI Archives.

• • • Pages from the *Red Square*, 3 May 1967, informing of OG members' participation in the creation of OSARLA – Organisation to Support the Latin-American Revolution. This issue included a translation of Guevara's letter to the Tricontinental dated 23 April 1967. CERFI Archives.

distribué le 30 avril 65
(May - 2 mai)

ETUDE PRÉLIMINAIRE
SUR LES DONNÉES ET LES PERSPECTIVES
DU MOUVEMENT REVOLUTIONNAIRE.

-:-:-:-:-:-:-

Ce texte constitue une reprise des thèses qui avaient été présentées au VII^e Congrès de l'U.E.C. Nous insistons sur le fait qu'il ne s'agit ici que d'une base de travail, qui, n'a pas d'autre prétention que de servir à ouvrir le débat, et à permettre le développement d'une élaboration qui devrait aboutir, ultérieurement, à un texte beaucoup plus important pouvant être publié sous forme de livre.

Ses différentes parties, qui ont été rédigées par différents camarades, sont d'ingrédients importants, certaines ne constituent qu'une ré-définition pure et simple des thèses, tandis que d'autres comportent une série d'éléments nouveaux. Un certain nombre de points n'ont pas pu être développés, alors qu'il serait absolument indispensable qu'ils y soient.

Nous demandons à l'ensemble des camarades de communiquer leur point de vue, de proposer des amendements, des modifications, etc...

Adresser toute correspondance à :

Georges PRELI - 10, Boulevard Voltaire - PARIS - III^e

-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-

•••

23 Avril 1965
à l'ensemble des camarades de l'U.E.C.
qui sont engagés dans la lutte pour la libération des peuples
d'Amérique latine.

Un certain nombre de camarades de l'U.E.C. participent à la création d'une association de solidarité avec le mouvement révolutionnaire d'Amérique latine.

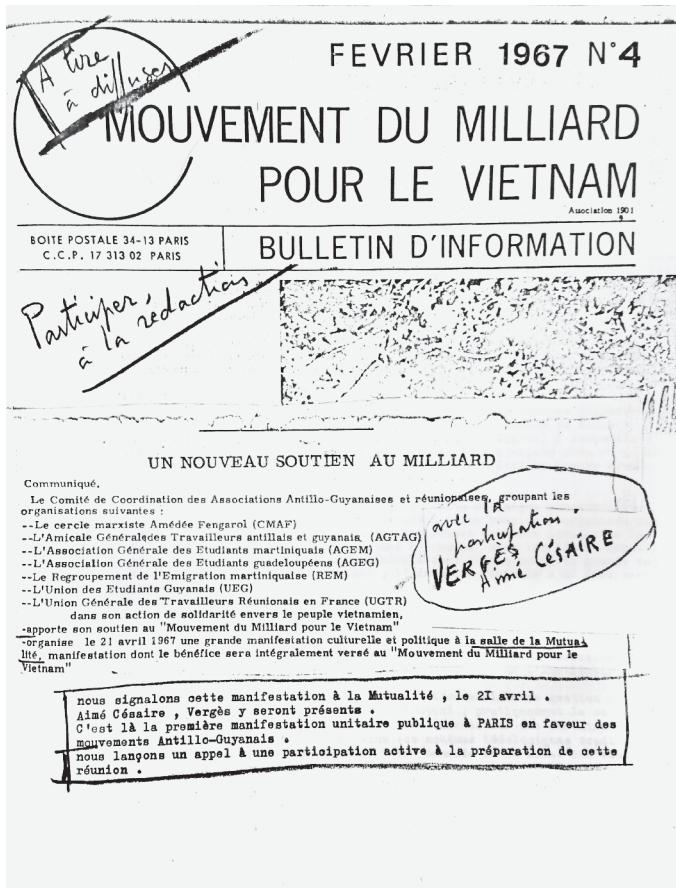
organisation de soutien
OSARIA
à la révolution latino-américaine

Il s'agit, partant des dernières prises de position de Fidel Castro et de Che Guevara, de donner des informations sur le développement des luttes révolutionnaires

en organisant :
des réunions
des projections de films
des cercles d'étude
la diffusion de documents
etc...

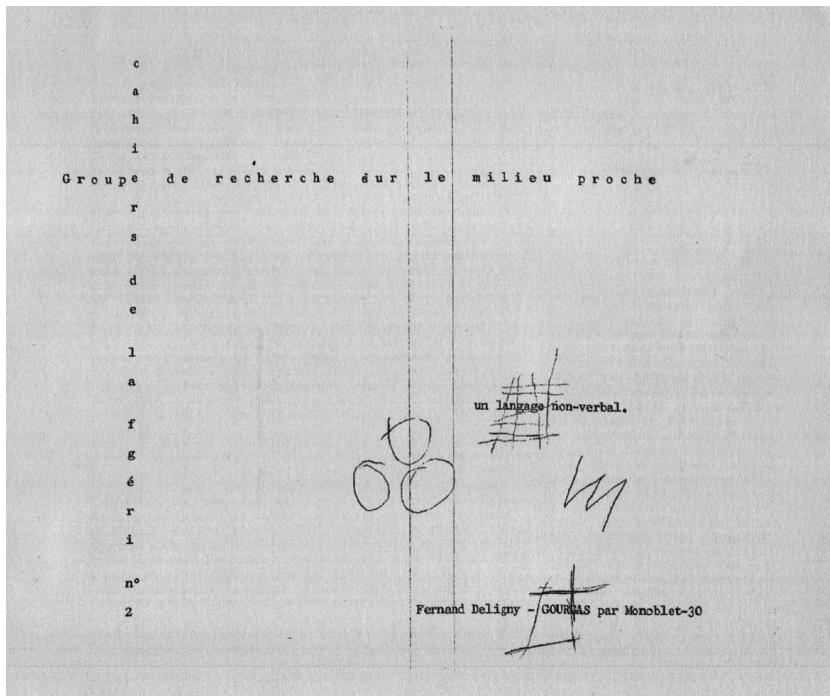
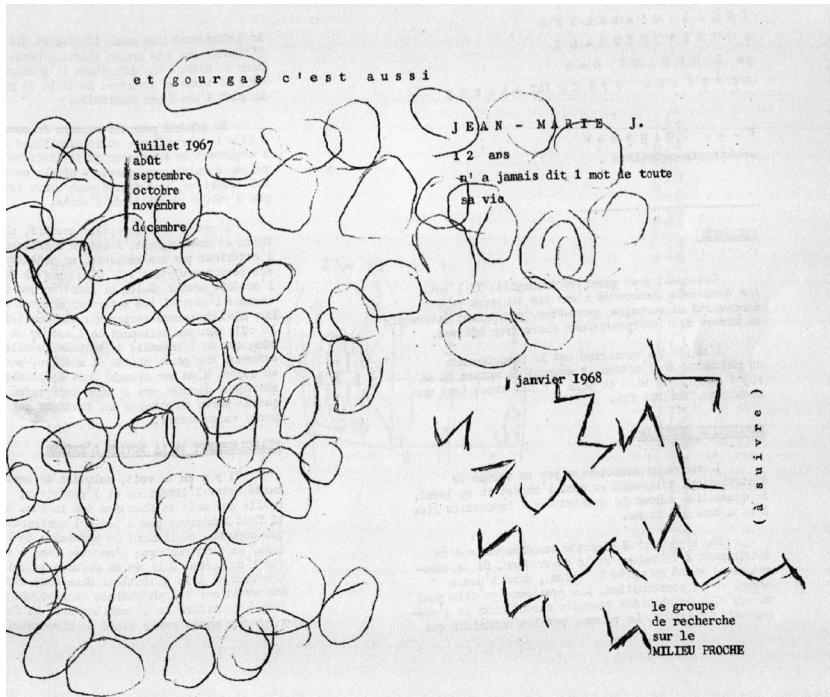
Pour prendre contact, écrire directement à
Michèle Pirk
25 rue Chaperon
Paris 1^{er}
tel. MAR 99 08
écrire de préférence

•••



- Interior pages of *Red Square*, the left opposition bulletin, 30 March 1967, with a reprint of the information bulletin of the *Mouvement du milliard pour le Vietnam*. A handwritten document indicates the expected participation of Jacques Vergès and Aimé Césaire in a cultural event in support of the *Mouvement du Milliard*. CERFI Archives.

• / • / • The *Cahiers de la fgeri*, also known as *Cahiers de recherches*, were produced by Deligny during his time spent at La Borde, where he also organised cine-clubs. In 1967, Deligny published the article *Vers un langage non verbal* ("Towards a non-verbal language") in issue 2 of *The cahiers de la fgeri* and announced the creation of the *Groupe de recherche sur le milieu proche*. This group was based in Gourgas, in a property purchased by Félix Guattari in the Cévennes. Courtesy Annick Kouba.



- FGERI was attentive and actively engaged with international liberation struggles. Special issues were devoted to the Vietnam War and student protests in the Congo. Issue 2, published in February–March 1968, features a translation of the intervention of Stokey Carmichael, from the Black Panthers, at the *First Conference of Latin American Solidarity* (OLAS) in July 1967. In his speech, Carmichael discusses common continental struggles and Third World Solidarity against western imperialism and “white western society”. *Cahiers de la fgeri*, February–March 1968, issue 2. Courtesy Annick Kouba.

- Announcement of meeting dates for the *Groupe d'Étude et travail en milieu ouvrier/ GETMO* (Group for Study and Work in a Working-class Environment). *Cahiers de la fgeri*, February–March 1968, issue 2. Courtesy Annick Kouba.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

intervention à la CONFÉRENCE de l'OLAS

Nous vous saluons en tant que camarades, parce qu'il devient plus évidents que nous menons avec vous une lutte commune, nous avons un ennemi commun. Notre ennemi, c'est la société occidentale impérialiste blanche.

Observez que nous utilisons l'expression "société blanche occidentale", en opposition à la "civilisation blanche occidentale". L'Occident n'a jamais été civilisé. Il n'a pas le droit de parler de lui-même comme d'une civilisation.

Nous luttons pour renverser ce système qui se nourrit et s'étend au moyen de l'exploitation économique et culturelle des peuples non-blancs et

non-occidentaux : le TIERS MONDE.

Nous partageons aussi avec vous une vision commune de l'établissement de sociétés humanistes à la place de celles qui existent actuellement. Nous essayons ensemble de changer les bases du pouvoir dans le monde, pour que l'humanité répartisse les ressources de chacune des nations, au lieu d'avoir à les livrer aux pillards étrangers, et pour que les civilisations puissent conserver leur souveraineté culturelle au lieu d'être forcées de se soumettre aux gouvernements étrangers qui imposent leur culture corrompue aux civilisations qu'ils dominent.

La société blanche a presque complètement réussi à nous maintenir tous, les opprimés du Tiers Monde, séparés et fragmentés. Ils le font pour survivre, car si nous sentions notre unité, nous combattrions notre force. Ici, en particulier, sur ce continent, où la société blanche constitue une minorité, elle a réussi pendant des centaines d'années à éviter que nous, les opprimés, réalisions notre objectif commun. Mais l'appel de Che Guevara à une lutte continentale contre l'ennemi commun, paraît avoir diminué cette fragmentation entre ceux qui sont décidés à résister contre l'impérialisme occidental.

Nous parlons avec vous, camarades, parce que

Dates et thèmes des discussions prochaines du GROUPE d'ETUDE et TRAVAIL en MOUVEMENT OUVRIER :

le Samedi 16 mars

discussion avec un canard espagnol qui nous parlera des

LUTTES OUVRIERES et STUDIANTES en ESPAGNE ainsi que des COMMISSIONS OUVRIERES.

le Samedi 20 avril

discussion avec des camarades de l'UJCML (mouvement marxiste-léniniste) qui nous parleront d'

UN VOYAGE EN CHINE PENDANT LA REVOLUTION CULTURELLE.

à paraître très prochainement :

1 numéro spécial de RECHERCHES sur le

SUD-EST ASIATIQUE

des journalistes

américains,

australiens,

français,

et l'équipe de RECHERCHES

ont préparé un recueil de

textes et d'articles sur

la guerre du Viet-Nam et

la situation dans le Sud-

est Asiatique. Ils étu-

dent la situation écono-

mique, politique et so-

cielle dans les pays du Sud-

est de l'Asie et leur posi-

tion quant à la guerre du

Viet-Nam, l'influence et

l'implantation américaines

au : CAMBODGE, LAOS, les

2 Viet-Nam, en THAILAND,

BIRMANIE, MALAISIE,

PHILIPPINES, INDONÉSIE-

SINGAPOUR, JAPON, etc...

Un document comme il n'en

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Des illustrations :

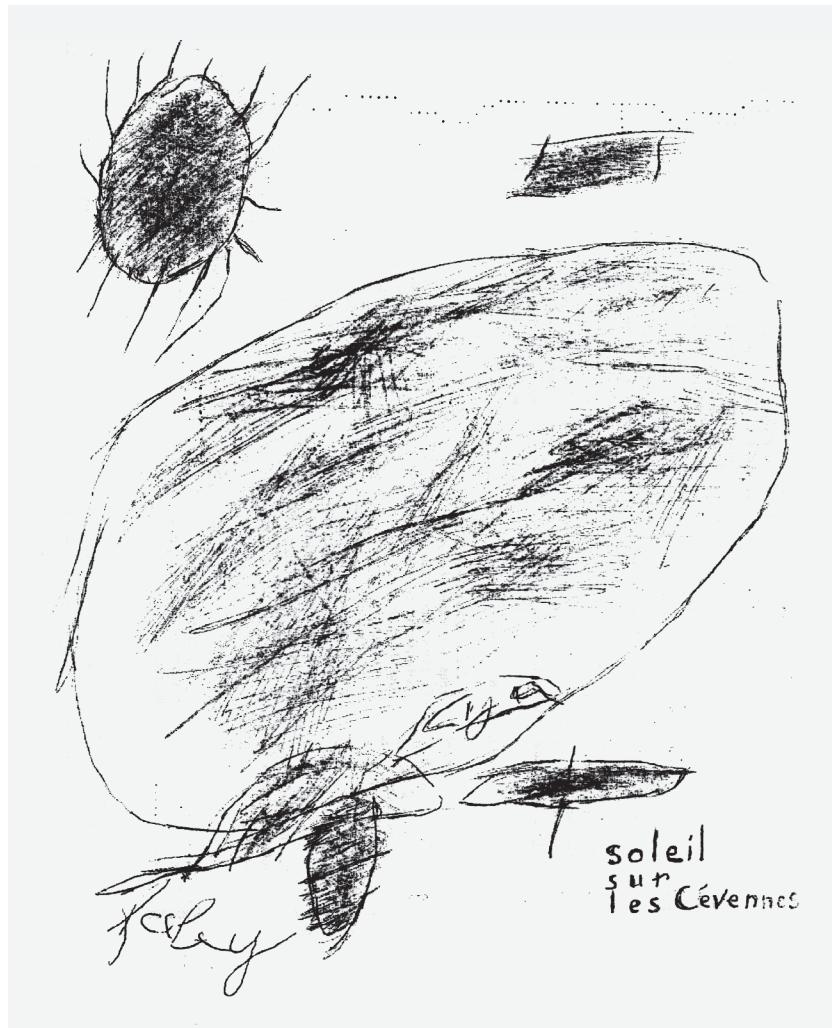
documents,

cartes,

photos.

RECHERCHES - n° spécial

sur le Sud-Est Asiatique.



◀ Page from *Cahiers de la fgeri* showing Deligny's work on drawing carried out with autistic children in Gourgas, in the Cévennes. For a while, Gourgas was at the disposal of the entire FGERI. It was intended as a home for institutional study and research groups and their members, enabling them to continue the exchange of views undertaken within the framework of *Recherches*. It became a meeting place for left-wing intellectuals, artists, students, workers, and militants. The running of the house was at the initiative of the groups, and its organisation was self-managed by a committee open to all. The house was meant to be collectively renovated. *Cahiers de la fgeri*, February–March 1968, issue 2. Courtesy Annick Kouba.

▼ FGERI membership subscription with an announcement for a special issue of *Recherches* on the war in Vietnam and the situation in South-West Asia. *Cahiers de la fgeri*, April–May 1968, issue 3. Courtesy Annick Kouba.

A paraître très prochainement		j'adhère à la F.G.E.R.I.	
I numéro spécial de		<input type="checkbox"/> je reçois les CAHIERS	
recherches		<input type="checkbox"/> je bénéficie des services de la fgeri .	
sur	nom et prénoms :		
le	profession :	âge :	
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ont préparé un recueil de textes	je désire recevoir toutes les publications de la F.G.E.R.I.		
et d'articles sur la guerre du	<input type="checkbox"/> CAHIERS		
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et sociale dans les pays du Sud-	et bénéficier des services des GROUPES		
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† List of FGERI members and working groups
from the inaugural issue of *Recherches*, 1, January 1966.

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 Claude PONCIN,
 Médecin des hôpitaux psychiatriques.

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 René POUX,
 Urbaniste.
 Georges PRELI,
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 Anne QUERRIEN,
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 Alain RAYBAUD,
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- Groupe d'étude et de recherche institutionnelles sur la condition féminine.
- Groupe de recherche institutionnelle sur la santé.
- Groupe d'Urbanisme et d'Architecture.
- Groupe d'ethnologie.
- Groupe d'étude et de recherche sur les professions para-médicales.
- Commission de Pédagogie Institutionnelle.
- Groupe d'étude sur les Industries Métallurgiques.
- Association pour le développement et la recherche analytique dans les collectifs.
- Groupe de Recherche institutionnelle économique, et sociale.
- Groupe d'étude littéraire et théâtrale.
- Groupe de Recherche institutionnelle sur le milieu étudiant.
- Groupes correspondants en Province :

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— Dijon	— Nantes	— Strasbourg
— Lyon	— Nice	— Tours

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de France

Supplément au n° 5 Numéro spécial élections 1969 0 F. 50

**la MEDECINE du CAPITAL
NE SOIGNE PAS**

**ELLE
RÉPARE
LES TRAVAILLEURS
POUR LA
M.N.E.F. votez UNEF**

**à la M.N.E.F.
votez U.N.E.F.**

**Y'A
PAS
DE PROBLÈMES
À LA SANTÉ!**

recherches

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4 F

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• Lucienne Joudachkine on the gate of a youth hostel (*Auberge de Jeunesse*) in Villeneuve sur Auvers. Pierre Jamet, 1937. DR.

La Borde was influenced by the collective experience of the youth hostels movement, and many of the people who became part of La Borde had actively participated in them: "The Youth clubs were based on self-management and were gender mixed. In Paris and its suburbs, many artists came to supervise groups of young *ajistes* (the term

used to describe the young people who attended the Youth Hostels) who would teach certain artistic practices to the young people – mainly from the working class – such as choral singing, music, theatre, mime, etc." Interview with François Pain, October, 2020.

•• *L'Étudiant de France*, UNEF, supplement to issue no. 5 - 1969, "Capitalist medicine does not heal. It repairs workers for the MNEF. Vote UNEF."

••• Inaugural issue of *Recherches*, 1967.

CHAPTER 2

THE CREATION OF CERFI

HAVING BEEN FORMALLY CREATED IN 1967 AS THE RESEARCH ARM OF FGERI, CERFI only properly came into being as an autonomous organisation after 1968, at a point when FGERI had ceased to exist, diluted into other networks as post-1968 commitments. After 1968, the group of militant students who gathered around Guattari and had been visiting La Borde saw in CERFI the possibility for continuing a militant life after the 1968 struggles. Olivier Quérouil (CERFI member) notes that at that time CERFI was mainly a Tuesday evening meeting: “If I remember correctly, in a place on rue Buffon, opposite the Jardin des Plantes, an old shop that had been used as a hideout by the FLN (*Front de libération nationale*) during the Algerian war. It was a kind of ritual, a meeting where people brought projects and so on. But it was very much in the spirit of La Borde. Basically, it was a Labordien group in Paris, a Labordien club.”¹⁰¹

This was a group that was in search of ways to continue the energy of 1968, the living together, the intensity of militancy. According to Hervé Maury and Claude Harmelle, the group wanted to create a community of work and research, as so many did at the time, but instead of going in the direction of the countryside and pre-capitalist conditions, they wanted an urban community.¹⁰² They did not want to be isolated from the world but connected to the realities and the flows of urban and social struggles and transformations. We can trace this concern to FGERI’s aim of engaging the forces of anti-production within each domain of existence. But if in FGERI these were mostly themes of discussion, with CERFI and the possibility of receiving research funding, there was the potential to experiment with new forms of practice. It could be said that CERFI was giving form to thesis eight of the *Opposition de gauche*’s Nine Theses, focusing the need to develop new forms of revolutionary organisation.

From this moment on, funding was to be procured not only for the support of research, but of their own lives:

¹⁰¹ Interview with Olivier Quérouil, June 2020.

¹⁰² In Morford, p. 75.

“In militant terms, we hoped to help build a more breathable world here and now. We weren’t just earning a living; we were earning our souls. That’s what I like about my memory of CERFI, the opportunity it gave me to see research as a way of life, a way of living. Enthusiasm, commitment, passion, the ability to speak, to talk to each other, to live together, to pass on microbes, to follow lines of desire – these were the foundations of our approach. I think it was basically a political project as well as a life and research project. It was militant research.”¹⁰³

In an interview with Janet Morford, François Fourquet put the ‘analytical’ front and centre of their political ambitions:

“The idea of a ‘new militant breed’... it was people who could relate to the masses, people, not locked-up intellectuals but animators, who had a notion of the analytical relationship. That is to say, a notion of the fact that social relations are not just a matter of the head and the representations we have, but of unconscious relations of a libidinal nature ... that these unconscious relations were therefore the real substrates of social phenomena, including militant phenomena. The relationship between the militant and the environment in which they evolved, but also the relationship between militants, between themselves, is an unconscious relationship. Primarily unconscious. A relationship of desire. It starts from there. So, it was an approach that was absolutely refused by the Trotskyists... The ‘new breed of militants’ is opposed to Trotskyist militants or Communist militants. It’s a militant capable of managing his emotional problems, his psycho-sexual problems. That was Félix’s ambition, to which I very much subscribed, and Rostain and all that gang. That was very, very, strong! We’ve tried to apply all that to the Cerfi.”¹⁰⁴

103 Interview with Michel Rostain, February 2021.

104 In Morford, p. 57.

This is how CERFI was re-invented: as a self-managed research cooperative, as a possibility to live and work otherwise. At its foundation, besides Guattari, was a core group composed of François Fourquet, Hervé Maury, Liane Mozère, Lion Murard, Michel Rostain and Anne Querrien. This group described itself as the *mafia*, in the sense that it was both an organisation that was within and against the state, using state funding to work against it. Embedded within a vast network of militant connections very soon others would join them, such as Marie-Thérèse Vernet Stragiotti, Françoise Lévy, Gérard Grass, Jeanine Christiany, Claude Harmelle, Luc and Thierry Rosenzweig, Christian Hennion, François Pain, Numa Murard, Claudine Dardy, Georges Préli, Micheline Maurice, Claude Rouot, Nicole Préli, Prisca Bachelet, Georges Goldman, José Luis Aguirre, Serge Ananian, Philippe Gumpelowicz or ex-GIP members Florence Pétry and Arianne Cotlenko, among many others. The full list of CERFI members is almost impossible to determine, since besides this core group, others had a more irregular connection. In any case, at some point, CERFI would have over 60 people on its payroll.

CERFI before CERFI

Now, we should note that CERFI had already been formally constituted in 1967, under the *Law on Associations 1901* with Félix Guattari as the president, Anne Querrien as the Secretary General, and François Fourquet as the Treasurer. At the time of its foundation. CERFI's legal status, as a bureau d'études, meant that it could do what FGERI could not: receive state contracts to conduct research and employ people to work as researchers. The legal document of its constitution stated CERFI's aims in the most professional way possible:

“The aim of CERFI is to pursue concrete studies and research in the spirit of synthesis of the human sciences and interdisciplinary research, which characterises the work of the Federation of Groups for Institutional Studies and Research (F.G.E.R.I.). Its object, as defined

in the statutes, is: to carry out studies relating to the management and conditions of economic and social development of local authorities, cultural organisations, companies and social institutions etc; to promote statistical research, economic, sociological and psycho-sociological surveys, urban planning, concerning the development of cities and regions; to develop these researches and studies with the participation of the users in all the phases of the investigations; to organise the training of educators, schoolteachers, cultural animators, nurses, administrative staff, in the research itself. In carrying out its programmes, CERFI practises interdisciplinary teamwork, from the general conception of the programme to the most concrete aspects of its execution".¹⁰⁵

It is hard to identify in the writing of these aims the same authors that had written the Nine Theses of the left opposition. It is not clear how in this formulation CERFI would contribute to the development of 'new forms of revolutionary organisation.' Had this been written simply as a cover for their actual intentions? Perhaps. But another way of interpreting such language is to consider how in addition to concerns with forms of communist and militant organisation, FGERI and CERFI members were equally concerned with the concrete politics of mental health equipment and provision. In fact, the first mention of CERFI occurs in *Recherches*, in June 1967, in the issue *Architecture and Psychiatry*.¹⁰⁶ The issue condenses the research started in 1965, when Guy Ferrand and Jean-Paul Roubier, two medical programmers, and also FGERI members, were commissioned to develop a study on "Construction Rules of Psychiatric Hospitals" by the *Ministère des affaires sociales, direction d'équipement sanitaire et social* (Ministry of Social

¹⁰⁵ As per the document *Presentation du CERFI*. Unpublished document, Archives Essone-Évry (ca 1970). [Our translation]

¹⁰⁶ In fact, the colophon to *Recherches* 5 already indicates CERFI as the editor, but it is in *Recherches* 6 that the centre's role is firstly assumed in a clear way.

Affairs, Direction of Sanitary and Social Equipment). Ferrand and Roubier brought the project to the attention of FGERI, namely to the ‘architects and urbanists’ group, the ‘psychologists’ group and the ‘therapeutic’ group. From May 1966, these groups met regularly at Avenue Verzy in Paris (FGERI’s headquarters), engaging in lively discussions in an interdisciplinary environment with approximately sixty people. It is on the advice of the two medical programmers that the CERFI is first created, as a centre of studies capable of transforming the reflections of the FGERI into paid advice.¹⁰⁷

The research on *Architecture and Psychiatry* published in issue 6 of *Revue Recherches* would be foundational for CERFI in ways that go beyond the original suggestion by Ferrand and Roubier. At the core of the commission was the problem of programming mental health equipment in France. Programming – which typically refers to the process of conceiving a brief that is then given to architects – requires an awareness of both current and future needs. For example: in relation to a hospital, the programme would be a description of a series of functions, with their square metres, identifying necessary organisational relations, quantities of rooms or numbers of people that should serve, etc. In the perspective of Ferrand and Roubier, in what concerned mental health, programming was failing. It resulted from decisions made by bureaucrats that in their statistical identification of needs completely ignored local necessities.¹⁰⁸ As noted by architect Alan Fabre in the text “*Programmation*” published in the same issue, state programming was mostly derived of a bureaucratic approach and of a logic internal to its own functioning, territorial instead of sectorial, and therefore without an adequate ability to recognise (let alone incorporate) needed

107 See Anne Querrien, “Le CERFI, l’expérimentation sociale et l’État: témoignage d’une petite main” in *L’État à l’épreuve des sciences sociales La fonction recherche dans les administrations sous la Ve République*. In an interview with us, Anne Querrien mentioned that they also discussed with Isaac Joseph a possible structure of the research group as action-research. Interview with Anne Querrien, January, 2020.

108 Alain Fabre in *Recherches* 6 “Architecture et Psychiatrie”, p. 280.

adjustments in response to different local conditions.¹⁰⁹ To move beyond these limitations, programming had to be reconsidered in both its ambitions and methodological presuppositions.

A re-thinking of mental health programming aligned with the demands made by many members of the Institutional Psychotherapy movement and, in particular, by the *Groupe de Sèvres* and the GTP-SI¹¹⁰, for the sectorisation of mental health provision.¹¹¹ The proposal by Ferrand and Roubier to base a new health provision not on large scale hospitals, but on small 100 bed hospitals, one in each sector and with adjustment abilities, embodied some of the central proposals of sectorisation, as it replaced a centralised provision by distributed smaller hospitals better able of being articulated with extra-hospital equipment and their local context as a network. It is this network, and not the hospital, that would allow for therapeutic continuity and different types of engagements for the users (day hospitals, therapeutic ateliers, domicile consultations, social centres, etc).¹¹² In Guattari's words, the goal was "organising a *milieu* of therapeutic life in con-

¹⁰⁹ Alain Fabre, *ibid.*, pp. 279–286

¹¹⁰ The *Groupe de Sèvres* consisted of a series of meetings between 1957–1958 that brought together multiple French psychotherapists to discuss the sectorisation of mental health care in France and, among others, the involvement of nurses in psychotherapy. It led to the *Groupe de travail de psychothérapie et de sociothérapie institutionnelles* (GTPSI).

¹¹¹ In a context where the practises of asylum institutions were being replaced by large scale hospitals outside of town – access to green spaces and the lower cost of land, being central to the decision – sectorisation demanded a re-thinking of mental health provision in terms of equipment size, quantity and capacity to adjust to different local realities.

¹¹² Sectorisation was in part influenced by ideas of 'geo-psychiatry' – a term coined by Agnès Masson, to speak of the needed articulation between different types and scales of care facilities – an approach that underlined the practices of desalienation put in place at Saint-Alban by Agnès Masson, François Tosquelle and Lucien Bonnafé among others. See Joana Masó, "Du collectif avec des femmes: Soin et politique autour de l'hôpital psychiatrique de Saint-Alban, 1930-1960", *Cahiers du Genre*, 2022/2 no. 73, 2022, pp. 233–262. In English see, Masó, "The Collective's Women", trans. by Perwana Nazif and Jesse Newberg, *Parapraxis*, 4 August 2024, available at <https://www.parapraxismagazine.com/articles/women-of-the-collective>.

stant inter-relation with a milieu of social environment.”¹¹³ Finally, a crucial point of Ferrand and Roubier’s proposal was the development of adjustable norms instead of fixed norms – regarding square meters, location or orientation – for the programming of equipment, as these would be more able to account for changes in conditions and individual circumstances.

This commission for researching the programming of equipment led to a multi-scalar re-thinking of psychotherapy at the level of territory, the city, and the building; and to the cross learning of languages and approaches between the different involved disciplines. Not by coincidence, Roubier and Ferrand’s proposition of urban psychiatric hospitals with less than 100 beds had the exact characteristics of La Borde, a clinic that was gaining national and international recognition and which they visited while developing their proposal. Thus, if La Borde was initially relevant for CERFI as a training ground of what would be many of its members, now it provided a model as well for a new form of mental health institution at the urban scale.¹¹⁴

Many aspects of this research on psychiatry beyond the walls of the hospital would be worth detailing much further (such as the planning of patient-caregiver relations or the differences between the critique of programming coming from psychiatrists vs the critique from architects), but the point we want to make is how this research was crucial to CERFI. The reason for this lies in the fact that some themes that would animate CERFI’s life after 1968, were first identified here,

¹¹³ Pierre-Félix Guattari, “Présentation”, *Recherches* 6 “Architecture et Psychiatrie”, p. 5.

¹¹⁴ Only two other references make their way into Roubier and Ferrand’s proposal, namely the case of the Hospital for 13th arrondissement, Soisy-Sur-Seine, designed by Nicole Sonolet (whose plans were included in the issue) and the Institut Marcel Rivière. For Sonolet’s work in designing and theorising care, see Meredith TenHoor’s important research, for instance, ‘The Design of Community Mental Healthcare: Nicole Sonolet in Postwar France’, in *GTA Papers* 7, *Care*, 2022, eds. Torsten Lange and Gabrielle Schaad, ETH Zurich, pp. 44-56.

namely: the encounter of planning with psychiatry and architecture; a critique to the state's mode of calculating social demands and needs; the importance of programming at the intersection of different disciplines; the proposal of dynamic normative systems; and reference to La Borde as a model. After the reformulation of CERFI after 1968 these interrogations will attain a central importance.

First Contracts

CERFI's first significant research grant, in 1969, took them to the Ivory Coast. It came about due to a connection of one of its members, Janine Christiany, with the education ministry of the Ivory Coast, and led to a commission by UNESCO and the French Ministry of Cooperation to programme an Audiovisual Education complex in Bouaké.¹¹⁵ This included the development of a new architectural type for primary schools that would deliver these audiovisual classes. The research project lasted for approximately two years, and involved a small team flying to Abidjan and Bouaké in 1970. [See *Televisual Education*, pp. 113–126]

While in *Architecture and Psychiatry*, FGERI had essentially facilitated meetings between programmers and architects, in this case, they were finally experimenting with programming. Regarding programming, CERFI notes at this time: "It is often described as a function situated between the client, who has defined a need and calculated an overall financial envelope, and the architect, who must receive sufficient information from the programmer to draw up the architectural plans. [...] At the scale of collective equipment, architects and programmers are distinct. The programmer is usually a design office; but needs are usually only expressed when they have already been determined in terms of form, institution and standards."¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Interview with Anne Querrien, January 2020.

¹¹⁶ *Recherches* 15, p. 5.

In the case of Bouaké, the issue was the design of collective equipment and for that reason programming was only partially controlled by the architectural teams. However, there were no predefined norms and standards for televisual education. Thus, if in principle, CERFI had the freedom to question the needs to which the programme was supposed to answer before they defined a brief to be given to the architectural teams, and the lack of pre-defined norms promised some possibility of invention, in practice, they were entering a space of dispute – between architects, a multi-headed (and multinational) client and its different management and consulting teams.

Moreover, the overall brief was deeply problematic: the design of a classroom type to be implemented across the country clearly implied a territorial project. Similarly to what happened in other nation-building processes that followed decolonisation, it still carried a colonial, or at least occidental logic – particularly in focusing on French language, and depending on French technology and UNESCO's pedagogical expertise. Critical of this, CERFI decided to align with the Ivorian Ministry of Education and their ambition to 'decolonise' the education system, under the motto of '*l'Ivorisation des cadres*'. According to Fourquet, this resonated with their ideological support to third-world Marxist revolutionary processes and could be seen as a form of Black Power, partially explaining why CERFI decided to continue engaged in the process.¹¹⁷

During this brief period, CERFI teams produced extensive reports on programming the Audiovisual Complex (Alain Fabre, Hervé Maury and François Fourquet) and the model schools (Janine Christiany, Jean-Pierre Petard and Anne Querrien). They drafted the design of architectural types, considering adaptation to different urban and rural scenarios, possible materials and modes of construction. [See *Televisual Education*, pp. 113–126] Balanced with a commitment to use this opportunity to fight engrained colonial and technical approaches

117 See François Fourquet, "Intensités Africaines", *Recherches* 15, p. 12.

to education – CERFI were mostly in opposition to the technocratic approach by UNESCO – they made two key moves in their approach to programming: firstly, CERFI decided to interview Ivorian teachers about what they thought the future programme should focus on; and secondly, they argued that any initial programme (such as their proposal) should be seen as transitory, until Ivorian teams would be able to lead the process and propose institutional changes. What was important for CERFI was to provide tools that would allow Ivorians to programme televisual education by themselves. This was a positioning that eventually, and perhaps not unexpectedly, would lead to their dismissal from the project.

In foregrounding the opinions of Ivorian teachers, CERFI wanted to move away from the colonial and UN style approach. However, in hindsight, CERFI would realise that their alternative to statistics-based programming couldn't properly shift away from technocratic modes of determining the demand the programme should address, since it relied on an equally limited method of proposing an inquiry to users. This strategy was equally limited in time and unable to capture in a meaningful way the future needs of the institution. When four years later they published this work in *Recherches* 15, CERFI provided an important reflection on their decision to place the responsibility of programming on the Ivorian teams. For us “without realising it, we were trapped in the same chains: to a narrow, *a priori* conception of knowledge [UNESCO], we opposed a broader conception, where the truth emerges not from an *a priori* system of technical or sociological knowledge, but from the very words of users, insofar as they express their more or less unconscious desires.”¹¹⁸

Perhaps more consistent with the institutional analysis approach that inspired them, was their concern with the possibility of the programming to evolve in time. But clearly, the process they were invited to participate in, lacked the necessary conditions for a

118 *Recherches* 15, p.17. [Our translation]

collective enunciation to emerge from the side of those that would eventually use and manage this equipment. This small team of CERFI never managed to escape the position of mediators, who despite their best efforts, were seen by the local teachers as equally foreign as the other teams.

Slowly, more contracts started to animate the life of CERFI, such as contracts with La Borde. From the analysis of the correspondence between Jean Oury and Guattari, we understand that there were several contracts between CERFI and La Borde between 1968 and at least until 1977. Letters suggest that the first contract was for CERFI to take over the administrative management of the clinic's activities.¹¹⁹ This contract was linked to a research project to "study the problems raised by the use of institutional therapeutic techniques in a specific institution", which included the organisation and management of activities at La Borde. CERFI's remit included managing the occupational therapy workshops (ceramics, tailoring, sewing, painting and drawing), the management of the equestrian club, as well as organising cultural activities such as film, cultural evenings or sports activities. The agreement also included participation in the organisation of the committee's annual party (*la kermesse*), group psychotherapy, staff training and external liaison between the clinic and the FGERI. This project was funded by CORDES in 1972 and resulted in the publication of *Recherches 21, Histoires de La Borde*¹²⁰, and the report *L'institutionnalisation des collectifs de travail* in 1973.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ A letter from CERFI, dated 2 January 1968, states that "following the agreements reached between Doctor Jean Oury, representing the Clinique of Cour-Cheverny, and CERFI, as of 1 January 1968, CERFI will take over the administrative management of the institutional group therapy activities of the Clinique de Cour-Cheverny." Unpublished document, IMEC, *Fonds Félix Guattari*. [Our translation]

¹²⁰ CERFI, "Histoires de La Borde: 10 ans de psychothérapie institutionnelle à la clinique de Cour-Cheverny 1953-1963," *Recherches*, 21, March-April (1976).

¹²¹ Michel Rostain, Georges Préli, Gerard Gérard, Numa Murard and Claudine Dardy, *Institutionnalisation des collectifs de travail*, recherches CORDES 1973. Unpublished report, CERFI archives.

In another case, a contract established between the CERFI and La Borde, signed on 25 April 1969 and effective from 1 May 1969, focused on developing Paris as a *milieu of passage*.¹²² According to the contract's introduction "the aim of this contract is to help former patients of the Clinique de Cour-Cheverny to resume the social and professional life they had to give up when they were hospitalised". It is worth pointing out that CERFI's work in such circumstances of post-hospital care was to be thought of in the framework of institutional therapeutic techniques. The need for this was justified by a critique of the sector's implementation and in recognition of the constraints of La Borde, notably its poor geographical location, far from the city, and the fact that it received many patients from the Paris region, which made it essential to think about post-hospital care.¹²³ CERFI was meant to weave a support network or passageway to help former patients with "social reintegration" by creating a *milieu d'accueil* in Paris. This consisted of both material and psychotherapeutic efforts to prevent relapse due to "isolation or the impossibility of solving material and human problems such as reemployment, housing, etc." Importantly, the contract states that the *milieu d'accueil* should be based on the same guiding principles as those applied by La Borde, and so "it would be advisable to encourage the creation of a group of former patients which, at its own level, would be interested in all the problems raised by 'resocialisation' and would be the privileged interlocutor of both the clinic and the CERFI."¹²⁴ Though this particu-

122 Contract between CERFI and La Borde, 1 May 1969. IMEC, *Fonds Félix Guattari*.

123 "Psychiatric institutions in France have developed very limited forms of transition zones between inpatient status and normal working life (...) The sectoral institutions provided for in the ministerial circular dated 15 May 1960 have in fact only been set up in one or two limited experiments, such as psychiatric clinics, sheltered workshops, homes for ex-patients..." Contract between CERFI and La Borde, 1 May 1969. IMEC, *Fonds Félix Guattari*.

124 Contract between CERFI and La Borde, 25 April 1969. Unpublished document. IMEC, *Fonds Félix Guattari*.

lar contract was extremely detailed, we do not know whether or how or if it was implemented. It is most likely that CERFI did so informally and not as described. With regard to material assistance, CERFI was to set up a social service “to provide assistance in the form of: a) temporary financial support to enable the person concerned; b) the search for accommodation; c) the search for a job suited to the skills of the former patient”. In terms of its institutional responsibilities, CERFI’s duties covered “everything from looking after former patients to establishing contact with a psychiatrist or psychotherapist in order to initiate analytical psychotherapy (without the need for further hospitalisation)”. CERFI should play an advisory role, work closely with the Society for Institutional Psychotherapy and endeavour to organise meetings for former patients and relatives of patients. In terms of socio-cultural support, CERFI was considered responsible for providing a form of care “comparable to traditional cultural and social activities”. In the light of institutional psychotherapy, it was also responsible for ensuring constant psychotherapeutic supervision of all aspects of cultural life organised within the group of former patients (examples given were the organisation of cultural events, group outings, film clubs, discussions and the creation of a journal for former patients. It is noted that CERFI would put at their disposal the FGERI network of research groups. Lastly, and most importantly, CERFI should open premises in Paris – in the centre, if possible – which could house a permanent social service and serve as a meeting place for former patients.¹²⁵ The cost of the establishment of a social service and

125 A decade later, this idea was taken up by Danielle Sivadon, Jean-Claude Polack, Alain Valtier, Christine Cartier and others. Two associations were created: a patient’s collective, called *La Trame*, and another for people not officially diagnosed, caregivers or friends of diagnosed individuals, called L’ADRES. “The idea was to form an association for patients who were not in hospital. Patients in Paris and the surrounding area. We suggested that these people form an association with a president, treasurer, and secretary general, as with all associations. They had to organise themselves to have a place to meet and do things. This worked for seven or eight years in the 1980s. I attended many meetings where I worked with friends

the rent of a social space was to be paid by La Borde, on condition that no personal contribution would be required from former patients or their families. In particular, former patients were not obliged to join. However, it is important to stress that the premises would not only be reserved for former patients. On the contrary, they should be open to other groups or institutions, precisely to prevent the group of ex-patients from “closing in on itself.”

During this period CERFI also received an invitation to train FNAC sellers in 1970. FNAC (*Fédération nationale d'achat des cadres*) was not yet the large distribution chain we know today.¹²⁶ According to Michel Rostain, when CERFI came to work with the salespeople, the problem was that the salespeople, who were also militants, were conflicted about being in sales and making profits, and were resisting management’s ‘sales demand’ by various methods, including what management interpreted as psychological problems. They were refusing to be ‘better sellers.’¹²⁷ CERFI was called in to help. After weeks of training, their final proposal was that FNAC should focus on being a centre where people could experiment with all kinds of equipment, film, radio, cameras, etc., and that the salesperson’s role wasn’t to ‘sell’ but to teach people how to use the equipment. The client would then buy the product or not, provided that it was not done out of sheer consumerism. Quoting from CERFI’s collective paper “*Le concept de*

who had also been to La Borde. We created a second association called L’ADRES. This time, it was a group of non-patients who came together with the same aim: to help and enable patients in Paris to live their lives outside of the hospital or the clinic. It was a self-organised group. The two associations were autonomous, but we met regularly and worked together.” Interview with Jean-Claude Polack, December 2019. For an insightful exposition of the ‘bi-polar montage’ of *Trames* and *Adres*, see Paul Brétécher, 2019, “Dispositifs et dispositions”, in *Avec Danielle Sivadon, Chimères*, 94, 1, pp. 155–160, available at <https://shs.cairn.info/revue-chimeres-2019-1-page-155>.

¹²⁶ Founded by left-wing activists, FNAC began as a club selling photographic equipment at discounted prices from a Paris apartment, fighting its suppliers to sell cheaper products to the public.

¹²⁷ Interview with Michel Rostain, December 2024.

force collective de travail": "for CERFI, there was no point in constantly demonstrating to salespeople how the model salesperson should behave, while at the same time offering them a psychologist to hear their confessions about their failures to resemble the 'good salesperson'. No real case will conform to the model represented in the lesson, and it is precisely in this small difference that the eroticism of the sales act will lie, which will make the sale a success or a failure. It's better to explore with the sellers what they invest collectively, and individually, in this social position."¹²⁸

Despite the varied opportunities for reflection these engagements allowed for, these contracts were still small, not able to sustain CERFI's members. In 1969, they also attempted to secure funding for programming the *Institut National des Sourds*, an association for people with hearing impairments. Their approach involved a team of programmers and architects working together, which Guattari presented as "a collective rather than a collection of specialists locked in their own discipline".¹²⁹

¹²⁸ CERFI, *La formation de la force de travail collective. Note sur l'avancement des travaux*, 29 décembre 1973, Commissariat général au plan et à la productivité, Bureau des marchés et conventions, unpublished report, p. 3. It is worth pointing out that CERFI's collaboration with FNAC was something immediately picked up in criticism and accusations of cynicism. This is the case of Robert Linhart's seven-column article entitled *Gauchisme à vendre* (Leftism for sale), published in *Libération* on 7 December, which accused the CERFI of selling leftist ideas in order to make money. The approach of the article was more or less as follows: The CERFI uses its experience of militancy and institutional analysis to train better salesmen for the FNAC. See "La polémique de *Libération*" in *Recherches* 17, p. 557.

¹²⁹ "Lettres du CERFI adressées au sous-directeur de la Famille, de la vieillesse et de l'action sociale", 20 March 1969. Unpublished document, IMEC, *Fonds Félix Guattari*.

Dossiers and Visual Documents

TELEVISUAL EDUCATION

CERFI was funded by the French Ministry of Cooperation to support the architectural programming of a national televisual education system for Ivory Coast. This was an intergovernmental and multidisciplinary initiative involving, in addition to CERFI, the Ivorian Ministry of National Education, ORTF (*Office de la radio télévision française*), UNESCO, the French Ministry of Cooperation, and many other organisations. The aim was to programme a school production centre, a teacher training centre and reception centres (schools) to be implemented throughout the country. The French Ministry of Cooperation decided to commission CERFI to review the programme before the architects began to develop the project.

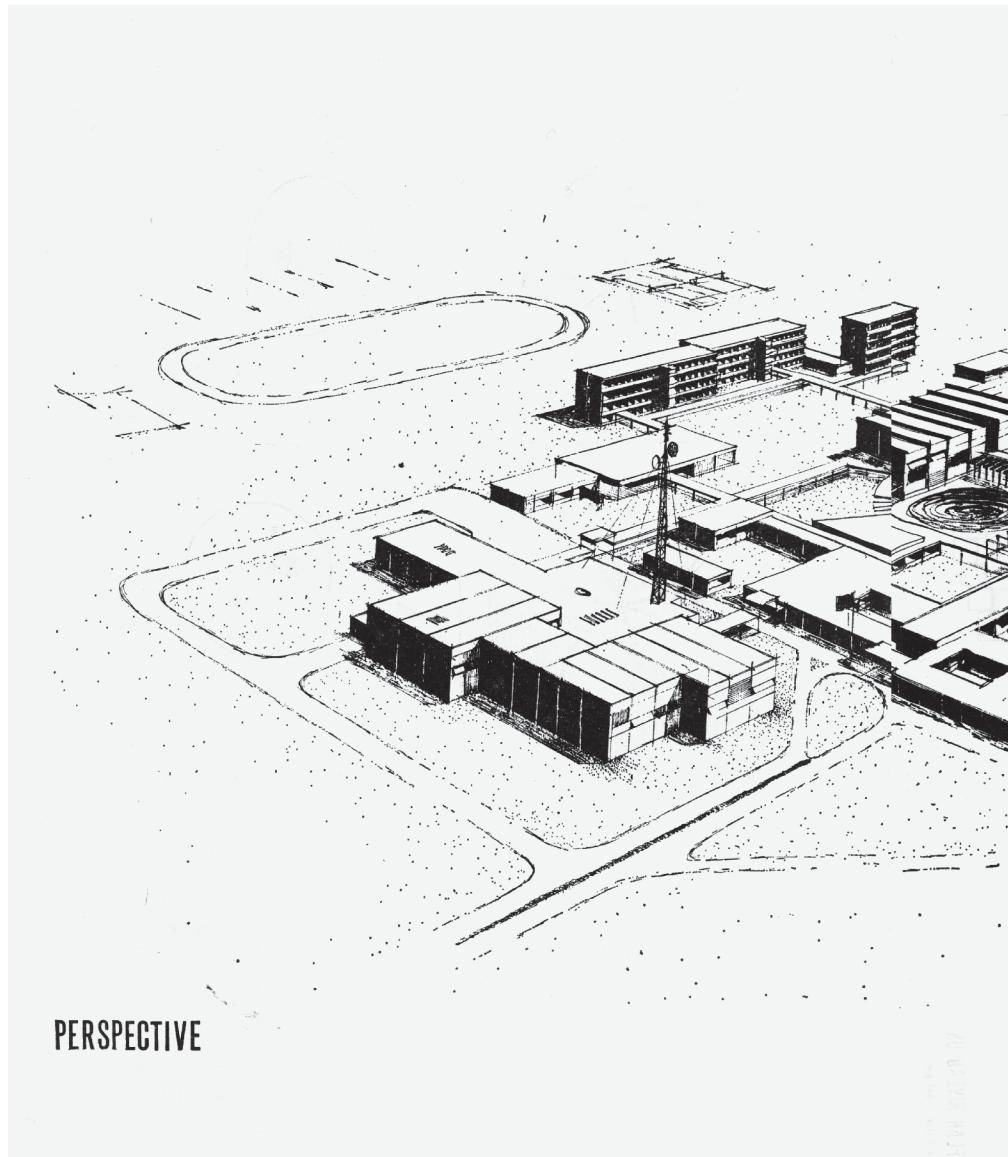
The CERFI team was divided into two groups: Hervé Maury, François Fourquet and Alain Fabre focused on the programming of the school programme production centre, while Janine Christiany, Anne Querrien and Jean-Pierre Petard, concentrated on the teacher training centre. This was an important first opportunity for CERFI to explore programming beyond the confines of La Borde or student organisations.

In 1970, CERFI travelled to Abijan and Bouaké and met with the various partners. It was with the Ivorian teachers and architects that CERFI wanted to develop a more in-depth conversation, weary of the technocratic and colonial logic of the French government and UNESCO. Benefiting from having architects on their team, and working with architects from the BNET (*Bureau national d'Études techniques et de développement*), CERFI's research went so far as to propose design sketches for both the Televisual Centre and the model classrooms.

Guiding their overall approach was the idea that the programme for such a complex system across an entire territory should be able to evolve in time, as a continuous programming exercise, so as to allow for pedagogical evolution and respond to different local conditions. Programming responsibilities should fall upon the Ivorian teachers once they had completed their technical training - in that way, moving beyond the programme set by UNESCO. CERFI tried to ground this approach by resorting to interviews with future teachers. The

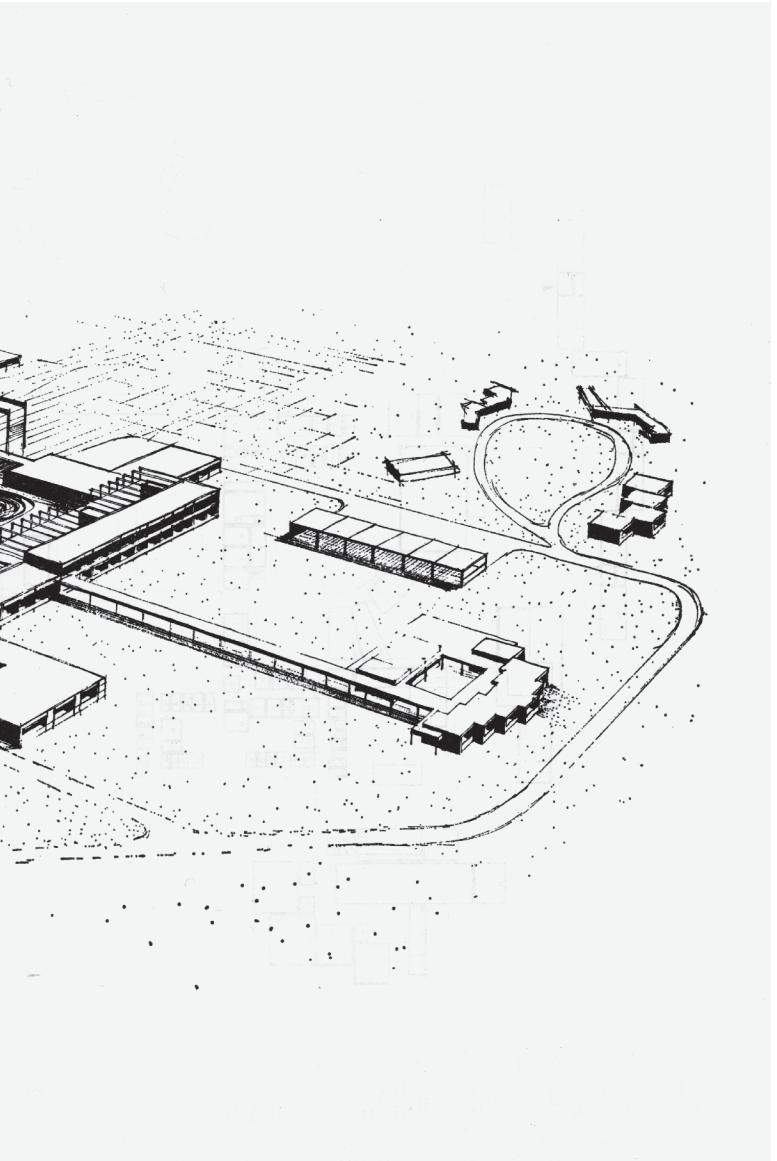
aim was to avoid the implementation of both too static and Western-centric programmes.

In the end, none of their proposals were implemented. From the perspective of UNESCO officials, CERFI's intervention and ambition of continuous programming led to delays that could have been avoided. Moreover, CERFI's attempts at incorporating architects, teachers, and all other participants of the various teams in the programming process led to an 'ambiguity' in the understanding of the different 'user' roles, say, between students and teachers. This ambiguity is exactly what CERFI desired, but clearly not what their partners expected. CERFI were eventually removed from the project and a new architectural team came in that never took CERFI's work into consideration.

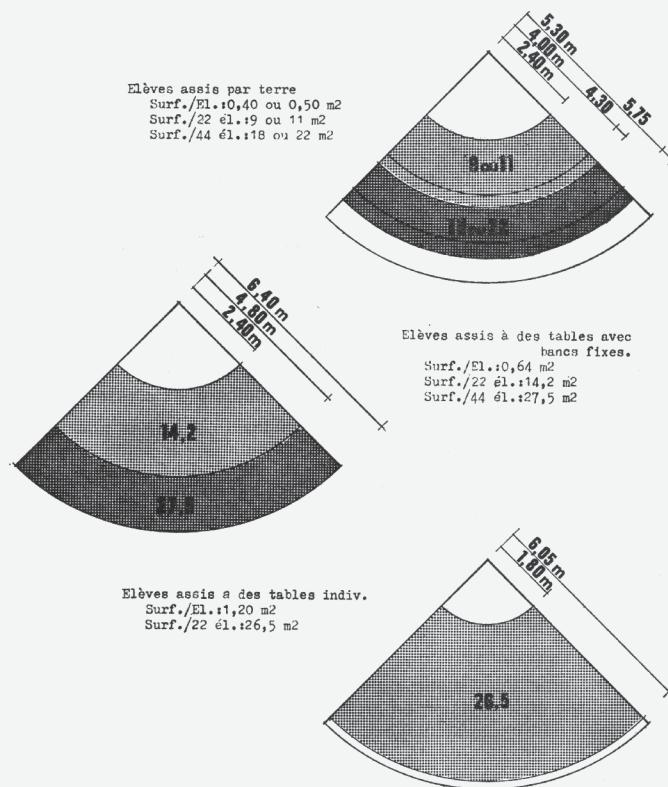


PERSPECTIVE

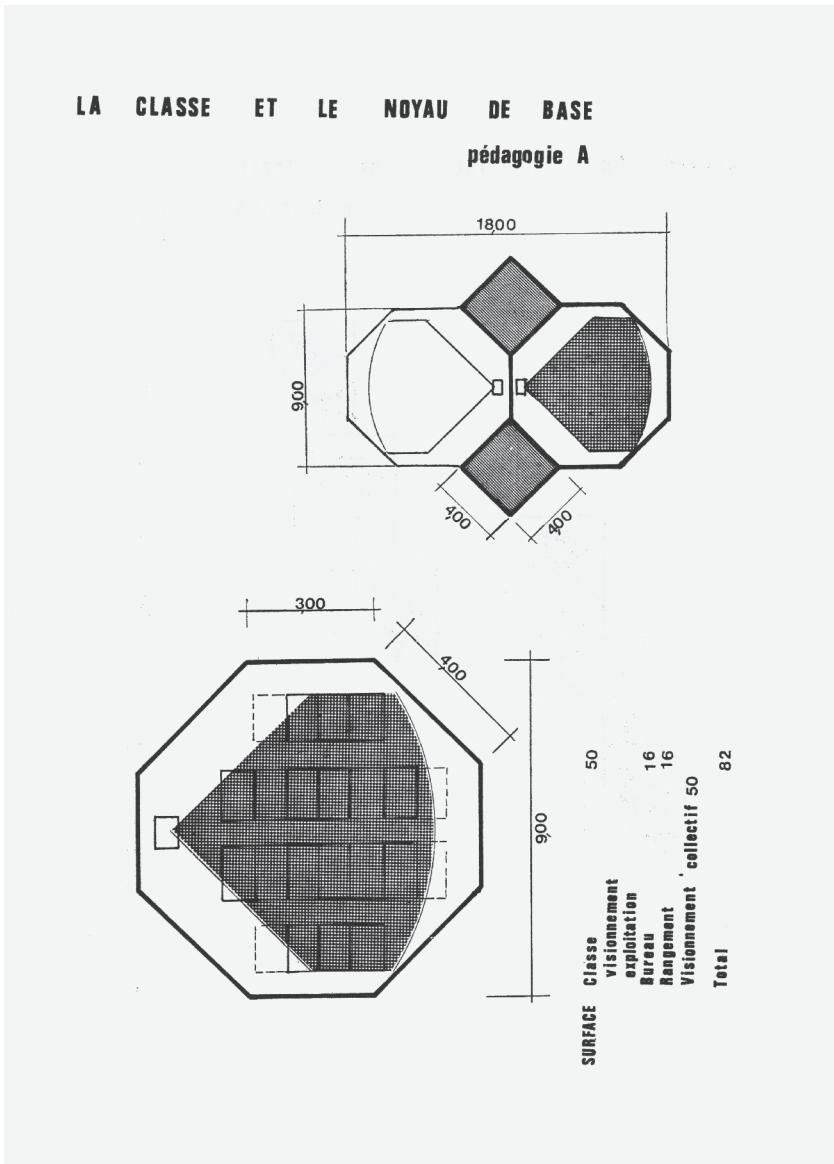
▲ Although CERFI was not responsible for producing an architectural design, based on what they had learnt during the programming phase and from interacting with users, they felt it was important to give 'spatial expression' to their research into the television complex's programming. They gave these preliminary studies the name 'tool for interpreting the programme'. Perspective View. *Recherches 15, Programmation / Architecture: La Coopération en Pratique*, 1974, pp. 120-121.



AIRE DE VISIONNEMENT DU RECEPTEUR



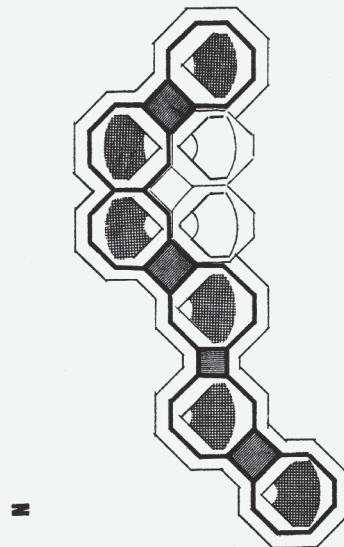
▲ Study of ideal television viewing distances in a classroom according to numbers of students, determining optimal viewing and working areas.
Recherches 15, p.69.

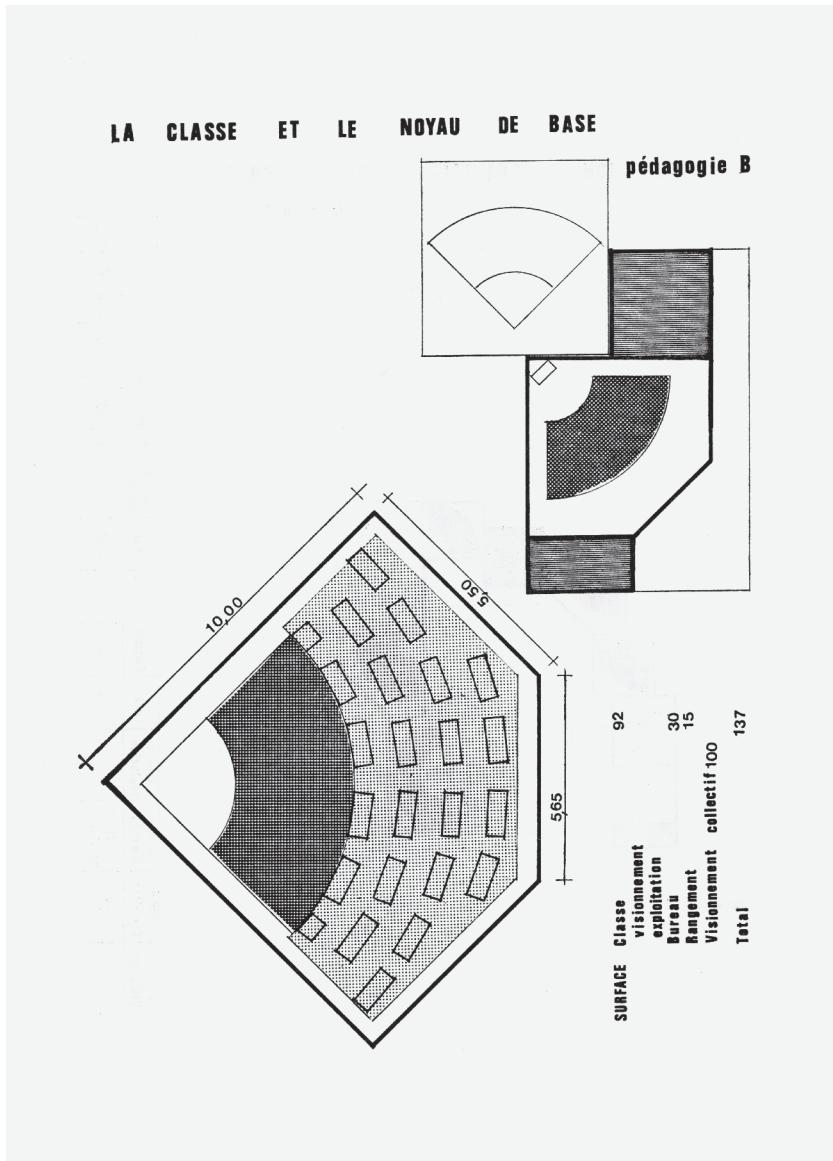


▲ CERFI developed three options for classroom and school configurations, based on different pedagogical principles. Option A followed a traditional teaching pattern, in which the teacher stands alone at the front of the class and the production centre dictates every detail of how programmes are to be used. This meant that the programme would be identical throughout the country, with little consideration given to the specific characteristics of villages, towns or regions. *Recherches 15*, p.73.

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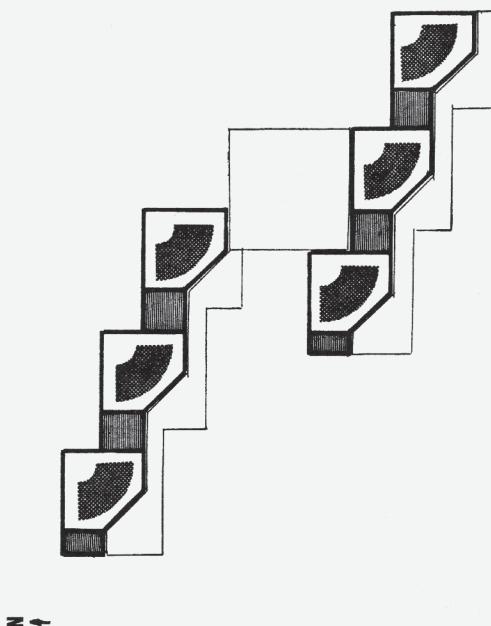
pédagogie A





▲ Option B proposed that the initiative for how to use the televisual programmes lies with the teacher. The production centre would give teachers a great deal of autonomy, enabling them to adapt their teaching to local conditions as much as possible. However, as teachers would remain isolated in their classrooms, CERFI believed that they would still encounter many difficulties. *Recherches* 15, p.75.

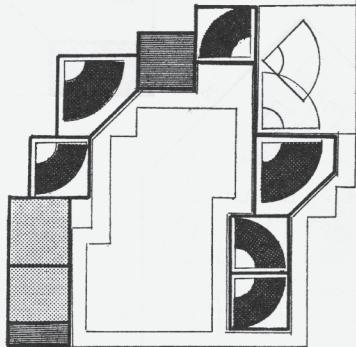
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† School's spatial organisation - Option B. *Recherches* 15, p.74.

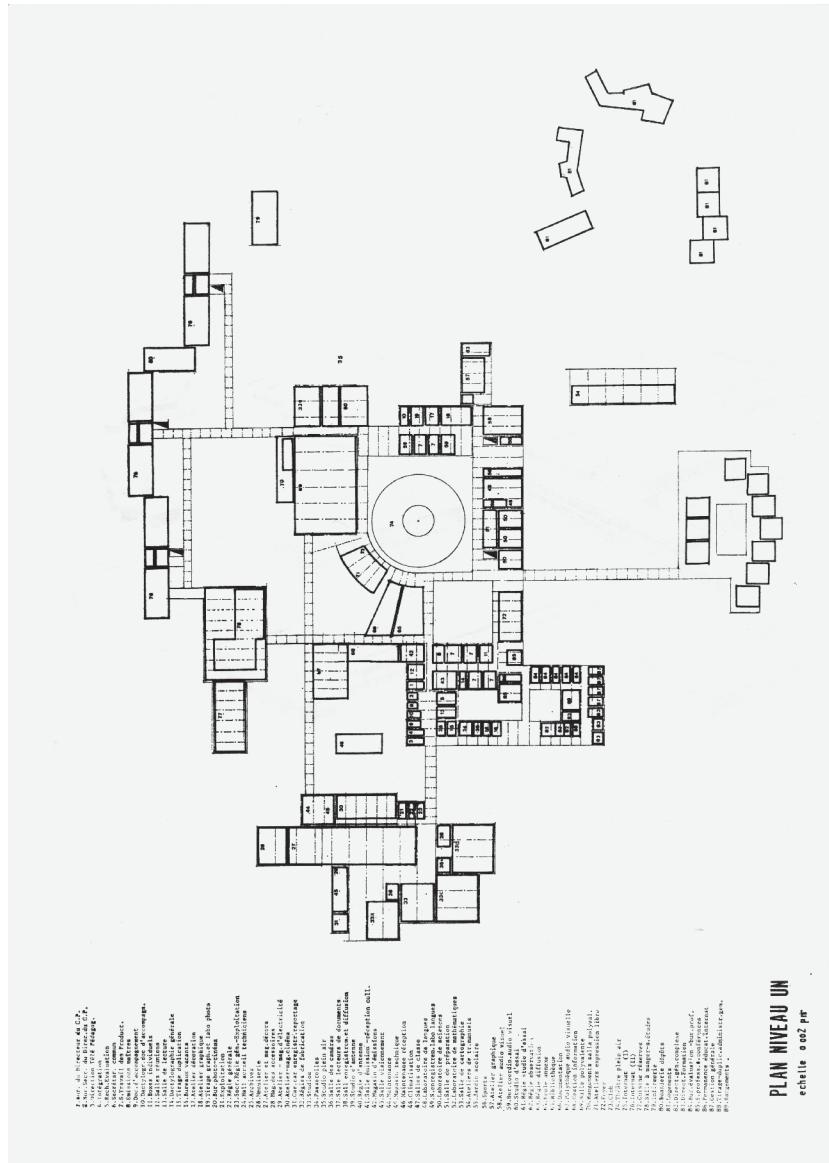
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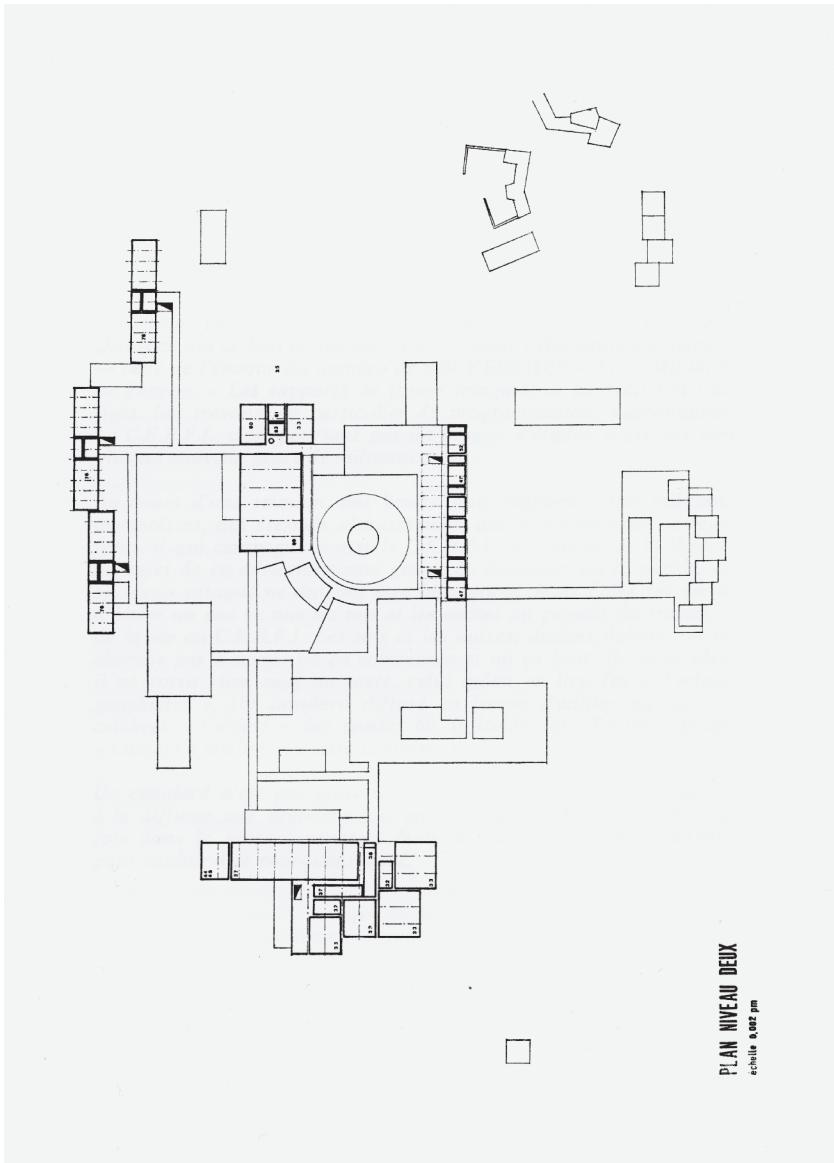
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84	42x42	84	42x64	420	24	42	486	165	6	indiv.	336	++	C

▲ Option C was CERFI's preferred choice. Citing the influence of Freinet, they proposed that pupils should be able to move around the school freely. For this to be possible, all fixed tables and benches would need to be removed. They also suggested that teachers would benefit from forming a collective, with each member specialising in their area of interest. This would give the group of teachers more initiative than options A and B (*Recherches* 15, p. 76).

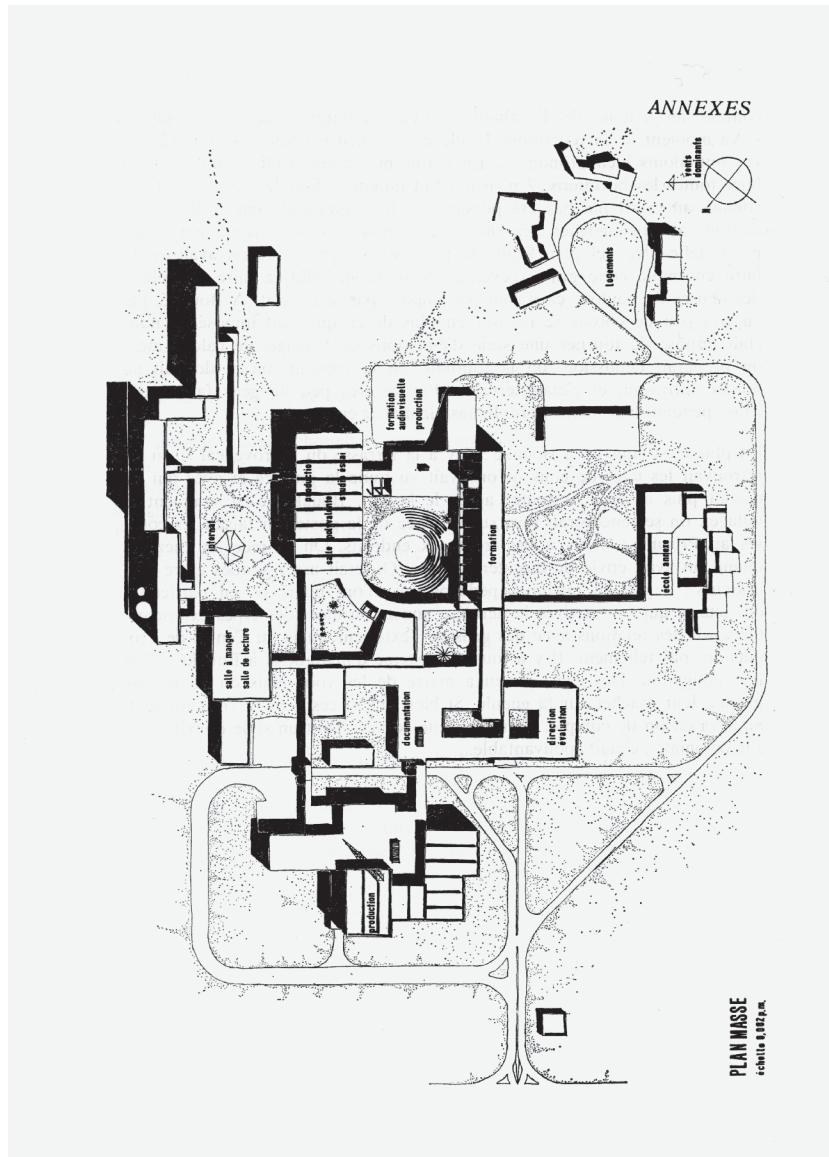


↑ First Floor. *Recherches* 15, p.122.



▲ Second Floor. *Recherches* 15, p.123.

ANNEXES



▲ Site plan where we can see the proposed location of the school (to the right) in relation to the formation and production centres (centre). *Recherches* 15, p.118.

CHAPTER 3

PROGRAMMING AGAINST THE STATE

IN THE EARLY 1970S, CERFI BENEFITTED FROM MAJOR RESEARCH contracts from the *Mission de la recherche urbaine* (MRU) of the French Ministry of Equipment which would shape its future research programme for years to come.¹³⁰ The MRU was headed by Michel Conan, a senior official of the Ministry of Equipment, who, after May 1968, controlled important research funds.¹³¹ Conan was concerned about the lack of research in both universities and the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS) that could address the demands of those protesting against low quality mass social housing (*Habitation à loyer modéré* or HLM). He decided to support independent research teams able to develop new approaches, and granted access to these funds to young and independent researchers.

After encountering CERFI's work in *Recherches 6, Architecture and Psychiatry*, Conan made contact with the group. He was interested in CERFI's critique of how the state analysed questions of supply and demand, and apparently captivated by their suggestion that it was important to pay attention to the institutional unconscious. As we noted in the previous section, *Recherches 6*'s critique relied on the idea that, when planning new equipment, the state simply added more of the same, in a purely quantitative logic, without any ability of identifying

¹³⁰ The *Mission de recherche urbaine*, created in 1971 was a collaboration between the *Délégation générale de la recherche scientifique et technique* (DGRST) and the *Ministère de l'Équipement*. It should be noted that in the context of the French government, missions have been created to address local problems, bypassing local government. See James M. Rubenstein, *The French New Towns*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, p. 44.

¹³¹ Two key events in French politics need to be mentioned to provide context. The first was the start of the 6th development plan under the Presidency of Georges Pompidou, where a concern with social and collective issues was added to the focus on economic and industrial development of previous plans. The result is the planning of collective equipment at the scale of the French territory. The second event was the election of Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas with his project of a 'new society'. Chaban-Delmas was interested in addressing the causes of 1968's social unrest, and investing in research and universities was a central component of his project.

new types of social demands. After their first meeting, Conan invited CERFI to write a proposal summarising their ideas. CERFI's response came in the form of the text "Institutional Research and Urban Research" penned by Félix Guattari and Anne Querrien and published for the first time in this book. [See *Institutional Research and Urban Research*, pp. 363–370]

In their proposal, Guattari and Querrien argued for the need to create a new figure, that of the institutional programmer, a social role able to cut across institutional blockages. In their words "... the institutionalisation of a new social role which can articulate the specific findings of these diverse disciplines, translate the interpellations of one into the language of another, and bring together in a coherent whole the actors whose interventions are otherwise contrasted against each other and viewed with a mutual lack of understanding."¹³² According to them, the role of programmer would address both difficulties in communicating across the disciplines of architecture, urban planning and psychiatry, but also across broader institutional positions and roles.

In the way in which it is described, the institutional programmer was akin to the analyst in enabling a kind of 'third party' discourse to emerge, i.e., a discourse that would cut across different disciplinary practices and institutional positions. The institutional programmer was a collective subject, and institutional programming was the process by which this collective subject able to deploy research as a form of analysis would emerge. Viewed in this way, the approach could be described as a reprise of institutional analysis, now attempting to insert itself into the state's territorial planning of equipment. As Querrien and Guattari explained:

¹³² Félix Guattari and Anne Querrien, 1970, "Institutional Research and Urban Research", unpublished document, courtesy Anne Querrien. [Our translation]

“The creation of this third-party discourse which drives the construction of new equipment, novel in its social integration, its programme, and its architecture, formulates a group, subject of this institutional creation, of all the different interlocutors who had previously been enclosed either in the discourse of technique or in the rules of the instituted. This third-party discourse, that is, the institutional programming of the planned equipment, is the product of this research that is not only interdisciplinary, but also an intervention in each of the vectors that are constitutive of the action, and a way of articulating these vectors.”¹³³

In the text by Guattari and Querrien, programming was conceived as an analytical practice potentially capable of giving rise to “subject groups”.¹³⁴ The programming of functions and spaces for determined equipment was no longer seen statically, as a moment of decision based on accumulated knowledge, but as a constant investigative process, at the heart of the institution. It was not the matter of bringing in new or external people to fill in the role of the institutional programmer (in the form of consultants or specialists) but of promoting the constitution of this new institutional figure out of those that were already part of the institution.

133 Félix Guattari and Anne Querrien, “Institutional Research and Urban Research.

134 Worthy of note is Guattari’s re-working of Jean-Paul Sartre’s theorisation of groups (seriality, the group-in-fusion, organised groups and institutions) and how this was influential to his thinking of practice (via FGERI and eventually CERFI). Inspired by Jean-Paul Sartre’s theory of groups, Guattari claimed that subject groups are properly revolutionary machines, as it is the process of becoming a subject group from a subjugated group that is in itself revolutionary. For clarification on Sartre’s theory of groups and Guattari’s theorisation of groups within the framework of institutional psychotherapy, see Caló, ‘Collective Militant Analysis’, in Deleuze and Guattari Studies, 17, no. 2, ‘Sur Analysis’. Institutional Psychotherapy and Institutional Analysis, ed. Anthony Faramelli, 2023, pp. 283–300.

Such a collective is exactly what failed to emerge in their previous experience of programming in Bouaké. There, CERFI occupied the position of programmer in its conventional sense – as external consultants – but were never able to collectivise the role, i.e., to enable the teachers to become the school programmers themselves. However, they believed that the emergence of such collective was crucial for the possibility of reframing bureaucratic approaches to supply/demand in ways that would open space for the emergence of new demands.¹³⁵ As such, their proposal corresponded to an expansion of the practice of analysis into both programming and research.

It seems to us that the crucial problem the proposal aimed to address via programming was what Guattari had started to call the forces of ‘anti-production’.¹³⁶ From state equipment to professional organisations, mental health clinics and even militant parties and organisations, the repressive forces of anti-production were everywhere. Anti-production became one of the key themes that Guattari would explore in the writing of *Anti-Oedipus* with Deleuze, as an addendum to Marx’s

135 “Using Jacques Lacan’s important distinction between desire and demand, we argued that the demand for equipment is determined above all by the supply of equipment and the resulting social representation, and that knowing what people would want was a different matter.” François Fourquet, *Recherches* 46, p. 15. It is worth noting this critique of the difference between need and demand in the sense of Lacan’s distinction between need, demand and desire. See Jacques Lacan, [1966] 2006, *Écrits*, trans.

Bruce Fink in collaboration with Héloïse Fink and Russell Grigg, London, W.W. Norton & Company. Despite this alignment, we should also note that, in *Anti-Oedipus*, Deleuze and Guattari oppose Lacan’s definition of desire as lack by arguing that desire and the unconscious should be understood as positive and productive.

136 The concept of ‘anti-production’ makes its first appearance in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, in the text “The Group and The Person. A Fragmented Balance-Sheet”, written in 1966. We notice how it appears as the operation of capitalist institutions: “It is impossible to separate the production of any consumer commodity from the institution that supports that production. The State machine and the machine of repression produce anti-production, that is to say signifiers that exist to block and prevent the emergence of any subjective process on the part of the group”. See Guattari, *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, p. 220.

binary ‘production – reproduction.’ It aimed at identifying what was truly unique to capitalism: the constant co-optation of subjectivity at all levels, and at all scales through its mode of operation, blocking any singular, autonomous subjective processes from emerging.¹³⁷

For Guattari, capitalism was characterised by the co-opting of any material or social invention and its potential of liberation, into a tool of social blockage and control. For that reason, firstly by himself, and then with Deleuze, their argument was that capitalist production was in fact a form of anti-production: “everywhere it (capitalism) mixes antiproduction with the productive forces in the immanent reproduction of its own always widened limits (the axiomatic).”¹³⁸ Anti-production was manifest in bureaucratic centralism, static organisational forms, normopathic behaviours and all sorts of derived micro-fascisms and inertias, preventing institutional formations from adjusting to the pragmatics of their existence. It was against this pervasive anti-production that analysis in the form of institutional programming was set. What was productive, in the sense of being creative, was what they would instead call ‘desiring-production’.¹³⁹

The initial encounters and discussions with Michel Conan led to a contract for a pilot study in Évry. Additionally, CERFI was invited to apply to a call for tender in 1971 on *Système économique urbain*, and specifically the sub-topic of *Les techniques de planification des équipements politiques*. According to Querrien, at the core of the demand posed by the Ministry of Equipment were two issues that to some extent had already been addressed by CERFI in *Recherches 6*: a methodology for the analysis of the social demand of equipment; and a theoretical framework for research and intervention in this context.¹⁴⁰

137 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, [1972] 2004, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

138 Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 335.

139 Deleuze and Guattari, *ibid.*, p. 9.

140 *Recherches 13*, p. 24.

CERFI's proposal was accepted, and the group was awarded a substantial contract of 300.000 francs by the *Direction de l'aménagement foncier et de l'urbanisme* (DAFU) of the *Ministère de l'équipement*. The methodology for the analysis of the social demand of equipment was developed through experimentations on the ground. Firstly, via the exploratory contract for the programming of mental health equipment for the French new town of Évry, and through subsequent contracts with the planning teams of the new towns of Marne-la-Vallée and Melun-Sénart. The theoretical framework for research and intervention was developed in parallel through a collective body of research called *Généalogie du capital* (Genealogy of Capital). We will henceforth refer to these two research strands and the two teams involved as the 'New Towns Group' and the 'Genealogy Group', respectively.

Group members were conflicted about whether to participate in this endeavour or not. For CERFI, to look at the state programming of collective equipment would be to look – but also to take part – in the spatialisation of different 'power formations.' Ultimately, they did participate, but never without reservations.

Programming Collective Equipment in the New Towns

In 1965, the District of the Paris Region elaborated, via its research centre, a master plan of development for the Paris region, the *Schema directeur d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région de Paris*. One of its declared aims was to gain control over undifferentiated sprawling, the *banlieues*, by creating new centres of urban development as well as alleviating the continuing shortage of housing for low-income families.¹⁴¹ The proposed solution was the new towns of Marne-la-Vallée;

¹⁴¹ The return of thousands from Algeria was putting housing pressure on HLM provision – to which should be added the increasingly evident limitations of the *grand ensembles* that had been scattered across the suburbs, as adequate living environments. DeGaulle had made very clear the

Melun-Sénart; Évry; Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines and Cergy-Pontoise. Despite their name, these 'new' towns were not to be set on empty territories on which 'new' settlements would be developed. Suburban housing was sprawling at a fast pace, and encroaching on pre-existing rural villages. The provision of new town centres, and in particular, the idea that each new town would be designed around a series of 'integrated social centres', was intended to attract people for services and jobs. This would avoid the lack of social life in the HLM and the empty suburbs that resulted from the need to commute daily to Paris. In this context, Michel Conan's *Mission de recherche urbaine* convinced the planning entities of the need to incorporate independent research centres, able to provide new ideas particularly in regard to the programming of collective equipment. This is how together with CERFI, the research groups GSU, BERU and Quaternaire Education also received contracts to work in the New Towns.¹⁴²

CERFI firstly worked on the EPA of Évry (*Établissements publics d'aménagement / Public Planning Institutions*), and then on Marne-la-Vallée and Melun-Sénart. Given their previous experience, CERFI decided to focus on what they knew best, the psychiatric equipment of 'mental hygiene.' To start the work, a CERFI team composed of Félix Guattari, François Fourquet, Lion Murard and Hervé Maury, organised between October 1971 and May 1972, a series of meetings at the *École freudienne de Paris*, with some of the members of the group that in 1967 had come together to discuss the encounter of architecture and psychiatry, as well as with medical doctors from the Institutional

intention of "giving order to the disorder" in his public declarations, and it is perhaps no coincidence that Paul Delouvire, who presided over the District of the Paris Region, had previously held the position of General Delegate to Algeria.

¹⁴² BERU (*Bureau d'études et de réalisations urbaines*); GSU (*Groupe de sociologie urbaine*). For a detailed discussion of this process, see Alexis Korganow, *L'équipement socio-culturel en ville nouvelle réception et adaptation de la formule innovante de L'équipement intégré*, Laboratoire ACS, École d'architecture Paris Malaquais, Paris, 2005.

Psychotherapy network that were involved in programming the new towns – such as Georges Daumézon and Lucien Bonnafé.¹⁴³ Most participants shared a critique of how the state calculated the demand for new equipment, without taking into consideration the people directly involved in the daily management of equipment. For the New Towns Group and those participating in the meetings, programming should take into consideration the positions of those directly involved in the management and use of the institution concerned. [See *Évry*, pp. 169–176]

In Guattari's words: "How can we ensure that the programming of a new city, which could be at the cutting edge of innovation, is not based on formulas that have been out of date for ten or fifteen years? And how can planners be connected to real people?"¹⁴⁴

Out of these meetings came as well the clear demand to implement the 'sector doctrine' – supported by the fact that in 1960, the ideas that institutional psychotherapy had been defending since 1945 became the official ideas of the World Health Organisation. In broad terms the 'sector' was the proposal of a network model of small hospitals and extra-hospital equipment, in rupture against the asylum-centred models of mental health provision at the time. However, they also started to realise that, given the shifting material and bureaucratic conditions on the ground, any programming of equipment, as was being asked of them, risked being useless work, as they were provided with insufficient information about, and control over, the context where equipment would be set. A programme designed in advance would fall into exactly the same problems CERFI aimed to tackle. They pointed out that before programming, it was essential that

¹⁴³ Participants included Lucien Bonnafé (at the time working in Corbeil), Georges Daumézon (working at Sainte-Anne), Jean-Paul Roubier (at this point programming the hospital Évry-Corbeil), the architect Nicole Sonolet (who had designed a Mental Health centre for the 13th *arrondissement*), Sallesse (collective equipment programmer for Marne-la-Vallée, sector I), among many other psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, programmers, and architects.

¹⁴⁴ "Meeting at École Freudienne", 23 November 1971, in *Recherches* 17, p. 264.

teams would be able to discuss and interrogate what type of equipment should be proposed in the first place, and where it should be.¹⁴⁵

In Spring 1972, the New Towns Group finally started working on the ground in Évry. Benefiting from the support of Lucien Bonnafé and of Georges Daumézon, CERFI were able to conduct a series of interviews with the teams of the new towns, including psychiatrists, nurses and developers, in line with the idea of the institutional analyser. At this time, their main goal was the implementation of a permanent working group for a continuous reflection on programming. From these first sets of interviews, they produced a draft report on “The Programming of Collective Equipment in The New Towns – The Mental Hygiene Equipment” that introduced two key reflections: on the function of programming beyond a technical perspective; and on psychiatric equipment and the idea of ‘mental health promoter’ as a possible interlocutor between the different new town administrations, to weave a network between the different equipment. [See *Évry*, pp. 169-176]

In terms of what they had been asked to do, the New Towns Group refused to fulfil the typical programming requirements, such as proposing numbers of beds, or specific out-of-hospital equipment. Instead, they proposed the creation of teams, each defined in relation to a certain population or condition, which themselves would be able to define what to propose so they could be always close to the places of medical emergency.¹⁴⁶ Similarly to their engagement with programming at Bouaké, the Group stepped back from the temptation of

145 Importantly, it was during these meetings at the Freudian School that Daumézon raised the idea of the “*promoteur institutionnelle des équipements d'hygiène mentale*” (mental health equipment institutional promoter). For Daumézon, this was a crucial discussion that should take place before any programming begins, and in which both architects and psychiatrists should have their voices heard. This idea followed on from the idea of ‘*conseil de secteur*’ that had been previously developed by Bonnafé. See *Recherches* 17, pp. 279-283.

146 *Recherches* 17, p. 313.

proposing a static programme, since it was obvious how it would be unable to respond to shifting pragmatics. Instead, they proposed that teams would implement 'differential norms', as had been suggested by Guattari in the meetings that took place at the École freudienne in 1972, i.e., norms that would have the ability to be adjusted depending on the needs on the ground, and in time. [See *The Institutional Programmer*, pp. 371-382]

However, as their engagement with the Évry new town progressed, their expectations diminished. In the initial debates at the Freudian School, CERFI were still considering how to integrate the idea of the sector with the New Towns. But when the final report started being drafted, in January 1973, they had given up on the sector, disagreeing with the way in which it was being implemented. For CERFI, in the hands of state bureaucrats, the sector was being implemented in a static way, and was unable to account for heterogeneity of practices and needs of populations.

As Alexis Korganow pointed out in his extensive review of the French new towns, the principles behind the sector doctrine directly opposed the discourse of integrated equipment that underpinned the new towns planning logic: "the first principle is that of the primacy of the care team over the division of institutions and over 'the concrete'. This primacy of the activity of the care team is in line with the discourse on pre-animation developed in the field of cultural action. The second principle is the need to diversify patient care and to develop out-of-hospital structures. The design of these structures interferes with that of other health and social facilities, such as PMI centres, social centres and crèches. The idea is to bring these facilities together and coordinate them. In fact, there is a tension to be introduced between the concentration of care in the hospital and its dispersion in the city, as close as possible to the daily environment of the inhabitants. This tension leads to the third term that interferes with the discourse on integrated facilities, the notion of network."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Alexis Korganow, *L'équipement socio-culturel en ville nouvelle réception et adaptation de la formule innovante de L'équipement intégré*, 2005, p. 34.

While the New Towns Group did attempt to explore the potential outcomes of incorporating psychiatric services into the integrated social centres alongside leisure facilities, offices, and retail spaces, the state's logic ultimately prevented coordinated programming of psychiatric, social, childcare, sports, and educational equipment across the territory of the new towns. Consequently, the idea of disseminated and networked mental healthcare, which was central to the original concept of the sector, was not realised. Despite the potential for new forms of planning, the idea of creating new integrated urban centres that would make new centralities out of a suburban landscape, was too static and hierarchical in its spatial logic, to account for the network dynamics that were required by the sector doctrine.

Refusing to propose and programme equipment, the New Towns Group's report would double down on the idea of creating teams of programmers, where a team would emerge with each new development in the urbanisation process. Unsurprisingly, this proposal was not accepted. As they wrote: "Here our report met its limits, as these teams, conceived as nomadic elements, without territorial fixation, not subject to the authority of the hospital and autonomous in their management, naturally came up against a radically antinomic model, the State."¹⁴⁸

In the meantime, from the original contract in 1971 had followed a series of contracts with the respective EPA's leading to continuous work up to 1974. If in their first work with Évry the coincidence of Lucien Bonnafé's presence in Corbeil hospital allowed for a strong start to the research - at least by creating the conditions for multiple meetings by guaranteeing the availability of interlocutors.

In Marne-la-Vallée the history would be very different. [See *Marne-la-Vallée*, pp. 177-188] Marne-la-Vallée was the largest and more complex new town with multiple zones of intervention. For this linear city subdivided in different sectors, CERFI teams had been tasked

148 *Recherches* 17, p. 317. [Our translation]

with planning a mental health network and with programming a childcare centre. Very soon, Françoise Lévy and Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel found themselves in the position of contesting the local and central administrations' approach to mental health equipment, given both the limitations to how the sector was being implemented and the discriminatory, exclusionary and racist conflations of madness with poverty and marginality by the planning teams. Under such circumstances they replaced the request to propose a network of mental health equipment by the proposal of an "information and walk-in centre" to be placed in the main Piazza of the integrated social centre in Noisy-le-grand. Their goal became that of de-stigmatizing mental health. In a collective reflection on this process, which we have translated as part of this book, Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel observed: "[...] We can ask ourselves what the social reasons are for finding the most mentally ill people in disadvantaged areas. Whenever cause and effect relationships are established between mental pathology and social pathology, we forget that psychiatric equipment have continued to fill their beds with the marginalized, the 'good for nothing', the fallen, the social rejects. The result, for these people who have been through the psychiatric system, is that they are labelled 'mad'; it's inevitable and irreversible. Going to an asylum makes you 'mad'!"¹⁴⁹

[See *A Psychiatric Place*, pp. 389-398]

We had the opportunity to discuss the process with Gaëtane. During our conversation, she provided further insight into their ambitions:

"Our strong position at the time was to say that because the community facilities weren't working, because they were too prescriptive, we were going to go and live there, and the presence of a group of researchers and artists among the residents was going to disrupt the plans and programming of the new town. We'd be working with the

¹⁴⁹ *Recherches* 17, p. 403. [Our translation]

residents, we'd be working with the staff of the schools, the care institutions, the town hall, with the aim of proposing and supporting other forms of social structure (...) In the end, we never got to live there in Marne-la-vallée. It was a very utopian project to go and live there and believe that by living there we would change things.”¹⁵⁰

While they did manage to meet and present their ideas to a wide range of institutional partners, the encounter of CERFI's aspirations with the reality of the EPA's planning teams was a bath of cold water. The grinding reality of a small research team operating within a gigantic state operation, and with short-term contracts, weighed heavily on the New Towns Group's programming ambitions. This is evident in the discussions in *Recherches 17*, which we include in this book. Instead of subverting the purposes of programming, it was CERFI itself and its ambitions that were being subverted due to the pressures from above. This was particularly evident in the case of Melun Sénart, already at a point when teams such as CERFI – which, in this instance, was represented almost exclusively by Arianne Cotlenko – were no longer seen as needed by the planning authorities.¹⁵¹

Taking Stock of Programming

Despite the difficulties of working on the ground, the new towns projects offered CERFI the opportunity to take on programming and explore its analytical potential. In the previous chapter, when discussing *Recherches 6* and its role in the constitution of CERFI as a research cooperative, we referred to programming as the process and practice of preparing a brief that is given to architects, including the quantitative and qualitative characteristics to be fulfilled by the design. This technical position is well established within the French

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, March 2022.

¹⁵¹ See “CERFI fait ses comptes”, in *Recherches 17*, p. 448.

state structure and relies heavily on statistical analysis of existing provision and on state determined normative frameworks. In the context of the new towns, the willingness from the government to experiment and test new territorial, urban and architectural strategies, led to the position of programmer becoming a broader one.¹⁵² As for CERFI, at the start, programming was seen as a space for expanding the practice of institutional analysis beyond the hospital and into the broader social field. We can now provide a more complete definition of what was meant by this.

At the start of its engagements with the state, CERFI defined programming in relation to the problem of how the state identified social demands. Against the fulfilling of pre-existing demands, CERFI proposed the institutionalisation of a new interdisciplinary role, the institutional programmer, able not only to *translate* between the different knowledges, but implicitly, to operate *transversally* to the institution (the concept of transversality was not used in the early proposal, even though it clearly grounded its approach). Against the mere technical and normative response to a perceived need, programming was proposed as an analytical process: “By insisting on the notion of process, we wanted to shift the focus from discussions of norms or the examination of technical elaborations – the most frequent connotations of programming – to the institutional analysis of the operator: the function of the programmer is at the beginning of this project.”¹⁵³ In other words, programming was reconceptualised as a process of collective institutional analysis, aimed at identifying and reacting to

152 According to Korganow, programming in the new towns could be broadly divided in two different types of practises: the first a quantitative approach, concerning the architectural programming of public equipment as conventionally expected and according to existing standards; the second a qualitative approach in line with broader planning processes, leading to a role of mediation to ensure consistency between the reflection at the level of planning, and its translation into local projects. See Korganow, *L'équipement socio-culturel en ville nouvelle réception et adaptation de la formule innovante de L'équipement intégré*, 2005, p. 19.

153 *Recherches* 17, p. 267.

the shifting institutional unconscious, to be able to engage a permanent reflection on what are the institution's needs, able to promote the creation of institutions within the institution.¹⁵⁴

An example of this is given by Françoise Lévy in a discussion about her experience in Marne-la-Vallée: "The role of programming is to bring out these kinds of problems: the problems of kids being carried around, of mothers who have to go into hospital because they can't stand the washing-up, the husband, the kids, the metro-work-sleep routine. Is it the job of an organisation like CERFI to make people, like our partners in the new town who don't want to know anything about it, understand that it exists, or is it to do what everyone else does – not deal with it?"¹⁵⁵ [See *A Psychiatric Place*, pp. 389–398]

Françoise's question was a rhetorical one: CERFI tried to implement a collective analytical dimension in every aspect of their work, but few of the key institutional interlocutors wanted to work with them. As reported in *Recherches* 17, the process was, from the start, characterised by the territorial tension between operations of planning and urbanisation from above – structured by the state – and pre-existing regional and administrative structures. A tension that resulted in the constitution of hybrid government-led structures of management requiring local management and implementation, manifestly dysfunctional at every level of decision and planning, and within which the New Towns Group was unable to make a significant dent in the planning process.

A first difficulty came around the impossibility of involving the users and the inhabitants in the planning and programming processes. The New Towns Group tried to create the conditions that would encourage both users and inhabitants to *prendre la parole* (speaking

154 The scale at which programming was to take place, though, was not clear in the original propositions – of a specific equipment, of a new type, of a section of a new town, of its entirety – these decisions were the responsibility of the planning authorities.

155 *Recherches* 17, p. 401. See *A Psychiatric Place... But De-psychiatrised*, pp. 389–398.

up), but they soon found out that there was no real interest for that. In relation to their proposal for a psychiatric information space in the Piazza at Marne-la-Vallée, they even considered granting it to a collective of women they had met – but without being able to secure any financial or organisational guarantees they dropped the idea. The frustration that several group members felt due to the impossibility of delivering a serious analytical approach is palpable in their writings and interviews, namely in the conversation “*CERFI takes stock*” included in *Recherches 17*, and that we have translated for this book. [See *CERFI takes stock*, pp. 399–412] Across its different engagements, CERFI only managed to implement dialogues and discussions with professionals, and even so, beyond Évry, under very limited conditions, never being able to catalyse these institutional interlocutors into taking programming in their own hands. As per Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel and Arianne Cotlenko, CERFI were stuck in between being ‘technicians’ or ‘mediators’, neither of these positions exactly what they aimed for.¹⁵⁶ Arianne Cotlenko:

“You have to differentiate between two levels. Either the programmers are technical experts who draw up programmes and use their technical skills to do so; or they are simply negotiators, in other words a neutral body that passes on the programme briefs on behalf of the new town to the authorities. But it’s all the same: whether you emphasise the technical consultancy side, or the meeting moderator side, it’s always a matter of passing on the new town’s briefs. So, it’s not interesting. But there may be other things that suggest that we could have a different role, that we could be a link in a chain that allows some really nice things to come together, but it’s always as if it’s completely cyclical. You have to see the limits of this kind of operation ...”¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Adding to this, was also a lack of capacity within CERFI to provide support to the multiple research teams, or even to generate the conditions for adequate coordination between them.

¹⁵⁷ *Recherches 17*, p. 450. [Our translation] See *CERFI takes stock*, pp. 399–412.

The sheer complexity of central and local power disputes, and the long duration of these operations, relegated the New Towns Group to pawns in between planning structures, a position whose complexities placed immense pressure on researchers that from the start were sceptical of even working with the state. Pressure for delivery of extensive reports, for participation, for taking on new contracts without any guarantees that the work would have an impact, pressures that slowly asphyxiated the Group's capacity of keeping a collective dimension, frustrations among team members quickly accumulating. Despite CERFI's ambitions, the different groups working across the new towns failed to coordinate amongst themselves, and lacked a collective analytical dimension. It begs the question: how could CERFI expect interest and availability for participation from interlocutors that didn't know them, when their own members were failing to do so?

Often, they were left fighting for the basic requirements for any programming to take place. This is evident in a definition of programming provided by the group in *Recherches* 17, in 1975: “*All spatial programming presupposes a certain type of functioning of the institution which will occupy the built space*; consequently, whatever the fantasies, the programmer can only do his work on the condition that he has a thorough knowledge of the mode of functioning and management of this institution.”¹⁵⁸ The focus of this definition was, not so much on the collective analytical processes that should be implemented, but on the basic conditions for any programming to take place, the need to know the institution. Arguing that programming cannot come out of teams of consultants that are kept external to the institution's functioning and operations, the New Towns Group was both making a practical point, but also a conceptual one, regarding the need for institutions – and those planning them – to analyse and reflect on their modes of operation.

158 *Recherches* 17, p. 254. [Our translation]

In the following passage from Guattari's reflections on the programming of new towns, which we have translated and included in this book from *Recherches* 17, we read: "A programme should not be a simple description, a simple diagram, external to those who will insert it. Programming, in my opinion, is self-management, and self-management is programming. Or else there will be no programming and no self-management. What is to be managed is a programme, local and continuous, always evolving, and organised on an ever-wider scale. It is along this way that programming can become more rigorous, as and when 'we see ourselves transforming collectively', as and when a social trajectory takes shape."¹⁵⁹

The text reveals the distance between CERFI's aims and what they could actually do. Instead of a minimal programming, a technical role, resulting from what had been left to the teams by the main planning organisations, CERFI had aimed for programming as a process of self-analysis *qua* collective self-management. In Sartrean terms, their aim was to move the institution from a serial to a fusion-al condition – or what Guattari would start calling "collective agents of enunciation."¹⁶⁰ An idea of programming that was not so much about the possibility of subverting the state from the inside, as it was about the creation of analytical machines across the social field – i.e., the materialisation of FGERTI's project.

While the hope had been that participating in the planning of the new towns would allow spaces for intervention, in the sense of being sufficiently undetermined to allow transforming of the state's

¹⁵⁹ Félix Guattari "Le programmiste institutionnel comme analyseur de la libido sociale", *Recherches* 17, pp. 430–437. [See *The Institutional Programmer*, pp. 371–382].

¹⁶⁰ In *Critique de la raison dialectique*, Sartre poses the question of how groups are formed and how social structures change, with the purpose of re-orientating political theory from the focus on the individual and the 'given class' to the formation of groups. The impact Sartre had on Guattari is largely due to Sartre's existentialist Marxism, which led him to fuse psychological and sociological aspects in the accounting for human praxis. See Jean-Paul Sartre, *Critique de la raison dialectique*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1960.

equipment, CERFI failed to consider how little the creation of new processes really mattered to the administrations running the process – or perhaps didn’t, but tried anyway.... At stake were real-estate, administrative, labour and political power struggles. We can also ask how far can an analytical process of self-programming go up the ladder of state institutional processes, without either being terminated or, worse, becoming a formal device of ‘social innovation’? While a few officials or state departments might be interested in reflecting on their mode of identifying demands and needs, one should consider the value of such adjustments in relation to the purpose of equipment and their reason for existing from the perspective of the state. It could be argued that such a purpose had little to do with any real concerns for the needs of the population. And it is precisely this that the ‘genealogy group’ would argue in its research developed in parallel with the programming experiments in the new towns.

The Genealogy of Collective Equipment

While the New Towns group was pushing ahead into the depths of the French state, the CERFI had also started ambitious multi-headed theoretical research on collective equipment.¹⁶¹ The tasks were distributed, responsibilities of reviewing relevant bodies of literature assigned, and the work started. As described by Anne Querrien, “Fourquet, Lion Murard and Marie-Thérèse Vernet-Stragiotti immersed themselves in this huge field of work. François Fourquet in search of the city immersed himself in the works of Braudel. Lion Murard looked instead for the Anglo-Saxons. Françoise Lévy returned to the opposition between town and country in Marx.”¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ A few years later, when their first report was concluded and partially published in *Recherches* 13, this body of work was understood as the beginning of a wider series titled ‘The Genealogy of Capital’.

¹⁶² Anne Querrien, “Le CERFI, L’expérimentation sociale et l’État : Témoignage d’une petite main”, pp. 72–87.

If the New Towns Group looked at collective equipment from the perspective of programming and the sector, here the lens was wider. Before asking how to programme, it was essential to interrogate why collective equipment existed in the first place. *Recherches* 13 titled *Généalogie du capital. Les équipements du pouvoir* (1973) is the first report they published on the topic, and it is worth providing an overview of the work developed therein.¹⁶³ The research advances in an initial diversity of research directions around collective equipment, developed over a short period of time by what was a militant collective still trying to find its way into researching and writing together. Theoretical references are heterogenous and at different stages of maturation, from reading Michel Foucault's *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963), *The Order of Things* (1966) and *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1969), to Deleuze's lectures on Nietzsche and the first drafts of *Anti-Oedipus* with Guattari. It is noticeable how concepts such as flow, machine or desire start to play a role. And additionally, a mix of references to Karl Marx, Fernand Braudel, Manuel Castells, Henri Lefebvre, Lewis Mumford, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Louis Althusser appear alongside many others.

While the group started out interested in moving away from prevailing theorisations of collective equipment as sites of consumption by understanding them as a means of production, the key conceptual shift occurs in Chapter IV, '*Formation des équipements collectifs*'. Influenced by Foucault's interpretation of Nietzsche, they argue that collective equipment only lends itself to a genealogical approach¹⁶⁴ and claim that "birth is irreducible to function" or in other words, that

¹⁶³ The main researchers involved were François Fourquet, Lion Murard and Marie-Thérèse Vernet-Stragiotti, with the issue including contributions as well from Françoise Lévy, Gilles Châtelet, Anne Querrien, Laurent Dispot, Alain Fabre, Philippe Guillemet and Alain Siboni.

¹⁶⁴ See Patrick ffrench, "Nietzsche away from Marx: Vicissitudes of Genealogy in 1970s France", *Philosophy, Politics and Critique*, 2024, vol. 2, 1. Drawing on *Recherches* 13, ffrench identifies a 'Nietzschean turn' in French thought and links it to shifts in the conditions of political militancy and the infrastructures that support critical intervention and discourse.

“the mode of production that gives rise to collective equipment is of a different order than its resulting uses”. With that in mind, the attention is turned to the *coup de force* that gives rise to equipment, as a particular form of subjection. The *coup de force*, in this case, being the emergence of the capitalist state, leading to the dissolution of the pre-capitalist extended family: tasks of childcare, education, correction, care, were now taken up by the equipment of the capitalist state, as part of a new social order. This is crucial because it leads to more and more aspects of family life moving into the control of the state. Consequently, this, in turn, produces ever new collective equipment in response to shifts in modes of production. The Genealogy Group contend that collective equipment has become the site of the normative imposition of dualities (normal / pathological, educated / uneducated, employed / unemployed) and that in this process, the family is not merely dissolved, but reinvented as the bourgeois family. The following definition of collective equipment is proposed: ‘the non-familial territory where state sovereignty is directly exercised.’

Their key position in regards to collective equipment will be articulated in chapter V: instead of understanding collective equipment as providing for needs, these will be understood, instead, as instruments of power (state / capitalism) to which needs are secondary. Collective equipment is therefore required so that new forms of power can be implemented. CERFI departed from the way these had been conceptualised by state planners, programmers, and by most urban theory of the time. The Genealogy Group presented collective equipment as devices of subjection and normalisation, built by the capitalist state ‘over the corpse’ of an emptied-out, pre-capitalist family.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Patrick ffrench and Caló carried out a genealogy of *Recherches 13*, based on the notion of semio-pragmatics of concepts, experimenting with a collective research methodology that resonates with Cerfi’s own methods. See *La Toupie Follie* [<https://latoupiefolle.org/about>], which includes a cartography of collaborators and intervenients in *Recherches 13*, a mapping of conceptual *voisinage* (*neighborhooding concepts*), and the researchers’ own reflections on research and the current academic conditions of

To Programme or Not?

Given that the programming for the new towns and the genealogy research took place at the same time, it is telling that no discussion of the former made its way into *Recherches* 13, CERFI's main published work on collective equipment. Despite its prominence in earlier discussions on *Architecture and Psychiatry*, and despite being a crucial site for exploring institutional analysis, a conceptual discussion of programming only made its way into *Recherches* in 1975, at the time of publishing issue 17, within their review of the work on the new towns. The reason for it was that CERFI were sceptical of what could be achieved via programming. This is evident in this commenary in *Recherches* 17:

“Here we come to the problem of the ‘genealogy of collective equipment’, which we have outlined in issues 13 and 14 of *Recherches* (*Les équipements du pouvoir* and *L'idéal historique*). Community facilities such as primary schools, hospitals, etc., are first and foremost material instruments of the apparatus of power (in particular, for the ‘territorial fixation’ of shifting populations). And it is only by a sort of mystifying inversion that they present themselves as carriers of functions satisfying needs such as the need for health, the need for education, and so on. So far, the field of our historical research and that of our programming work were separate. For us, they are now confused: the programming of a new type of collective equipment puts in place the

production. For a discussion of *Recherches* 13 from the point of view of the intellectual history of architecture, see Meredith TenHoor, “State-Funded Militant Infrastructure? CERFI’s Équipements Collectifs in the Intellectual History of Architecture”, 2019, available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13602365.2019.1698638> (accessed June 2023). See also, Sven-Olov Wallenstein, “Genealogy of Capital and the City: CERFI, Deleuze and Guattari” in *Deleuze and the City*, eds. Hélène Frichot, Catharina Gabrielsson and Jonathan Metzger, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2016, pp. 111-12

long duration of a new power formation. The following research turns entirely on this question: is it really a new organisation of psychiatry today, or is it only a surface agitation that leaves the old organisation intact?¹⁶⁶

The more CERFI developed its genealogical research, the more it encountered the administrative apparatus of the new towns, the less promising programming seemed to be. Additionally, there was an emerging opposition within the Genealogy Group between those committed to exploratory action-research and those committed to the development of historical research in a more conventional format, concerned with investigating the state and its multiple fields of operation. It is this that might explain the uneasy integration between the *genealogy* approach, increasingly sceptical of the 'militant ideal' that had given rise to CERFI – as is the case with *Recherches* 14 written by François Fourquet – and the *programming* approach, directly engaged (at least at the start) in catalysing social processes and traversed by its inevitable contradictions.

If these differences concerned CERFI members' chosen mode of practice, there were also differences of a conceptual nature. We can point to the crucial debate between Guattari and Fourquet, regarding the nature of collective equipment. They differed on how equipment operated its processes of standardisation and normalisation, if via codes or axioms. Early on in a discussion that takes place in 1971 and is later included in *Recherches* 13, Guattari suggests how the distinction between equipment of production and collective equipment that Fourquet established in chapter I of *Recherches* 13 was a mistake, as it missed how every equipment – be it collective or social or industrial – was productive.¹⁶⁷ Productive of what? Of *anti-production* – in the sense that every equipment's main purpose is always to block desire.

166 *Recherches* 17, 256. [Our translation]

167 *Recherches* 13, 129.

The operation of capitalism, as Guattari had been precising in his work with Deleuze, was not to be understood in the sense of codes, as in the pre-capitalist sense, or in the sense of overcodings, as the despotic state, but as operations of a differential and not intrinsic sense, such as involved in the distinctions normal / pathological, educated / uneducated. In these cases, the differential relation between the terms is more important than what is contained by each (code). It was in this sense that for Guattari collective equipment were the axioms of capital, machines to repress the flows of desire by capturing it, via codes, into differential relations of identity, hierarchy, class, gender, etc. as mechanisms of anti-production.¹⁶⁸ A view that is different from how collective equipment is discussed in *Recherches 13*, as systems of coding, whereby it is the code itself that matters. While Guattari would concede that collective equipment are different from equipment of production at the level of representation, as was argued by Fourquet, it was still the case that for Guattari all the different types of equipment, are in fact collective equipment, i.e., machines to implement the axiomatics of capitalism.

Within CERFI, there was no intention to force a resolution of these theoretical differences. Many of these points were reframed, revisited and reworked, and a few were abandoned.¹⁶⁹ However, these

¹⁶⁸ It is important to clarify the term 'desire' in this context. To do so, we will use the words of Fourquet, writing ten years later: "Desire is the motor of groups, institutions, classes, nations, races – all these entities that sociology proposes to us. It is their living substance. It is their actual living substance, which the *Anti-Oedipus* invites us to represent in terms of movements of flows, of cuts, of machines: the desiring production. But it also proposes to establish a distinction, not between two desires, but between two poles of desire: a schizoid pole, tending towards an absolute deterritorialisation of flows, actively present in revolutionary phenomena, the great historical innovations; a paranoid pole that inhabits the 'body without organs' or its social correspondent, power, only preoccupied with repressing revolutionary flows, to 'code' them, to 'over-code' them or to lock them into a capitalist 'axiomatic'" *Recherches 46*, p. 16. [Our translation]

¹⁶⁹ For example, both Guattari in *Lignes de Fuite* and Fourquet in *Recherches 46* agree on how collective equipment were moving towards 'unbuilding'

differences in theory and practice shaped CERFI's life from its early days, with differing opinions on the correct framework with which to analyse collective equipment and its role in the capitalist state. As Fourquet wrote in his history of CERFI in *Recherches* 46: "We are not constructing a homogeneous doctrine; each one draws from its own side; but there is a family air between these thoughts at the very moment when they begin to diverge. In the synthesis I am presenting here, it is the convergence that is brought to the fore; but it is the divergence that really animates the whole."¹⁷⁰

Five New Contracts

Soon after, in 1973, an even larger funding was won, of 1.500.000 francs, for five different contracts with the DGRST (*Délégation générale de la recherche scientifique et technique*) to continue the work started in 1971. These were the *Émergence des équipements collectifs* with Deleuze as the head of research as per the contract; *Généalogie des équipements de normalisation: le domaine de la santé et l'école* with Michel Foucault (which in its turn had five sub-contracts); *Recherche sur la (conditions et mécanismes de) programmation des équipements collectifs* with François Fourquet; *Équipement urbain et changement social. Étude de deux situations: les espaces verts et les villes minières*, with Félix Guattari; and *La place des équipements urbains dans la planification urbaine* again with Michel Foucault. For those that might want to look for these it's important to notice that there's no direct relation between the name in the contract and the person(s) who developed the works, nor between the contract title and the content of works actually realised. Ultimately, all research contracts were continuations of the work that had started with the systematic research on the French state inaugurated by the

(*débatimentation*) in the sense that built equipment was becoming too slow and heavy, while power was becoming increasingly miniaturised, even chemical. See François Fourquet in *Recherches* 46, p. 22.

170 *Recherches* 46, p. 12.

body of research *Genealogy of Capital*. Except now, these initial interrogations could be developed extensively with multiple sub-focusses, in line with the different research interests of its members.

These contracts, and the many others that followed, enabled CERFI to spend approximately a decade developing a vast and diverse body of work, most of which was published by *Recherches*. Issues 13, *Les équipements du pouvoir*, and 14, *L'ideal historique*, were the first results of the the first funding bid, and were quickly followed by multiple other angles of study. The arrival in 1972 of several ex-GIP (*Groupe d'information sur les prisons*, or in English, The Prison Information Group) members brought new energy and research capacities into CERFI, that manifested both in their practical work, and in the theoretical and publications domain.¹⁷¹ CERFI was able to continue its research on equipment with original research on the study of the family and 'working-class normalisation' with publications such as *Recherches* 25, *Petit travailleur infatigable* (1976), and *Recherches* 28, *Disciplines à domicile* (1977), building on Foucault's idea that the bourgeois family is not a leftover, but the product of a new regime of power.

If *Recherches* 15, *Coopération et pratique* (1973), which we discussed previously, inaugurated a focus on education, it was soon followed by *Recherches* 23, *L'enseignement* (1976), by Anne Querrien, on the pre-history of the compulsory primary school and the mutualist education system. Querrien interjects the writing of the report with a self-analysis of the work and her own desires, in her words "a delirium of self-criticism and proliferation". For Querrien, this was "an indispensable element that would enable her to continue, and overcome the self-censorship preventing engagement with contradictory voices". In a section titled "Qu'est-ce que ça fait penser d'écrire un rapport de contrat même chouette?" (What does it feel like to write a contract report, even a nice one?), Querrien wrote:

¹⁷¹ These included: Claude Rouot, Ariane Cotlenko, and Florence Pétry.

“The constraints of this writing and the obligation to move forward and finish completely overwhelm me. I am passionate about this work, but I am holding myself back with the “right concepts”: normalisation, inscription, territory – the introduction of a kind of disciplinary regularity that confines my writing. It’s as if I have to appear intelligent and exhaustive, as if the outcome of my research is already known to my readers, and as if I just need to produce something that closely matches their expectations. These keywords – normalisation, inscription, territory – annoy me because they take my text down a direction that is not my own: denunciation and subjecting the school to popular condemnation, which is not my intention. While it is true that the documents I provide could reinforce this condemnation, I would like to highlight the mechanisms of desire at work in school production, or the mechanisms that inhibit desire, in order to create a positive history of school, rather than a finalised history, such as the moralisation of the poor. However, three-quarters of my collection of material is based on this second wavelength, as I have been completely oppressed by the thinking of Foucault, which I have sought to illustrate. For me, this line of thinking leads nowhere; it tells the truth, but nothing to be done with it. (...) This is the typical intellectual scientific position. However, I want to build my truth machine in such a way that carries me away; that I can flow with it; that I am not fixed to the statements I have made; and that the reader or readers are caught up in the same movement.”¹⁷²

The following year, Liane Mozère published *Recherches 27, Babilages. Des crèches aux collectivités d'enfants* (1977), an issue that corresponded to a long-term CERFI engagement with childcare provision. In an earlier stage the problem of *Enfance aliénée* had deserved the attention of FGERI and the *Recherches* issue 7 (1967) and 8 (1968). Following 1968 a broad research on pre-school education, led by Mozère, brought

172 Anne Querrien, *Recherches 23, L'enseignement. L'école primaire*, 1976, p.112-113.

together dozens of CERFI researchers, and worked across multiple institutions. One of its most important outcomes was the creation of a network of childcare organisations in France. [See *Childcare group*, pp. 189–196]

CERFI continued to develop its research on mental health publishing *Recherches* 17, *Histoire de la psychiatrie du secteur* (1975), *Recherches* 21, *Histoires de La Borde* (1976), *Recherches* 31, *L'asile* (1978), on the history of the psychiatric asylum in the 19th century, and to an extent also *Recherches* 39, *Drogues, passions muettes* (1979). They also developed work on housing and urbanisation with *Recherches* 29, *Ville, habitat et santé au XIX siècle* (1977) which was very much a continuation of the equipment genealogy research lines, and slowly started expanding to a broad range of state / governance related topics such as *Recherches* 43, *Aimez-vous les stades ?* (1980), *Recherches* 45, *Tant qu'il y aura des arbres* (1981), *Recherches* 42, *Aujourd'hui L'Opéra* (1980).

That these multiple strands of research came as a continuation of CERFI's initial research on equipment is evident in the group's application to the status of associated research team to the CNRS (1978), for example in the description of Cerfi-musique's research that is included within the application: "By tracing the 'genealogy' of cultural equipment, we wanted to identify the state and artistic bodies that presided over the creation of the first cultural equipment, often with a veritable coup de force, and then, century after century, dictated the conditions for the emergence of the notion of 'cultural needs', thus defining the programmes for equipping (or under-equipping) social spaces or places dedicated to culture".¹⁷³

This multi-headed work on equipment concludes with Fourquet's *Recherches* 46, *Accumulation du pouvoir* (1984), summing up CERFI's years of research on collective equipment. And yet, while most of these

173 Application to Status of Associated Research Team to the CNRS, 1978. Unpublished document, Archives Nationales de France, *Fonds François Fourquet*. [Our translation]

research strands were direct continuations of the genealogy work, only *Babilages* by Liane Mozère, and *Histoires de La Borde*, edited by Ros-tain, Murard, Gérard Grass, Claudine Dardy and Georges Préli, manifested the action-research dynamic that characterised the group's early years (if we discount the issues of *Recherches* that were handed over to other groups, as we will see further ahead). The remaining research strands, for the most part, were far more conventional in their approach.

Crucially, the major research contracts allowed more avenues of research, the possibility of collaboration with other organisations, and the ability to procure more funding, namely from CORDES (notably with the funding in 1972 for research on childcare and in 1973 for research on La Borde), from CORDA, among other state funding bodies. This led to an increase in CERFI's ability to pay its researchers, and to the group reaching approximately 60 people at its peak. With so many teams working in so many different research strands, CERFI produced an immense body of work, the breadth and complexity of which we cannot do justice here.

The publications emerging from this work are not summed up by the *Recherches* issues either. While Foucault's *Machines à guérir* results in part from this funded research, many of their reports have been independently published as books, such as Anne Querrien's *Généalogie des équipements collectifs. Les équipements de normalisation: l'école primaire*, from the same contract, or François Fourquet and Lion Murard, *Les équipements du pouvoir: villes, territoires et équipements collectifs*, 1976, François Fourquet, *Les comptes de la puissance*, 1980, among many others, whilst an extensive body of work remains unpublished and unreleased.¹⁷⁴

174 See the bibliography of CERFI, including unpublished reports, in this book, pp. 463-469.

Lines of Flight

Having provided an overview of the broad range of research that emerged from CERFI's engagement with collective equipment, it is important to foreground the publication of *Lignes de fuite*, by Félix Guattari in 1977, as it is perhaps the last publication, where a systematic reflection on the possibility of programming takes place.¹⁷⁵ Published posthumously in 2011, edited and introduced by Liane Mozère, it is a crucial document for a more complete understanding of CERFI's work on collective equipment as sites of analytical intervention. Notably, this work was initially a report to be submitted as part of one of CERFI's research funding commitments. The book's simpler language is evidence of that – particularly if we compare it with other work being written by Guattari at this time such as *La révolution moléculaire* (1977) or *L'Inconscient machinique* (1979). In *Lignes de fuite* Guattari does a history of collective equipment that in key aspects diverges from what was published on the topic by the Genealogy Group in *Recherches*. 'Equipment' is not understood primarily or exclusively in relation to the French institutional context. Instead, they are framed with a broader scope in mind, as being natural to any social formation and its regime of signs (not just the state):

"No human group, however 'primitive' one might consider it, can organise itself, in effect, independently of a series of types of 'collective equipment', the first of which is to be sought in its capacity, particularised at the level of each ethnic group or its modern equivalent, of the marking out and expression, by means of diverse 'sign machines',

¹⁷⁵ We are indebted to Andrew Goffey's introduction to the English translation of *Lignes de fuite*, where he highlights the relevance of this concept in Guattari's work. See Andrew Goffey, "Translator's Introduction. Planetary equipment: from institutions and assemblages to integrated world capitalism and assemblages", in Guattari, *Lines of Flight. For Another World of Possibilities*.

of its cosmic and social outline, the form of its internal relations, of its ‘foreign politics’, all things that have gathered here under the rubric of ‘collective modes of semiotisation.’”¹⁷⁶

Collective equipment is given a broad conceptual scope, that goes beyond the building itself: equipment is conceptualised by Guattari as any semiotic register that contributes to the definition of a collective mode of semiotisation. This is in contrast to how they were presented in *Recherches* 13, still attached to how the term had emerged from the planning and urbanistic discourse of the French state, still attached to infrastructure. Within this systematic reflection, the problem of programming finds in *Lignes de Fuite* much more space than in the *genealogy* works. In line with what had always been his position on the matter, programming is articulated in the sense of self-management, which is what for Guattari analysis was all about.¹⁷⁷ [See *The Institutional Programmer*, pp. 371–382] In debating both the nature, the potentials and the limits to programming collective equipment *qua* self-management, *Lignes de fuite* presents us with perhaps the clearest theorisation coming out of CERFI, of a militant analytical programme:

“Before being economic, it [self-management] should concern the very texture of the *socius*, through the promotion of a new type of relationship between things, signs and collective modes of subjectivation (...) Self-management can only result from a continuous process of collective experimentation (...) It must be put to work straightaway, in the party, in the union, in private life!”¹⁷⁸

176 *Lines of Flight*, p. 11.

177 Self-management here, should not be confused with what Guattari characterises as simplistic definitions of self-management based either on exclusively economic and material flows, or on the vanity of isolation. Ultimately these would lead to localisms instead of a systematic political critique. See *Lines of Flight*, 102.

178 *Lines of Flight*, p. 102

Analysis and self-management are the two sides of the same coin of a collective analytical experimentation aimed at fighting alienation (or anti-production) at the molecular level. These were the issues at the heart of the creation of CERFI and of the decision to intervene in the programming of collective equipment for Bouaké or the New Towns. “A change in equipment and institutions at the large-scale calls, *at the same time*, for a change in the molecular equipment and micropolitics of desire.”¹⁷⁹ If on the one side every equipment were characterised by a collective equipment function (i.e., their axiomatic logics of semiotic subjection) it was equally the case that it was always possible for collective assemblages of enunciation to emerge. These were the ‘lines of flight’. Others in CERFI shared this position, for example Liane Mozère and Anne Querrien. In this sense, Guattari’s writings on collective equipment capture what would be the eventual recognition of their potential, by other members of the group. This is noted by Fourquet in *Recherches* 46:

“Energetic images come to mind: collective equipment as political accumulators (i.e., of power), as converters, as transformers or ‘in-tensors’ (which accumulate social energy but also condense it, centralising it from the peripheral ramifications). These are just metaphors for the active, positive dimension of collective equipment: they don’t just produce control, they produce power.”¹⁸⁰

179 *Lines of Flight*, p. 68. That Guattari was ceasing to use the term institutional analysis, and more often referring to the ‘molecular’, was both due to the fact that he wanted to distinguish himself from the use of the term by other authors, and because he believed a much broader framework was needed to grasp the problem of unconscious subjective formations. See Félix Guattari, “Institutional Intervention” in *Soft Subversions*, p. 37.

180 François Fourquet, *Recherches* 46, p. 24. [Our translation]

New Sites of Analytical Engagement

While the work on the new towns was winding down, an important evolution focusing on urban transformation processes was emerging. CERFI's realisation of the impossibility of programming within the state leads to looking for other types of practical engagement. A move that was part of an attempt at continuation of militancy beyond limitations of the state, and also, as noted by CERFI member Michel Peraldi, of the PCF and CGT:

"[The idea] consisted of going into housing areas to try to understand what was going on. As militants we were always looking for contact with the working classes that didn't go through the strategic places where the unions and the big political organisations were organised."¹⁸¹

Such militant engagements had started to materialise with a couple of attempts at action research with the proposal for a self-managed cultural and social centre in the premises of the *Ferme du Buisson* at Marne-la-Vallée in 1975, or with the HLM in 1974 in a project titled *La vie sociale des grands ensembles*. This was a research commission to study the social life of large-scale social housing. Very quickly they questioned existing methodologies in sociology, and instead opted to create an open discussion group with the inhabitants of an HLM in Sarcelles. Unfortunately, after submitting their initial report, the state decided to terminate the research, and it could not advance to the next fieldwork stage.¹⁸² In addition to these there is also mention of a work by Hervé Maury on *Delta, cité de transit* from 1977.

But more notably, this new research strand began to take shape with CERFI's participation in Alma-Gare, from 1974 onwards, and at

¹⁸¹ Interview with Michel Peraldi, June 2021.

¹⁸² See *Recherches* 46, p. 47. Also important is the unpublished report *La vie sociale dans les grands ensembles*, February 1974, Research Contact 73/61400.00.223.75.01 with MATELT (GRECOH). CERFI archives.

the Petit-Séminaire housing estate in Marseille via CERFISE (CERFI Sud-Est) from 1976. All of these were characterised by a shift from programming within the state, to programming from below, against the state. As stated by Gérard Grass the challenge was “how to use the resources of the state apparatus to innovate against it?”¹⁸³ This was not so much in theoretical opposition to the previous work – at least initially – insofar as programming was conceived from the start ideally as self-management, as methods against anti-production at the institutional level. But it nonetheless manifested a significant shift in practice, away from the technocratic nightmare of the new towns and much closer to populations.

This was particularly the case with Alma-Gare in Roubaix, where CERFI, working together with the architecture atelier ABAC, helped setting-up and then provided technical support for the *Atelier populaire d'urbanism* (APU) that was led by the local inhabitants. [See *Alma-Gare*, pp. 197–210]. According to Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel:

“The residents formed the *Atelier populaire d'urbanism* to resist pressure from the municipality, developers, landlords, and the region to evacuate them. At the meetings, the residents took the floor to organise resistance and oppose the intimidation and tricks of their opponents. The town hall services no longer entered the neighbourhood, so that they could claim it was insalubrious and destroy it. So, the residents made up for any wilful negligence on the part of the region or the municipality... The older residents would stand guard during the day, and in the evening, they would inform the younger ones of all the problems they had to deal with: from water cuts to collapses to uncollected rubbish. And they also kept an eye out for the engineers, the town hall officials.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ “Comment utiliser les moyens de l’appareil d’État pour innover contre celui-ci” quoted in Paula Cossart and Julien Talpin (2015) *Lutte urbaine: participation et démocratie d’interpellation à l’Alma-Gare*, Vulaines-sur-Seine, Éditions du Croquant, p.110.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, March, 2022.

CERFI's role in setting up the APU becomes evident in how closely La Borde's model of weekly meetings was used. At La Borde, weekly meetings provided a unique analytical machine – a *vacuole* – which, lacking a prescribed agenda, allowed all kinds of issues to be addressed. This method was also employed in FGERI and CERFI, as well as in Alma-Gare. As noted by Joël Campagne:

“In a neighbourhood with a maximum of 5,000 inhabitants, you have a fixed location, where people know that this is where they meet, the APU, and that it's every Wednesday at 7pm, and come rain, shine or snow, you know that there will be people there, and you know that you have to go and complain if you want to win your case. You know what I mean? It's a fixed point. [...] the Wednesday meeting, it was all about that, it was the point that set the rhythm, it was the rhythm of the meeting.”¹⁸⁵

The same opinion is shared by Paula Cossart and Julien Talpin in their socio-historical study of Alma-Gare, “The purpose of Wednesday's meeting was undoubtedly about the emergence of a “public opinion of the district”.¹⁸⁶ Overall, the collective process was so successful that it ultimately contributed to the population's own alternative master plan being implemented in 1977.¹⁸⁷ [See *Alma-Gare*, pp. 197–210]

¹⁸⁵ Joël Campagne, resident of Alma-Gare and APU member, quoted in Paula Cossart et Julien Talpin, 2015, *Lutte urbaine: participation et démocratie d'interpellation à l'Alma-Gare*, p.112.

¹⁸⁶ Cossart and Talpin provide an exhaustive account of CERFI's role in the experience of Alma-Gare. Paula Cossart et Julien Talpin (2015) *Lutte urbaine: participation et démocratie d'interpellation à l'Alma-Gare*, Vulaines-sur-Seine, Éditions du Croquant, p. 112. In English, see Tony Schuman, “Architecture and Daily Life: The Revitalisation of a French Neighborhood”, in *Places*, 2, 1, 1985, pp. 7-20.

¹⁸⁷ The experience of Alma-Gare inspired the creation of similar APU's in the neighbourhoods of Vieux-Lille (1979), Moulins (1993) and Wazemmes (1996) in Lille. More recently, in 2012, an APU was set-up by the inhabitants of Villeneuve in Grenoble, in an effort to challenge the urban renewal project promoted by the municipality and to develop an alternative project.

A similar process took place in Marseille, where CERFISE (Sud Est) mobilised the inhabitants of a segregated low-income housing estate – Petit séminaire – to propose and implement a series of spatial interventions in their own housing blocks. [See *Petit séminaire*, pp. 211–218] As local inhabitants were against the project of demolishing their blocks (as was being proposed by the OPHLM, *Office publique d'habitation à loyer modéré*) CERFI members Hervé Maury and Michel Anselme saw this as an opportunity for a radically different model for urban regeneration, based on the collective and constant programming of the neighbourhood by its inhabitants. Their goal was to transform Petit séminaire into a “large-scale progressive construction site” in which the inhabitants would participate as both builders and designers.¹⁸⁸

Again here, the same mechanism of weekly meetings for catalysing collective processes:

“The heart of the work at the Petit séminaire was what we called ‘permanence’. What we called ‘the permanent staff’, which was a meeting at first haphazard, as emergencies and opportunities arose and which later became established. So, it was every week, on Thursday, and we were all there, at least some of the teams were there, and we dealt with whatever was going on... So, people came, and sometimes it was very tense, sometimes it was a laugh... anything was possible at these drop-in sessions! It was a public space, the agora of the city.”¹⁸⁹

In addition to the weekly meeting, CERFISE approach also made use of less common analytical tools, such as film and photography, to cata-

See <https://assoplanning.org/atelier-populaire-durbanisme-apu/>

¹⁸⁸ An indispensable resource to learn more about the CERFISE work is Michel Anselme, *Du bruit à la parole: la scène politique des cités*, Saint-Etienne, Éditions de l’Aube, 2000, p. 27.

¹⁸⁹ Michel Peraldi, quoted in “Le Petit séminaire, chronique de la fin d’un quartier” in *S’ancrer à Marseille. Trois quartiers façonnés par les migrations*, EHESS Marseille, p. 44, available at <https://centrenorbertelias.cnrs.fr/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/LIVRET-EXPO.pdf> (accessed September 2023).

lyse a collective process by the inhabitants. To break down barriers between what were very heterogeneous, self-enclosed and extremely precarious communities, CERFISE tried many things. For example, they collaborated with photographer Jacques Reboud to take photographs of apartment interiors and life on the estate which were then made available to encourage interaction between the communities. In collaboration with a collective of filmmakers, *Vidéo 13*, they also projected films onto the walls of buildings to bring cross-community groups together. [See *Petit Séminaire*, pp. 211–218]

More than in the new towns it would be here, in the discriminated and racialised suburbs of Marseille or Roubaix, that collective analytical ‘third party’ discourses would start to emerge, inhabitants, sociologists and architects together, engaged in a process of continuous institutional programming – or in Guattari’s terms, ‘of collective semiotisation.’ The motto behind all these projects was the idea of supporting the populations, to speak up within ongoing urban politics and transformation processes. In a way, this can be seen as the continuation of earlier theorisations of the formation of subject groups that anchored CERFI’s political thinking. However, this focus on enabling others to speak up within existing urban renewal processes, might lead to significantly different politics and processes from the revolutionary militancy that many in CERFI’s older generation wanted to infuse into every level of existence. At *Petit séminaire*, their intervention privileged reorganising the procedures of urban planning and design by foregrounding the perspective of the populations. Ultimately, CERFI’s support was mostly towards facilitating or mediating the relation to the state or other actors, and in that, it was becoming more technical than militant.

Michel Peraldi described how this conflict manifested in CERFISE:

“(...) there was a similar conflict between Michel Anselme and Hervé Maury over the very philosophy of the operation, i.e., Michel Anselme was the bearer of an idea which Hervé Maury considered to be very

technical or very technocratic, since he wanted to bring together the inhabitants, to lead the participation operation, to mobilise architects, to mobilise as closely as possible the HLM management bodies which managed the housing estate. This is exactly what happened at L'Alma Gare in Roubaix. That is to say, to really carry out an operation of participation, to make the inhabitants political actors of the renovation of their habitat. [...] Hervé Maury had a much more political vision of participation, i.e., basically, participation and consultation with the inhabitants had to be used to make the inhabitants critical actors of their situation and their conditions. If this led to concrete proposals, so much the better. But the idea remained to create a sort of revolution at the scale of the microsites in which we worked, that is to say a sort of permanent revolution and permanent reflection on oneself, and on these conditions (...)"¹⁹⁰

If the original formulation of *prendre la parole* (speaking up) named the emergence of subject-groups, and if this process, in the context of CERFI, had in mind an analytical ambition – that of a permanent discovery of desire instead of fulfilling pre-defined ‘needs’ – then during the 1970s urban experiments the meaning of *prendre la parole* seems to have slowly mutated into the improving of participatory and democratic planning procedures. *Prendre la parole* within existing planning processes, taking an opportunity to effect concrete changes in people’s lives, but losing sight of the political and analytical lens of subject-groups whose purpose might not be, necessarily, to participate.

While there is much more to be said about CERFI’s focus on urban processes, it is not incidental how in Alma-Gare the capacity for political mobilisation emerges from the social homogeneity of factory workers, and their class consciousness, or at least their collective life and ability for coordination. At Petit séminaire this was surely not the case, and much more effort was required to bring together the popu-

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Michel Peraldi, June 2021.

lation. In other words, a much bigger challenge was facing CERFI and the left with the progressive replacement of industrial workers by service workers, with the shifting demographics, and what that implied in terms of heterogeneous work schedules, employment status, rhythms of life, geographic and cultural backgrounds. To this motley crew that now composed the communities they worked with, the classic militant strategies had much less effect, and to an extent FGERI's and CERFI's warnings about the need for new types of institutional analytical practices, were profoundly relevant for grasping micropolitical shifts of desire in urban dynamics. Instead, what became the norm were participatory procedures, a sort of pacification of planning, whose limitations would become more and more evident in the decades that would follow.

Dossiers and Visual Documents

ÉVRY

Resulting from the first grant from the Ministry of Equipment, CERFI was asked to participate in the programming of collective equipment for the new town of Évry. The small semi-rural village of Évry was to become a recipient of a massive urbanisation project expected to draw 500,000 new inhabitants. CERFI was tasked with investigating how to best organise and distribute care facilities. To this end, between October 1971 and May 1972, CERFI organised a series of meetings with some of those involved in programming the new towns, as well as those that had been part of FGERI's meetings on architecture and psychiatry a few years before. In January 1972, CERFI produced a report, "The programming of collective equipment in the new towns – The mental hygiene equipment", where two key themes can be highlighted: a) a reflection on the function of programming beyond technical perspectives; b) and the idea of 'mental health promoter' as a possible interlocutor between the different new town administrations. Immediately after, CERFI members start working on Évry, developing a series of interviews with different teams (urban planners, administrators) and multiple meetings with psychiatrists, nurses, and developers. All these were in line with their idea of the institutional analyser. Their goal was the implementation of a permanent working group for a continuous reflection on programming. Work on CERFI's final report began in January 1973. At that time, the group disagreed with how the sectorization of mental health provision came to be implemented, too static and unable to account for heterogeneity of practices and the future needs of populations. As an alternative, CERFI proposed the creation of nomadic teams of programmers (instead of specific equipment, quantities, sizes, etc). For CERFI a new team should emerge with each new urbanisation and the consequent population increase. The final report was submitted on April 1973.

CERFI members:

Hervé Maury, Lion Murard, Arielle Roy, Arianne Cotlenko, François Fourquet, Félix Guattari.

recherches

PROGRAMMATION, VILLES NOUVELLES et HYGIENE MENTALE

Compte-rendu de la réunion du Mardi 26 Octobre 1971 tenue à
l'Ecole Freudienne - PARIS.

La présente série de réunions interdisciplinaires est organisée à l'initiative du même groupe qui avait, il y quatre ans, été à l'origine du Numéro Sépcial de "RECHERCHES" : PROGRAMMATION, ARCHITECTURE ET PSYCHIATRIE.

M. Félix GUATTARI commence par rendre hommage à la mémoire du Dr Guy FERRAND, décédé cette année, et qui avait été un des principaux animateurs de ces réunions. (1)

Le thème que nous proposons aujourd'hui est : "PROGRAMMATION, VILLES NOUVELLES et HYGIENE MENTALE".

Le Ministère de l'Équipement a demandé à l'équipe de "RECHERCHES", (C.E.R.P.F.I.) d'entreprendre une étude sur ce thème. Mais selon notre méthode d'analyse institutionnelle, nous souhaitons élaborer ce rapport avec les in-

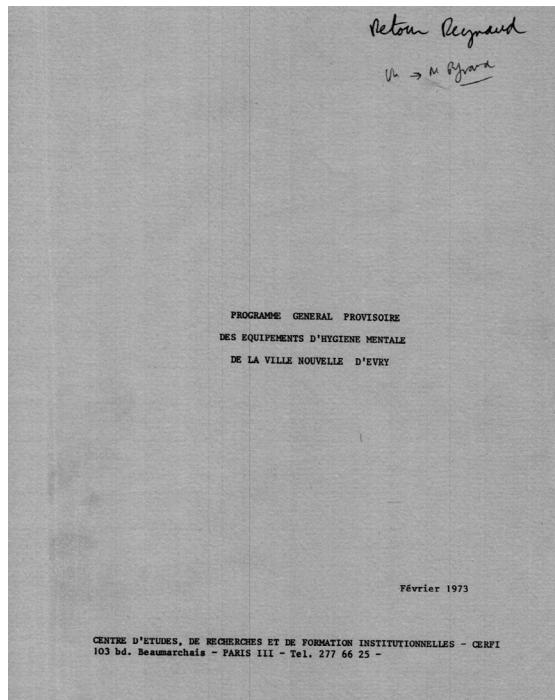
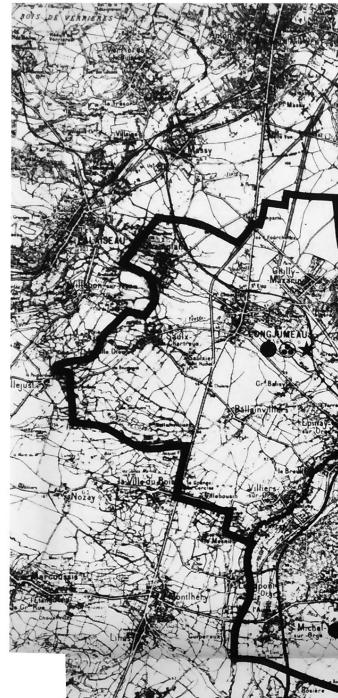
(1) Le Dr Jean Paul ROUBIER, co-auteur, avec le Dr FERRAND, du rapport introductif à ces réunions, doit participer à ce nouveau cycle. Il s'est excusé de ne pouvoir être présent ce soir.

"RECHERCHES" - 103 Bd Beaumarchais - PARIS III

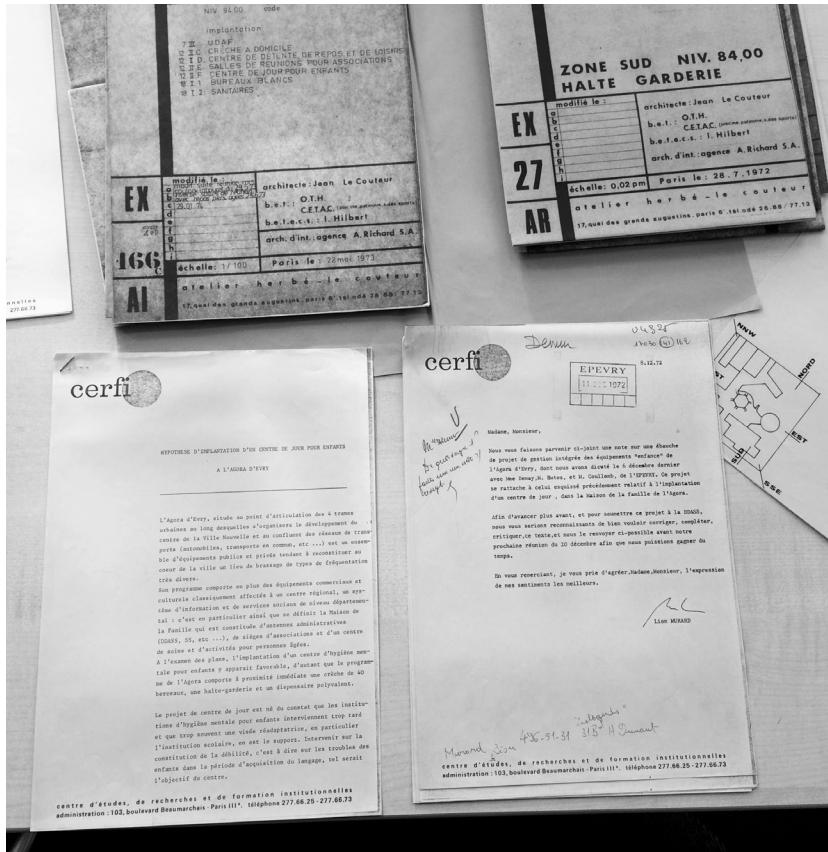
▲ Minutes from the first meeting at the *École Freudienne* in Paris in October 1971.

► Map of the distribution of collective equipment in the new town of Évry. Archives Évry-Essonne.

▼ Provisional general programme of mental hygiene equipment in the new town of Évry. CERFI, February 1973. Archives Évry-Essonne.







- CERFI reports and programming documents for the new town of Évry. Archives Évry-Essonne.
- Proposal for a general programme of mental health equipment in the new town of Évry, 1974. Archives Évry-Essonne.

••• Overview of proposed teams and mental health equipment according to numbers of beds and square footage. "Provisional general programme for mental health equipment in the new town of Évry", February 1973. Archives Évry-Essonne.

Contrat n° 141-73

Avec demande de révision au fil de l'avancement
26.3.74.

ÉTAT DE CERFI.

Proposition du programme général des équipements d'hygiène mentale pour la Ville Nouvelle d'ÉVRY.

à la signature du 7- datande

Avant à la fin de 13.5.74
Pochette dématé 14.5.74
lettre de retour à la fin 7.6.74

RECAPITULATION DES EQUIPES ET EQUIPEMENTS PREVUS

Lieu de création	Date	Locaux existants ou prévus	Locaux à prévoir	à réserver	Institutions hospitalières	Institutions extra-hospitalières
VAL D'YERRES						
Yerres -Intersect.	1973		inclus ds. Hop. d'Yerres	500 m ²	Centre de - 100 lits (environ 5 000 m ²)	centre de jour 24 places (600 m ²)
-équipe	av.1975		inclus ds. Hop.	500 m ²	500 m ²	
Montgeron	av.1975		500 m ²	500 m ²		
Draveil	av.1975		500 m ²	500 m ²		
Vigneux	ap.1980		500 m ²	500 m ²		
TOTAL	9 100 m ²		1 300 m ²	2 000 m ²	5 000 m ²	600 m ²
VALLEE DE L'ORGE						
- Intersect existant		Centres de soins Complexe ASPER(5 000m ²)				
Longjumeau existant		Centre de soins	500 m ²			Hop. de jour
Juvisy existant		Centre de soins(4 unités P2)				
Savigny existant		Centre de soins	500 m ²	500 m ²		
Grigny	1974		500 m ²	500 m ²		
St. Michel	av.1975		500 m ²			
Ste Geneviève			inclus ds. Hop. de Morsang s/Orge	500 m ²	centre de jour 24 places (600 m ²)	
- Intersect [1]	av.1975				(Morsang s/Orge)	
- équipe après 1980			500 m ²		Centre de - 100 lits (environ 5 000 m ²)	
					(Morsang s/Orge)	
TOTAL	17 100 m ²	environ 8 500 m ²	2 000 m ²	1 000 m ²	5 000 m ²	600 m ²
ÉVRY						
Ris-Orangis	1973		inclus H. de jour	500 m ²		Hop. de jour 60 places(1 500m ²)
Lvry-Intersect.I	1973		750 m ²			2 centres de jour (400m ²)
-Intersect.II	1980		inclus ds. Hop.	500 m ²		76+24 places (3 800 m ²)
-équipe I	1975	267 m ² (Agora)	500 m ²	500 m ²		
-équipe II	1980		inclus ds. Hop.	500 m ²	100 lits(environ 5 000m ²)	
Corbeil équipe I existant	500 m ²		inclus ds. Hop.	500 m ²	100 lits(environ 5 000m ²)	
-équipe II 1980			500 m ²	500 m ²		
Seine rive droite	1983		1 750 m ²	2 500 m ²	10 000 m ²	5 700 m ²
TOTAL	20 017 m ²	767 m ²				

Dossiers and Visual Documents

MARNE-LA-VALLÉE

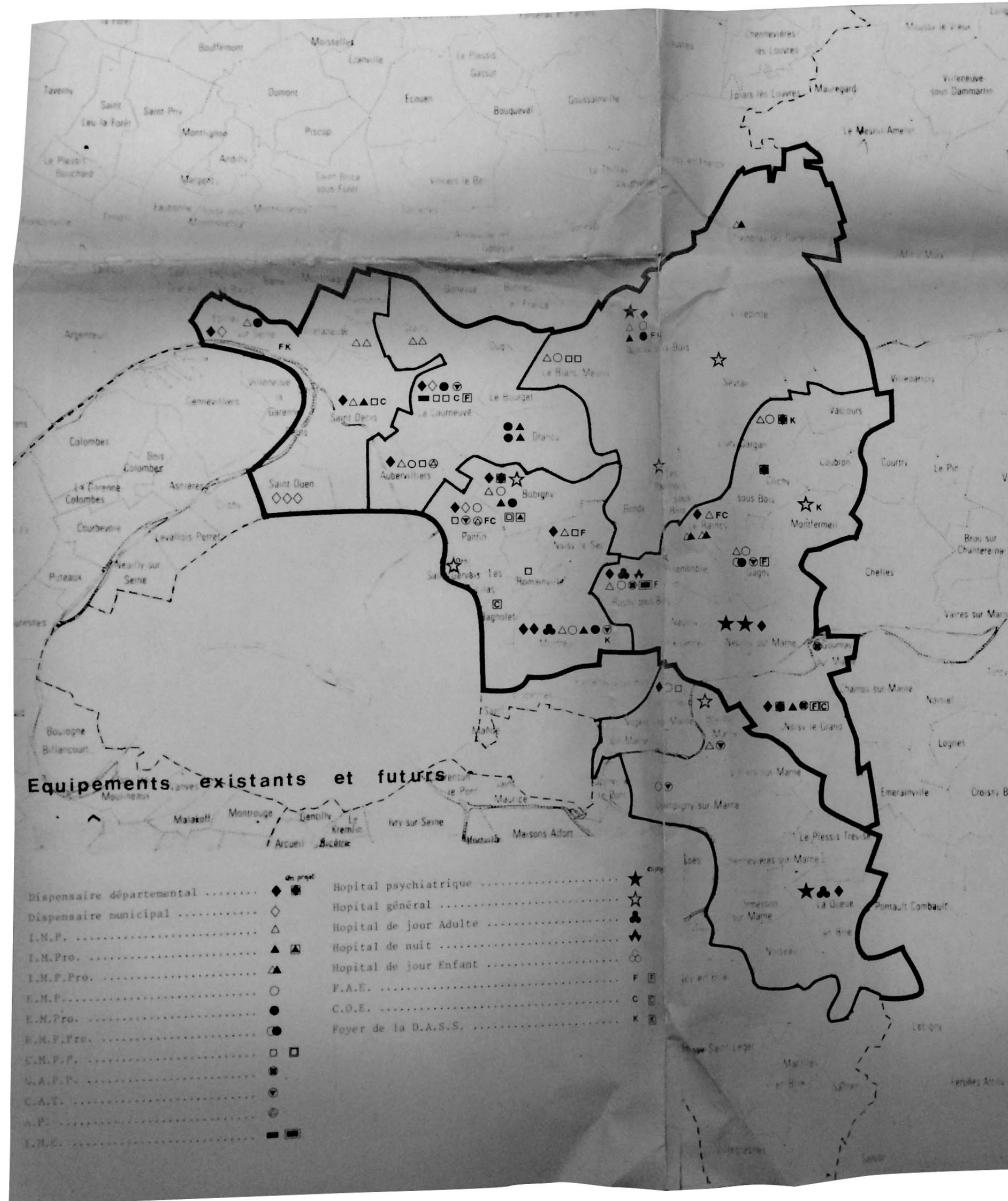
Marne-la-Vallée was conceptualised as a linear city, and subdivided in 4 sectors. The contract with CERFI had two parts. In the Sector I, CERFI was requested to plan a mental health network. Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel and Françoise Lévy responded with a report in 1973 titled "*Programmation des centres de santé mentale de Noisy-le-grand - rapport d'études préliminaires*". Their main focus was to sketch the mental health network. They interviewed a series of psychiatric, governmental, and programming teams, and worked directly with the architectural teams on the ground. However, they felt it was impossible to determine the nature of new equipment, both due to the lack of consideration at the planning level for the differences between communities and sectors within that territory – often traversed by discriminatory pre-conceptions; by the lack of precise awareness of populations type and planned growth; and due to the lack of data on the complementary equipment that such a network should relate to.

In addition to their commission, and taking the opportunity of an allowance for mental health provision, the CERFI team proposed to develop a new type of out-of-hospital psychiatric facility to be located in the main Piazza. This would be a reception and information centre. Despite the planning teams' protests – they wanted to prioritise cultural and commercial provision – the CERFI team wanted to 'de-dramatise mental health'. Rather than adopting a medical or policing approach, the centre should be welcoming to people outside of mental health institutions, in their words, it should be a "psychiatric space with an anti-psychiatry logic". The idea was eventually abandoned since CERFI had no control over who would implement and manage such space. In Sector II, CERFI was tasked with programming a child-care centre – *Centre de Centre de Vie Enfantine*, Arche-Guédon – that had been placed at the edge of the neighbourhood. The centre was later moved into the centre of the area, as part of an integrated social centre and designed by ABAC architects. It comprised a nursery and a childcare centre.

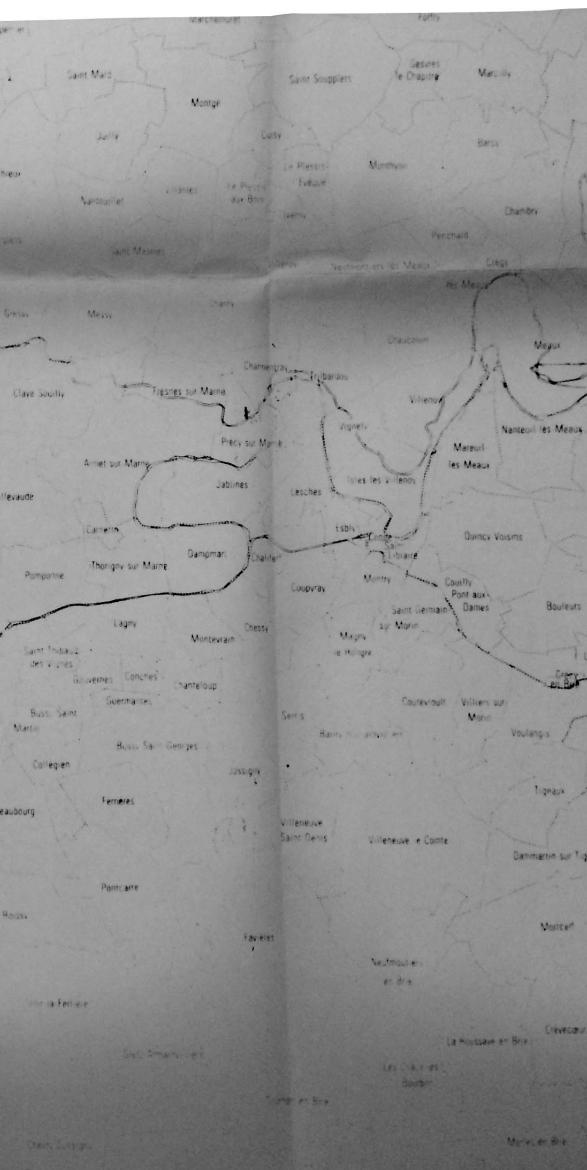
Between 1975–1976, CERFI teams also worked in the Luzard neighbourhood, as part of a collaboration with local inhabitants for the development of a network of cultural equipment at multiple scales, and were invited to propose a cultural centre at the Buisson Farm, where they wanted to experiment with self-programming.

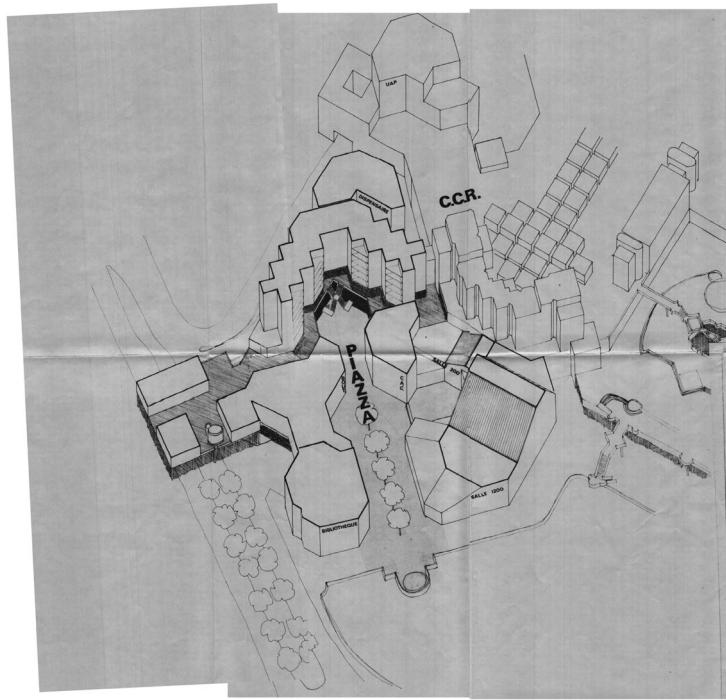
CERFI members:

Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, Françoise Lévy, Arianne Cotlenko, Anne Querrien, Lion Murard, Franck Novatti.



▲ Analysis of existing and future psychiatric equipment in the department of Seine-Saint-Denis. The arrondissement of Noisy-le-Grand would be part of the New Town of Marne-la-Vallée, which meant there was a need for coordination across the different public entities. EPA Marne-la-Vallée.

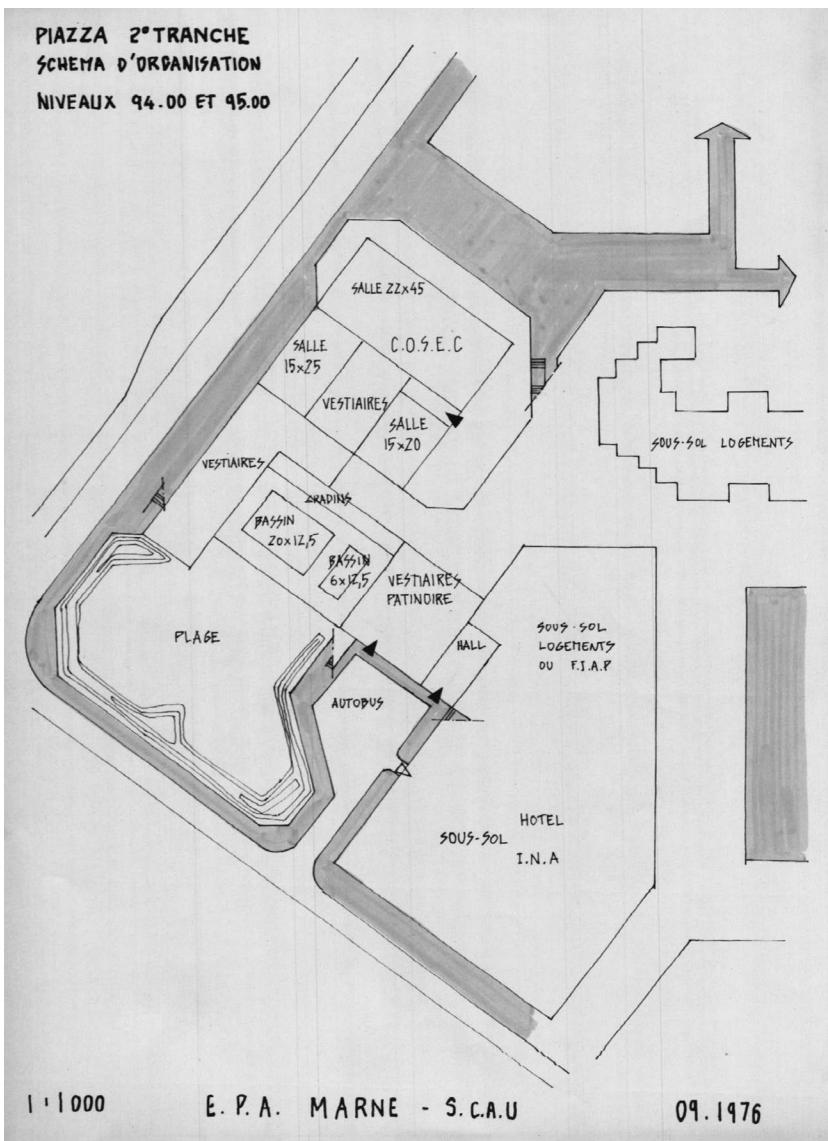




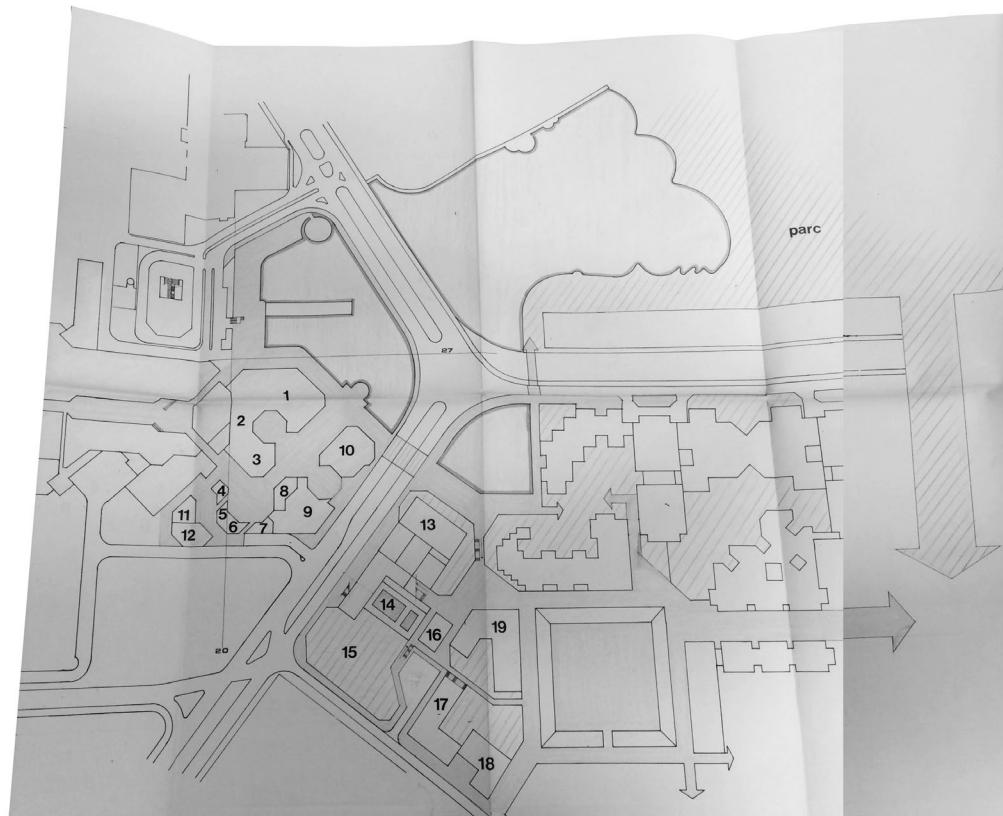
• Preliminary proposal by architects Gruber and Zublena / SCAU, for the "Piazza" at the Regional Urban Centre, Noisy le Grand. EPA Marne-la-Vallée. 15 October 1976.

• Axonometric view by architects Gruber and Zublena of the "Piazza" at Regional Urban Centre, Noisy le Grand, Marne-la-Vallée, 1976.

••• Schematic plan by architects Gruber and Zublena of the "Piazza" at Regional Urban Centre, Noisy le Grand, Marne-la-Vallée. EPA Marne + SCAU. September 1976.



•••



→ Schematic drawing showing the location of key equipment for the Noisy le Grand Regional Urban Centre, including the outpatient psychiatric centre. Gruber and Zublena / SCAU. EPA Marne-la-Vallée. September 1976. EPA Marne-la-Vallée archives.

→ Humorous sketch by Saul Steinberg of a walk-in psychiatric centre proposed by the CERFI for the main "piazza" of the regional urban centre. Printed in *Garde Fous, 'Les Incoincables'*, 10, 1976. Courtesy Annick Kouba. This reminds us of a remark

made by François Fourquet during the meetings at the *École freudienne* in 1972: "How can we ensure that these therapeutic spaces are located in a CES, a young workers' hostel or even a supermarket? Instead of encountering pots and pans, we might come across a nurse. However, for a mental health centre to exist in a supermarket, it would have had to have been planned for during the programming phase of the new town's community equipment' development."

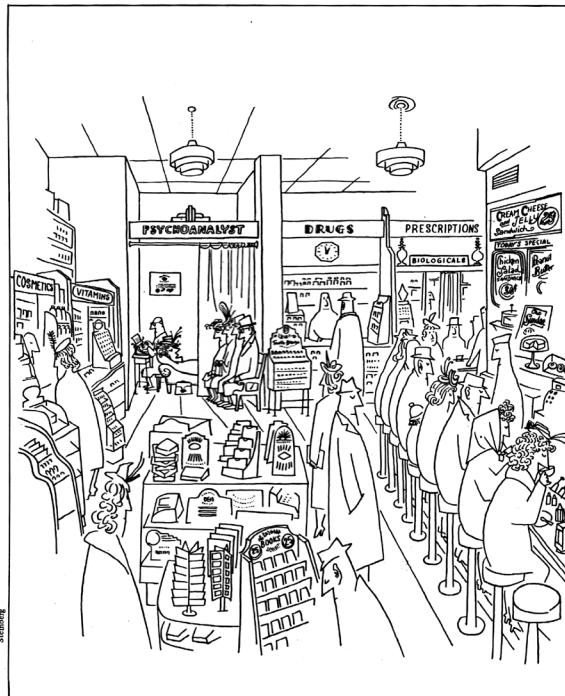
Recherches 17, p. 292.

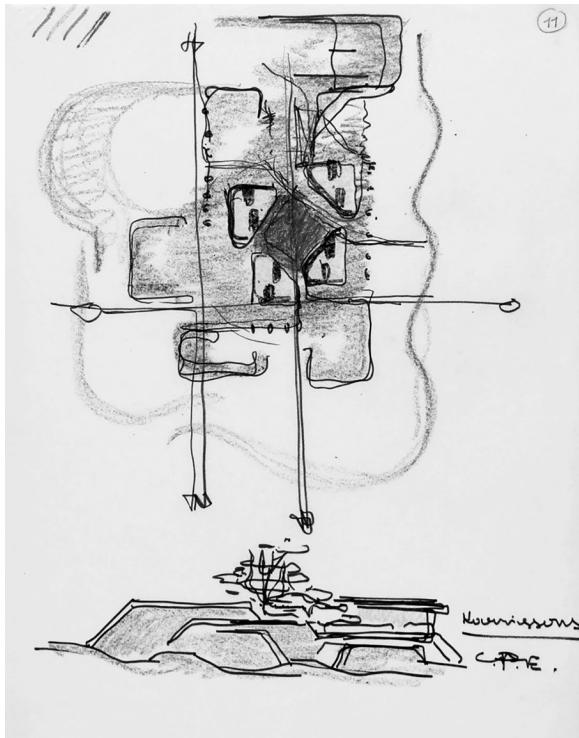
EQUIPEMENTS COLLECTIFS DE
noisy le grand

plan de zonage et de
localisation des équipements
niveaux 93 90 et 98 00

E.P.A. MARNE S.C.A.U. septembre 1976

1. C.A.C. SALLE DE 1000 1200 PLACES
2. C.A.C. SALLE DE 200 300 PLACES
3. C.A.C. SECTEUR ANIMATION
4. C.IVN
5. ANPE
6. C.I.O.
7. CULTE
8. COMMERCES
9. MARCHE COUVERT
10. BIBLIOTHEQUE OU I.D.H.E.C.
11. CENTRE MEDICAL
12. DISPENSARIE
13. COSEC
14. PISCINE
15. PLAGE
16. PATINORE
17. HOTEL
18. INA
19. LOGEMENTS OU F.I.A.P.

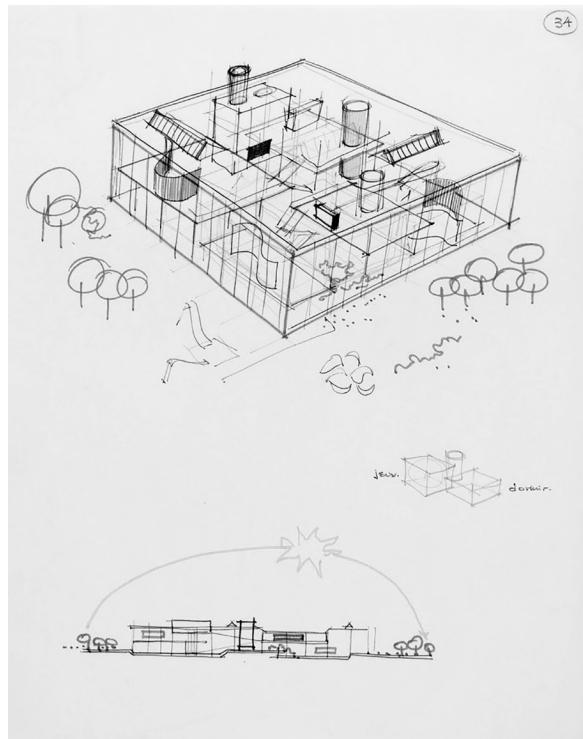
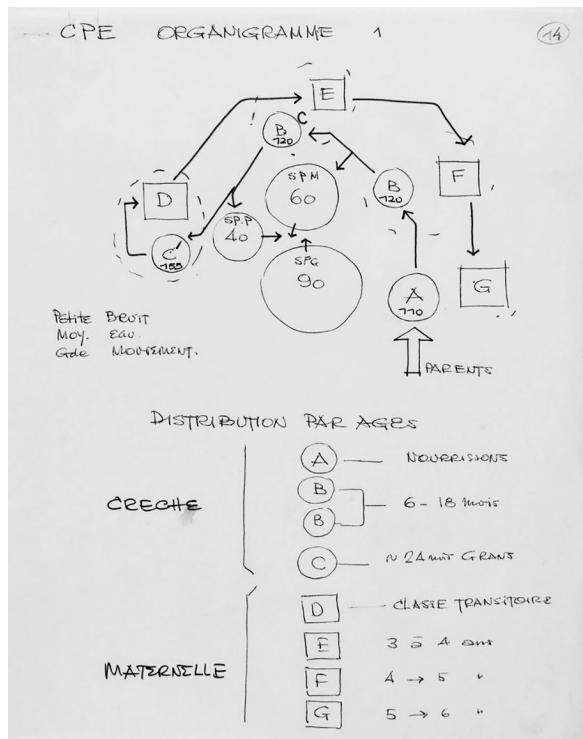




• *Centre de la petite enfance*, Arche Guédon. Marne-la-Vallée. Schematic plan and section by ABAC architects. 1971 © Raoul Pastrana/Marina Raggi. Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI/Audrey Laurans/Dist. GrandPalais-Rmn

•• *Centre de la petite enfance*, Arche Guédon. Marne-la-Vallée. Axonometric sketch by ABAC architects, 1971 © Raoul Pastrana/Marina Raggi. Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI/Audrey Laurans/Dist. GrandPalaisRmn

••• *Centre de la petite enfance*, Arche Guédon. Marne de la Vallée. Axonometric sketch by ABAC architects, 1971 © Raoul Pastrana/Marina Raggi. Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI/Audrey Laurans/Dist. GrandPalais-Rmn



Dossiers and Visual Documents

CHILDCARE GROUP

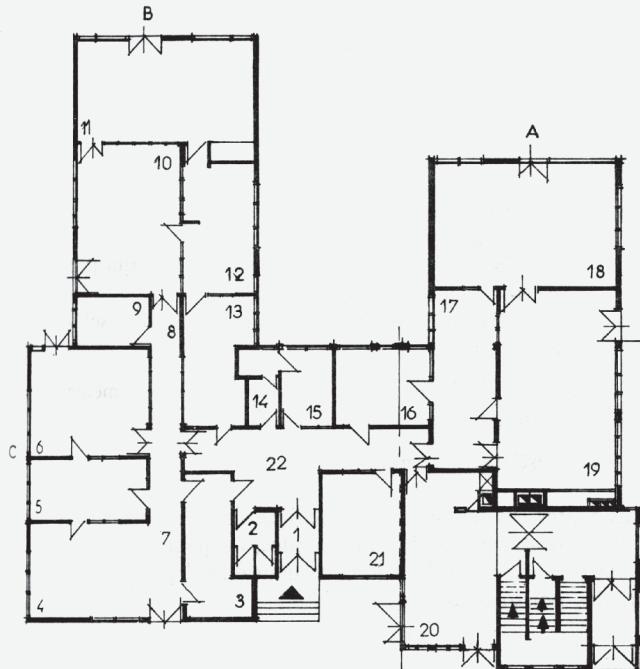
This was one of the key research groups at CERFI and benefited from multiple research grants. At the start, a group led by Liane Mozère received a contract from CORDES to work on nurseries / childcare, with the title *Les gardes d'enfants de 0 à 3 ans comme surface d'inscription des relations entre la famille et le champ social*. CERFI decided to work on the Pont Blanc nursery that had opened in 1969. Their work formally started in 1972. CERFI members spent a significant amount of time in the nursery, promoting conversations and exchanges, observing, and participating in its tasks and activities. Their main goal was to help the women running the nursery to become a 'subject-group'. According to Liane Mozère, CERFI's key actions aimed at the promotion free speech (*parole libre*) across all meetings (institutional, internal, informal) instead of speech exclusively mediated by hierarchical relations; compiling a history of the nursery and its different stages (mobilising the workers to critically reflect on their activities); organising departmental meetings between service workers, social assistants, nursery directors, doctors and psychologists and parents (what they called '*la Boutique*') to discuss key themes of innovation and experimentation; and filming sequences from nurseries to compose a montage that was shared by all (this was to promote the constitution of a network amongst different nurseries). This and the other works that followed along the same line, strongly impacted the CERFI group - particularly its female members who were caring for children. Writing and work processes demanded the research team's constant analytical reflection, interrogating their positionalities as CERFI members, as women, as mothers, as researchers, and as militants. From that point onwards, CERFI started organising day-care centres for their children, as well as holidays together. The women of CERFI felt the need for a certain autonomy, to discover their own language. After 1975, when CERFI subdivided into multiple CERFIs, the crèche group constituted CERFI-EXEE (*Experimentation enfances-espaces*).

CERFI members:

Initial team: Hervé Maury, Liane Mozère, Bernadette Imbert, Nicole Préli. Additionally, the following CERFI members were also involved: Serges Annanian, Prisca Bachelet, Helene Bellour, Cathy Bernheim, Jeanine Christiany, Laurette Colas, Evelyne Compagnon, Ariane Cotlenko, Annie Dussable, Christian Dussable, Alain Fabre, François Fourquet, Anne-Marie Glotz, Gérard Grass, Christian Hennion, Jean-Claude Jardin, Lion Murard, Franck Novati, François Pain, Jean-Pol Pierre, Anne Querrien, Yves Rolland, Luc Rosenzweig, Thierry Rozenweig, Marion Scémama, Claude Zaidman.



CRECHE DU PONT BLANC



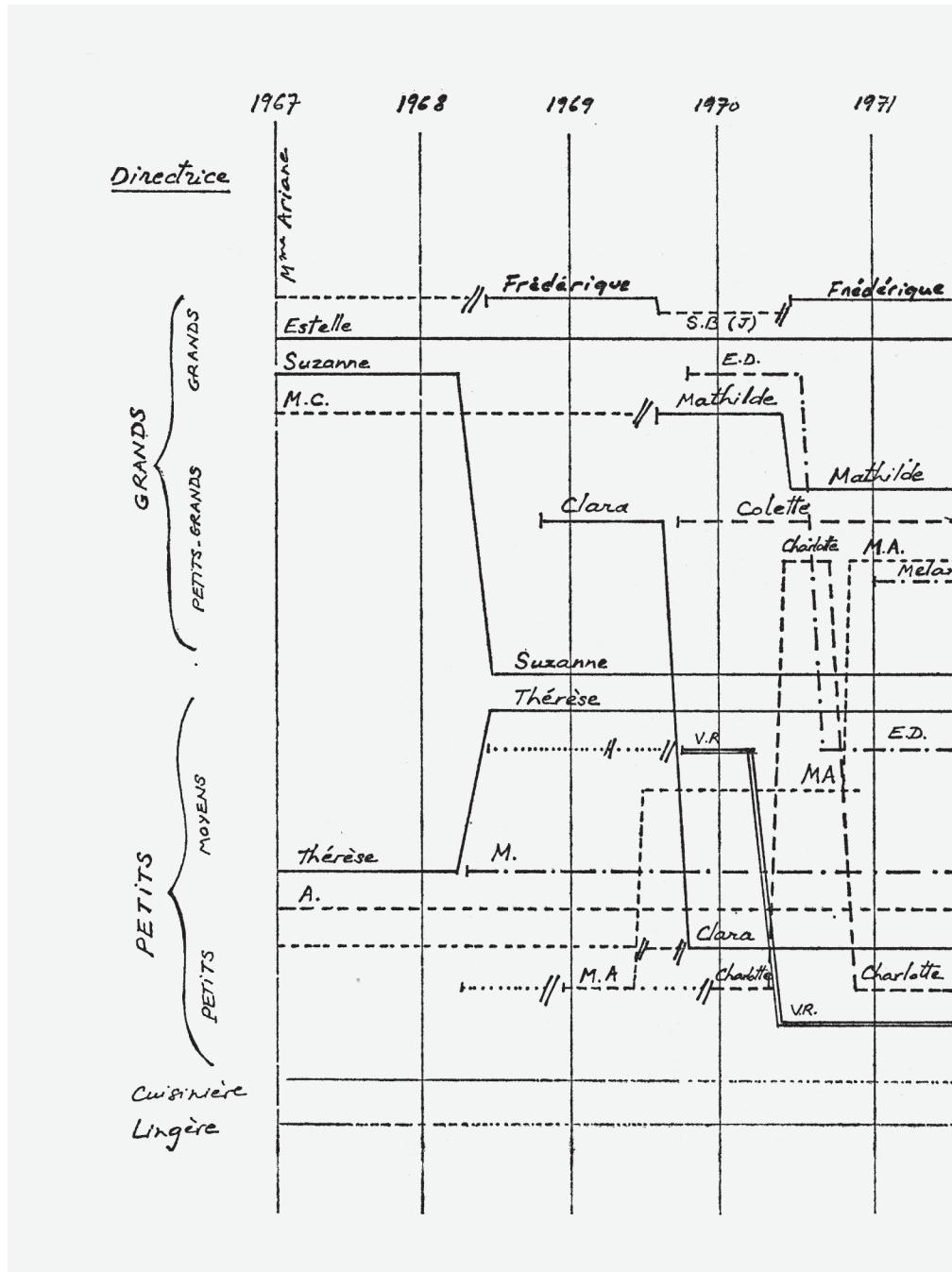
...

• CERFI had been discussing the possibility of organising a place where children could be looked after collectively, outside of family structures and with maximum openness. They felt it was important to involve CERFI parents but also those without children. This intersected with ongoing conversations about questioning traditional categories of work and housing and the possibility of a community where work and private life would come together – what they called ‘integrated housing’. Something like this was partially explored in 74, when a group of CERFI members spent Easter in Mantes taking care of the children of other groups

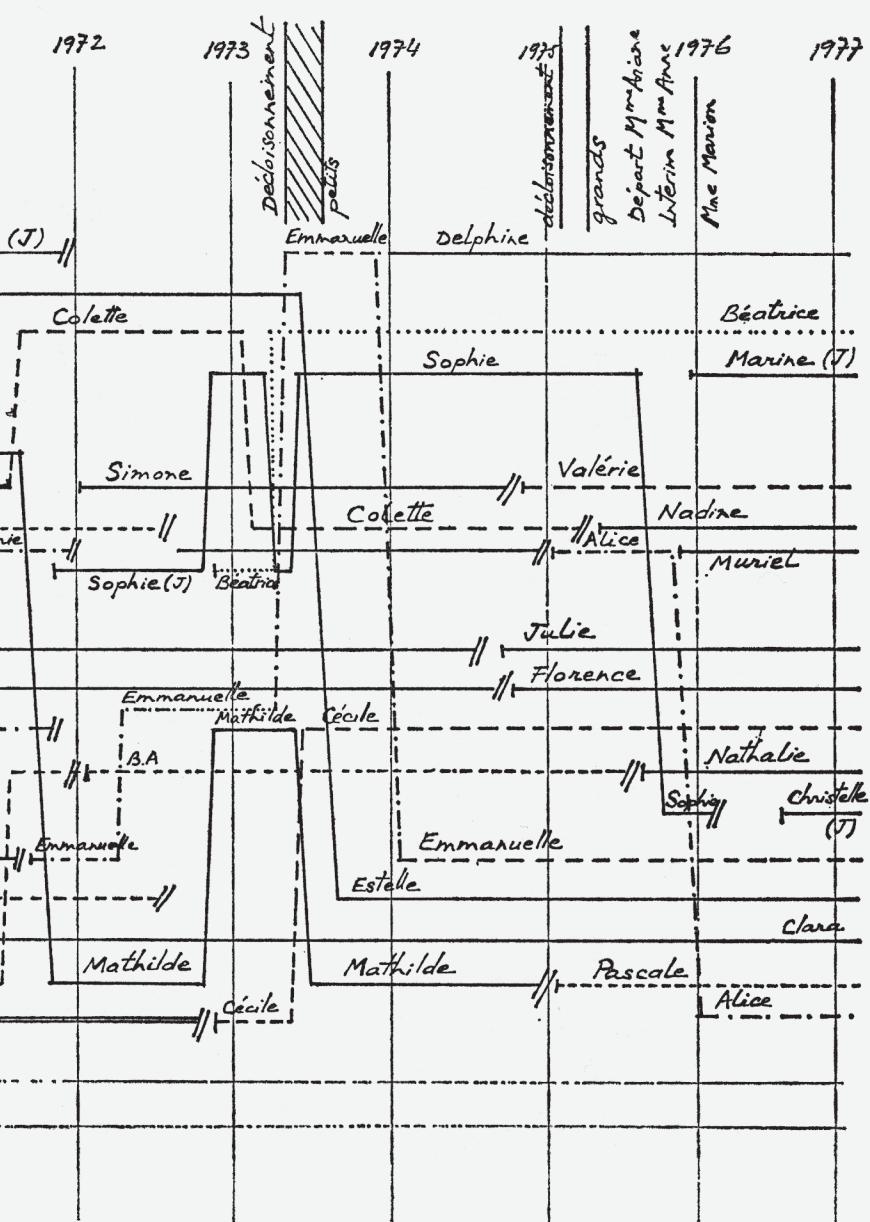
members and friends. The children were all left by their parents after a stay of one to three days. *Recherches*, 27, May 1977, *Des crèches aux multiplicités d'enfants...babillages*, p.262. Liane Mozère and Geneviève Aubert.

• Improvised crèche inside the occupied Sorbonne, Paris, 20 May 1968. UPI/AFP. DR.

• Floor plan, Pont Blanc nursery, Aubervilliers. *Recherches* 27, p. 99.



▲ CERFI's diagram of children's schedules at Pont Blanc nursery, Aubervilliers.
Recherches 27, p. 54



n° 27 mai 1977 50f

recherches

des
crèches
aux
multiplicités
d'enfants

babillages...



liane mozère
geneviève aubert

▲ Image Cover from *Recherches*, 27, May 1977, *Des crèches aux multiplicités d'enfants. Babillages...*, organised by Liane Mozère and Geneviève Aubert. From 1972 to 1975, the crèche group carried out research on childcare centres (crèches, nurseries, childminders). Sometimes this involved living in the crèche, as in the case of the Pont Blanc crèche in Aubervilliers, in order to experience first-hand the daily management, the hierarchy, the organisation of work, the innovations, the team, the openness, and the collective running of these places. The research was financed by Cordes "Les Gardes d'enfants de 0 à 3 ans comme surface d'inscription des relations entre la famille et le champ social", 1975. The report was written by Hervé Maury, Liane Mozère, Bernadette Plinval-Imbert, and Nicole Préli.

Dossiers and Visual Documents

ALMA-GARE

The Alma-Gare neighbourhood had been built in 1860 as social housing for factory workers. In 1966, the municipality of Roubaix proposed its demolition. Soon after, in 1967, the inhabitants – many of them militants linked to the CSCV (*Confédération syndicale du cadre de vie*) – started organising collective actions questioning the purpose of new urban plans. In 1973, demolition was proposed again, now under the idea of “eliminating substandard housing”. In the same year, the Public Atelier of Urbanism (APU) was created, a sort of people’s planning workshop, under the motto that the APU “didn’t represent the inhabitants – the APU is the inhabitants!” The goal was to contest the ways in which urban renewal was implemented. From 1974 onward, CERFI was involved in the process. Gérard Grass, from CERFI, coordinated contacts between the architecture office ABAC and the APU. ABAC had collaborated with CERFI in 1972 on the occasion of the work on the Désirée Clary Child Care Centre in Marne-la-Vallée. In coordination with the APU, ABAC developed an alternative master-plan of the town hall. More than merely being consulted, the inhabitants were active participants in the creation of this alternative plan, which was publicly presented on 11 October 1977. In the same year, the municipality accepted their proposal. At this point, a Working Group was set-up, bringing together APU, ABAC, elected officials, municipal technicians, and the builders for monthly meetings. In 1978, architects AUSIA were appointed to design 378 flats. From 1979, CERFI member Olivier Quéroutil was in charge of the new social centre, and its multiple activities from alphabetisation to leisure, which provided jobs for some of the inhabitants. From 1980, several production cooperatives were set-up, with principles of self-management underlining collective strategies for guaranteeing the social and economic future of the neighbourhood. Examples include: a construction cooperative, a printing collective, and a cooking atelier. Another CERFI member, Rose-Marie Royer joined in the late 1970s to address the lack of connection with the Algerian youth. Engaging Algerian immigrants exclusively in terms of a shared working-class background, was not enough. The work focused on the circulation of oral histories

about the life experiences of the Algerian people of Roubaix, be it via bringing storytellers to schools and radio or via the creation of spaces for the Algerian community, including the proposal of creating a *hammam* for the Algerian women. After François Mitterrand was elected president, government support for the social development of neighbourhoods began to decrease. The lack of funding to support local and cooperative initiatives was accompanied by the gradual moving away of a significant part of the population and eventually many of the new projects had to be abandoned.

CERFI members:

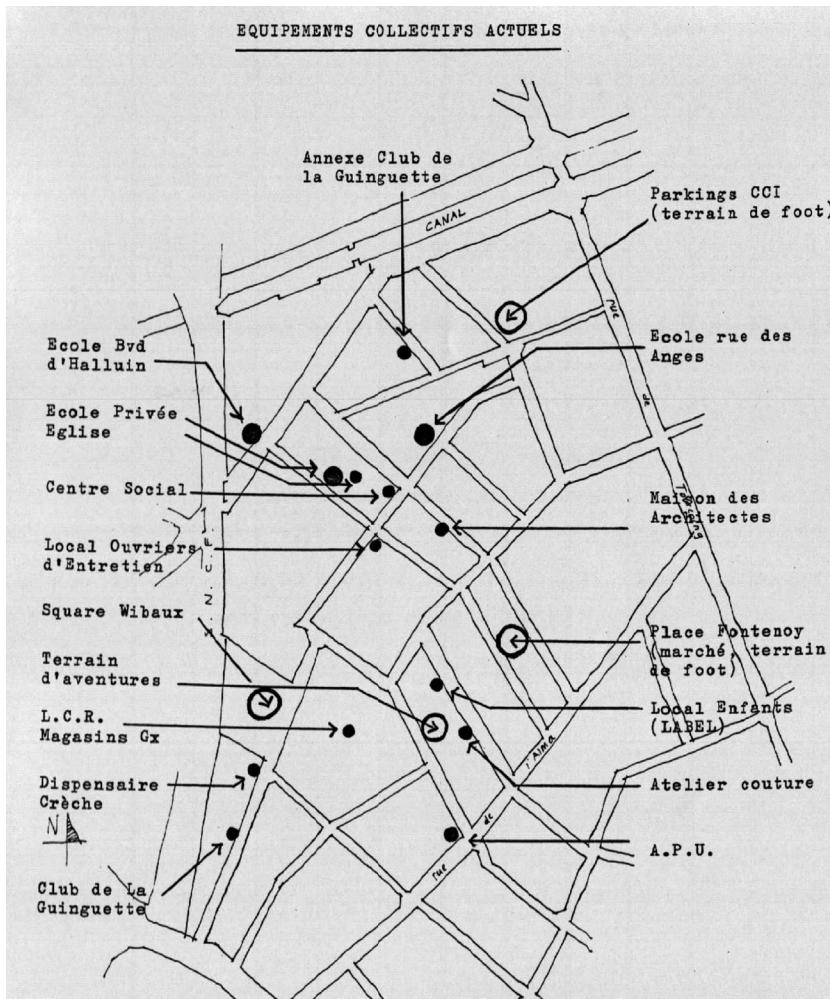
Gérard Grass; Rose-Marie Royer; Olivier Quérouil; Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, and Arianne Cotlenko.



• Rallying words on the walls of Alma Gare © Marc Garanger, November 1975.

• The APU façade
© Marc Garanger, March 1976.

... ABAC's schematic plan of the existing neighbourhood of Alma-Gare indicating existing collective equipment. ABAC. Archives Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Fonds Raoul Pastrana.



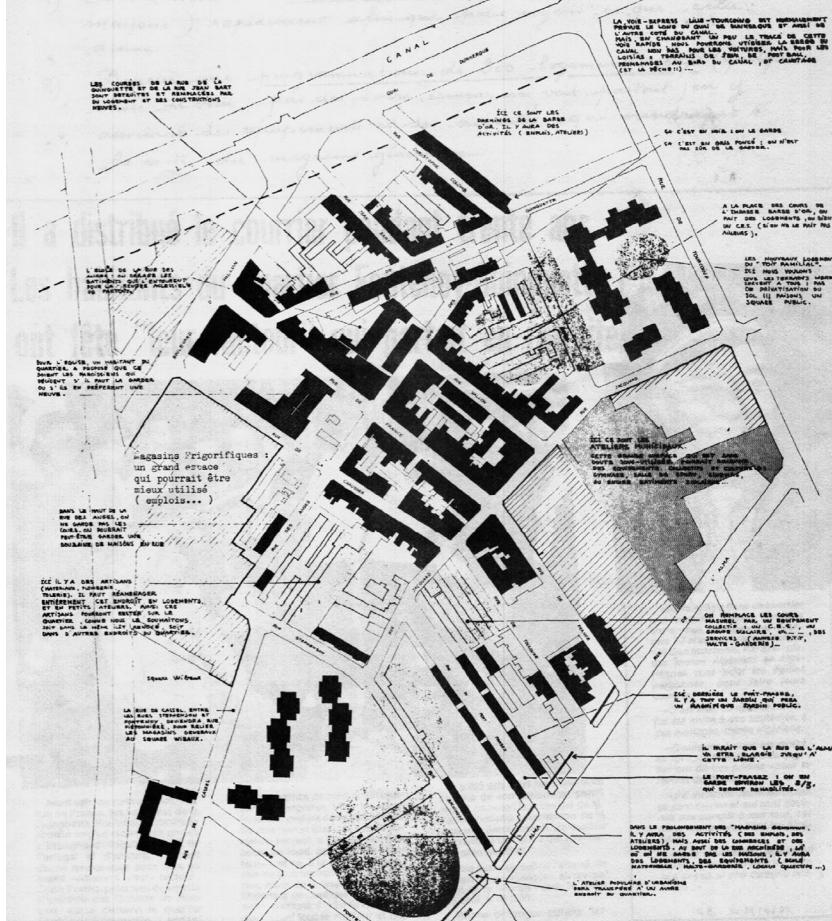
NOUS, HABITANTS DU QUARTIER ORGANISES AVEC LA C.S.C.V. ET L'A.P.U., NOUS VOULONS QUE LE NOUVEAU QUARTIER SOIT FAIT SELON LES IDEES QUE NOUS AVONS DEFINIES SUR CETTE CARTE AVEC LES TECHNICIENS.

NOUS VOULONS :

- RESTER SUR LE QUARTIER.
- GARDER NOS RUES ET UNE PARTIE DES BÂTIMENTS ACTUELS QUI SERONT REHABILITÉS : CE QUI EST EN NOIR SUR LA CARTE, C'EST CE QU'ON VEUT GARDER, EN GRIS FONCÉ, C'EST CE QU'ON EST PAS SUR DE GARDER, ON NE GARDE QUE DES BÂTIMENTS EN RUE, PAS LES COURSES (SAUF UNE OU DEUX)

ATTENTION, SI TOUT LE MONDE PEUT RESTER SUR LE QUARTIER, CA NE VEUT PAS DIRE QUE CHACUN RESTE DANS SA MAISON, PARCE QU'IL Y AURA DES TRAVAUX DANS LES MAISONS QUI SERONT GARDEES, DONC DES DEMANDEMENTS POUR TOUT LE MONDE A L'INTÉRIEUR DU QUARTIER.

- DANS LES ESPACES LIBERÉS PAR LES DEMOLITIONS, ON VEUT DES LOGEMENTS, DES SERVICES (P.T.T., HALTE-GARDIENNES, MAISON MÉDICALE, ETC...) DES ÉQUIPEMENTS COLLECTIFS (ÉCOLES, C.I.S., SALLE DE SPORT, ETC...) DES COMMERCES ET DES ACTIVITÉS D'EMPLOI (ATELIERS,... ARTISANS,...)



A ALMA-GARE CA FAIT PLUS DE DIX ANS QU'ON NOUS PARLE DE RENOVATION-BULLDOZER QUI RASE TOUT LE QUARTIER ET EN CHASSE LES HABITANTS.

NOUS, HABITANTS DU QUARTIER ORGANISÉS AVEC LA CSCV ET L'APU, NOUS VOULONS QUE LE NOUVEAU QUARTIER SOIT FAIT SELON LES IDÉES QUE NOUS AVONS DÉFINIES SUR CETTE CARTE AVEC LES TECHNICIENS.

NOUS VOULONS :

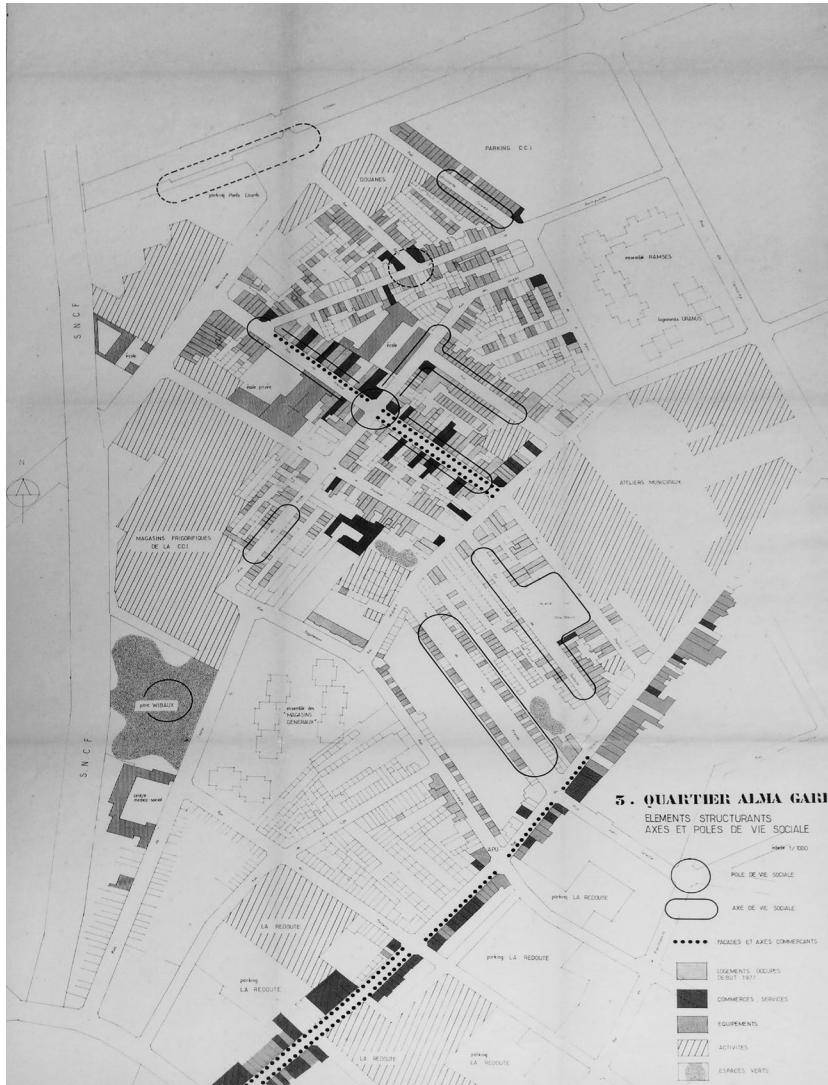
- ① RESTER SUR LE QUARTIER.
- ② GARDER NOS RUES ET UNE PARTIE DES BÂTIMENTS ACTUELS QUI SERONT REHABILITÉS. CE QUI EST EN HOUD SUR LA CARTE, C'EST CE QU'ON VIENT GARDER EN GRIS. POURQUOI ? C'EST CE QU'ON EST PAS SÛR DE GARDER. ON NE SAIT PAS QUE DES BÂTIMENTS EN HOUD, PAS LES COURSES (sous une ou deux). ATTENTION, SI TOUT LE MONDE PEUT RESTER SUR LE QUARTIER, ÇA NE VIENT PAS DIRE QUE CHACUN RESTE DANS SA MAISON. PARCE QU'IL Y AURA DES TRAVAUX DANS LES MAISONS QUI SERONT GARDÉES. DONC DES DÉMÉNAGEMENTS POUR TOUT LE MONDE A L'INTÉRIEUR DU QUARTIER.
- ③ DANS LES ESPACES LIBÉRÉS PAR LES DÉMOLITIONS, ON VIENT DES LOGEMENTS, DES SERVICES (P.T.T. HAUTE-BARBIÈRE, MAISON MÉDICALE, etc.), DES ÉQUIPEMENTS COLLECTIFS (ÉCOLES, C.S.S., SALLE DE SPORT, etc.), DES COMMERCES ET DES ACTIVITÉS D'EMPLOI (ARTISANS, ARTISANES...).

↳ Analysis of the existing neighbourhood of Alma-Gare including key demands by local inhabitants (listing streets and buildings that should not be demolished, or where to insert new collective equipment, such as schools, sports, childcare centres, post office). APU / ABAC. Archives Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Fonds Raoul Pastrana.

↑ “We, the residents of the district organised with the CSCV and the APU, want the new district to be built according to the ideas we have defined on this map with the technicians”. Poster map APU - ABAC. Archives Collection d' Architecture du MNAM-CCI. Marina Raggi and Raoul Pastrana.

▼ APU - ABAC. Archives Collection d'Architecture du MNAM-CCI.
Quartier Alma-Gare Plan - Structural elements. Axes and centres of social life. 1970-1979 Architectural drawing, Plan. Scale 1:1000. Marina Raggi and Raoul Pastrana.

► Women played a leading role in the APU (Atelier Populaire d'Urbanism) weekly neighbourhood meetings. In the foreground we can see Marie-Agnès Leman, a leading activist from APU. Film-stills from "Quand les habitants prennent l'initiative". Réalisation: ACET / société coopérative de production, 1981.





ATELIER

Journal publié par L'ATELIER POPULAIRE D'URBANISME
du quartier ALMA-GARE (Roubaix) et la CSCV (apf).

39 avenue Frasne 59100 ROUBAIX



Avec l'aide des architectes, les habitants continuent la lutte pour obtenir un vrai logement, pour maintenir et développer la vie collective du quartier.

les technocrates travaillent dans le secret de leurs bureaux.

Notre façon de travailler est toute différente :
Comment a été faite la carte ?

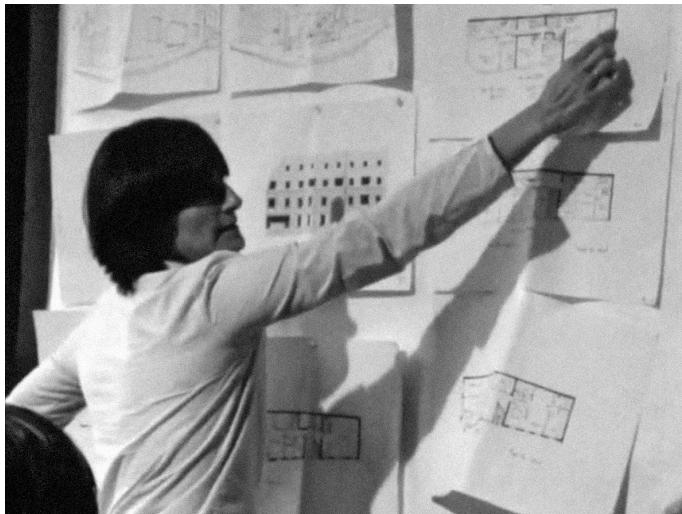


• Cover of *L'Atelier*, the APU newspaper (1976-1977), Issue 1, February 1977, with the following caption "The technicians are here! But where? Here, among us! I cannot see a thing! Look harder! I can see them! / With the help of the architects, the residents are continuing to fight for real housing and to maintain and develop the community life of the neighbourhood." May 1977. Archives Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Fonds Raoul Pastrana.

• Cover of *L'Atelier*, the APU newspaper with a timeline of the urban renewal process. May 1977. Archives Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Fonds Raoul Pastrana.

• Page from *L'Atelier*. May 1977. CERFI's presence is felt in the different analytical strategies namely the multiple working groups (of elderly people, the life of the neighbourhood and rehabilitation), 'street meetings',

the Wednesday weekly meetings, and the general assemblies. This page explains how the poster map was created. "Technocrats work behind closed doors in their offices. Our way of working is completely different. / How was the map created? The working groups of residents and technicians, the group of elderly people, the "neighbourhood life" group and the renovation group, have been meeting regularly for several months to discuss the future of the neighbourhood. / In early March, a dozen street meetings were held to explain, clarify and finalise the poster map before its publication. / Every Wednesday at 7.30pm, there is a meeting of *L'Atelier Populaire d'Urbanisme*. On Saturday 5 March, a general meeting of local residents examined the poster map. / Once published, the map was displayed throughout the neighbourhood. Archives Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Fonds Raoul Pastrana.



Programme vulnérable, mais aussi programme de référence dans la logique d'un mode de production public et contradictoire qui implique l'interpellation.

Ce programme, à chaque instant, devrait permettre de s'interroger sur l'objet en cours, d'interroger les acteurs de cette production sur les transcriptions qu'ils font de ce programme.



Sur les murs de l'Alma-Gare

...

- Image of an APU meeting discussing the floorplans of the new housing units designed by AUSIA. A still from "Quand les habitants prennent l'initiative". Réalisation: ACET / société coopérative de production, 1981.
- This text introduces a pre-programming research dossier by ABAC from August-September 1979. Of note, the notion of a programme is presented as follows: 'A programme that is vulnerable, but also a programme that serves as a reference within the logic of a public and contradictory mode of production, which implies questioning. At every

moment, this programme should allow us to question the object at hand, as well as the actors involved in its production, about their interpretations of the programme'. Archives Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Fonds Raoul Pastrana.

••• Mural journal: slogan on the walls of Alma-Gare: "Francais, immigrés, tous unis" (French, immigrants, all united), together with drawings of trees and the date 11/10/76. Abac: research on the programming of the Alma-Gare district in Roubaix. Intermediate report, Graphical appendix, June 1977.

Dossiers and Visual Documents

PETIT SÉMINAIRE

In 1975, Hervé Maury and Michel Anselme created the sub-group CERFISE (Sud Est) so they could engage the inhabitants of Petit Séminaire, a 240-flats housing estate designed by renowned architects G. Candilis, A. Josic, S. Woods, Guy Brunache, and J. L. Sourdeau, in the suburbs of Marseille. In 1976 they received a contract from the DGRST and the *Agence Urbanisme Marseille* to work with the filmmaker Paul Saadoun to produce a report on how to improve the estate. From CERFISE'S perspective, this report should prioritise understanding the impact of spatial aspects on the existing forms of social organisation. In 1978, CERFISE returned to work with a new team including Françoise Bravelet, Michel Peraldi and Yves Ronchi, and in collaboration with AURA architects (Jacques Boutron, Rainier Hoddé et André Jolivet). Later in the year, the OPHLM (Public Office for Low-rent Housing), decided to intervene and commission CERFISE. Aiming at including all inhabitants in the process of renovating the neighbourhood, CERFISE embarked on a process of engaging and catalysing the different communities that inhabited the estate through constant presence, assemblies, and weekly meetings. CERFISE worked with photographer Jacques Reboud between 1980-1982 to take photographs of different interiors of flats and exhibit them, so that different communities could get to know each other. Similarly, in 1980, they screened in the courtyard a film by *Vidéo 13*, a team of filmmakers, focusing on the Petit Séminaire mosque and a group of Algerian inhabitants discussing one of the pilot apartments that had been refurbished.

CERFI-SE members:

Michel Anselme, Hervé Maury, Paul Saadoun, Françoise Bravelet, Michel Peraldi, Yves Ronchi, Catherine Foret, Jean Louis Parisis.

“Basically, I went door to door and offered to take portraits of families or groups. I just had a 24x36 camera and a wide-angle lens (24mm), no tripod, no lighting, no staging. I took things as they came. I would come back a few days later with a print. I immediately decided to sell the prints for a symbolic amount, out of respect for the people and so that they would consider my work on the same level as that of a plumber or an electrician, and the photo as a chosen object. (...) I sold 13x18 or 18x24 (cm) prints, and some photos were very successful. All the prints were pinned to the wall of the rehabilitation centre as they arrived, so people could order the photo they were interested in.”

— JACQUES REBOUD, in an email to us, 2025.



• Photograph of Petit Séminaire in Marseille. We would like to thank Jacques Reboud for generously providing these photos. Photo by Jacques Reboud.

•• Mosque set up by residents in a ground floor flat of Petit Séminaire. Photo by Jacques Reboud.

••• A woman and her children pose for a photo before moving into an apartment. People would use a pickaxe to open doors (holes) in the housing development and claim the apartments. Photo by Jacques Reboud.



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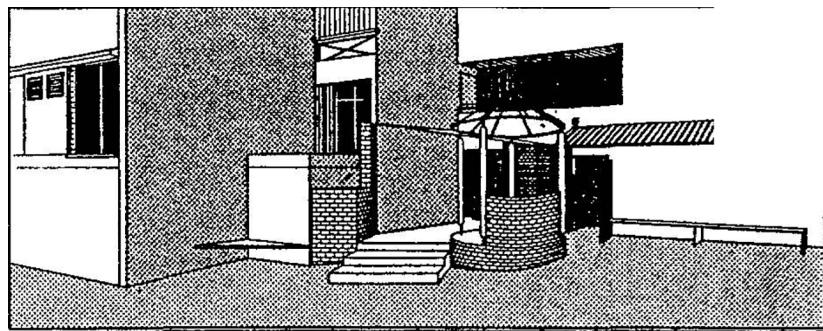
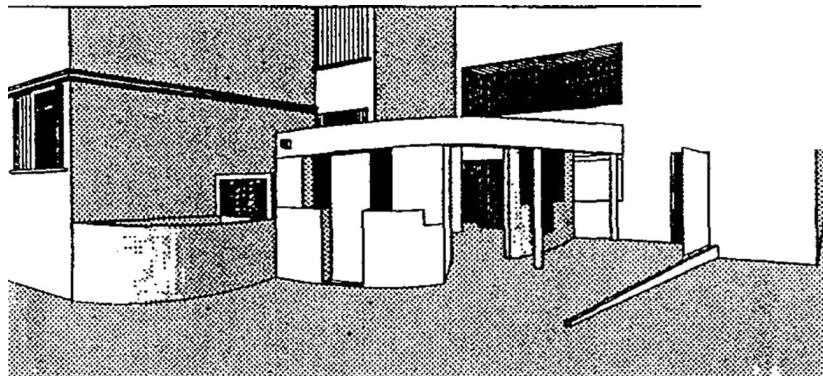
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• Michel Anselm of CERFISE talking with residents in front of the permanent rehabilitation office (*local de la permanence de la réhabilitation*). To his left is Rabah Remous, a resident and caretaker at the Petit Séminaire, who was a major supporter of the rehabilitation team. To Remous' left is Paul Saadoun, from the *Vidéo 13 team*, which also worked in the neighbourhood. Petit Séminaire, Marseille, 1980. Photo by Jacques Reboud.

•• Michel Anselme and a young girl. Petit Séminaire, Marseille, 1980. Photo by Jacques Reboud

••• An allotment on the grounds of the Petit Séminaire. Photo by Jacques Reboud

•••• A couple poses for a photo in front of Petit Séminaire. Photo by Jacques Reboud.



▲ Sketch of proposed interventions by Jacques Boutron, Rainier Hoddé and André Jolivet (AURA architects). Reprint from Rainier Hoddé. "Quelles qualités pour une réhabilitation en concertation? Retour sur l'expérience de la cité du Petit Séminaire (1976-1986)" in *Cahiers Ramau 5, La construction collective de la qualité*, Paris, Éditions de la Villette - Réseau Ramau, 2009, p. 31

CHAPTER 4

A GROUP ANALYTICAL EXPERIMENT

At CERFI, the question of revolution was no longer a question for tomorrow, but for today. What was it to be revolutionary, hic et nunc? It wasn't just about having the right ideas and spreading them. It was also about ways of living, of earning a living and of inventing it.

— MICHEL ROSTAIN, our interview¹⁹¹

The libidinal conditions of our collective production are at the same time its militant conditions.

— FRANÇOIS FOURQUET and LION MURARD, *Recherches* 13¹⁹²

The research on collective equipment might have been the main source of income and growth for CERFI, but it was not its sole focus. CERFI itself was an analytical endeavour. How would CERFI operate distinctly to most militant organisations or the professionalised research centre? In what ways did the fundamentals of the theoretical and political spirit that united the group manifest in its own mechanisms of organisation, maintenance and survival?

After 1968 the decision was to reinvent CERFI as a research co-operative from which its members could make a living. The main compromise was to do so whilst testing new types of revolutionary organisation, modes of life and work, that would prevent falling into the problems which CERFI had previously identified in small militant groups. This demanded a specific form of collective work, taking into account the unconscious and subjective dimensions of groups. To reinvent modes of working as a collective meant to take upon itself an experimentation in principle similar to what they had participated in at La Borde. The intention was, as Liane Mozère wrote, “the search

¹⁹¹ Interview with Michel Rostain, February 2021.

¹⁹² “Introduction”, *Recherches* 13, p. 2.

for a material and subjective assemblage susceptible to fight against subjection, to favour the emergence of a subjectivity and a creativity as little alienated as possible.”¹⁹³ As Lion Murard told us: “To tell the truth, the extreme ambition of the project was that we were the cadres of the future revolution.”¹⁹⁴

This is not to say that CERFIIs had a shared expectation of what the professionals of the future revolution would be like. This commitment to *de facto* embark on a collective analytical experiment, although agreed upon by all members, will evidently mean different things at the level of practice. According to Murard “part of the group wanted to intervene on the ground, and the other part wanted to develop research in writing.”¹⁹⁵ Murard and Fourquet, for example, were focused more on writing than on action research. On the opposite side of the spectrum, Anne Querrien and Liane Mozère were more interested in the action research potential of CERFI’s interventions. At the same time, as noted by Murard “[for Guattari] research was just a pretext for an attempt at schizoanalysis or group analysis, meaning that intellectual production was much less important in his mind.”¹⁹⁶ Thus, from the start CERFI differed around expectations and ambitions. Nonetheless, in what follows, we provide an overview of CERFI’s internal organisation to interrogate how it manifested their own analytical-militant process.

How to Work Together

A contingency of CERFI’s work was the writing up of research reports, which were often lengthy and arduous. This often led to disputes over the distribution of writing responsibilities. Many of CERFI’s reports included frank and blunt reflections about the research

¹⁹³ Mozère, *Le Cerfi, une communauté de travail*, p. 128.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Lion Murard, June 2021.

¹⁹⁵ Lion Murard, *ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Lion Murard, *ibid.*

process, with group discussions on both content and modes of working, revealing dissent and conflict with no attempt at hiding any of it. Issues of gender, work, money, sex, authorship are often addressed, exposing tensions within the group, while openly acknowledging the role of libido and power relations in the research and group process. For example, *Recherches* 13, includes a series of critical comments by its members, entitled “Militant Interventions”. These provide insight into individual desires clashing with the orientation of the research or the way it was conducted, leading to questions around the collective nature of work, militant compromises and the ‘good’ or ‘bad’ theory.¹⁹⁷ Most issues raised touched on a poorly-organised writing process whereby Fourquet, Murard and Marie-Thérèse in a first stage, and then Fourquet and Murard ended up writing most of the work.¹⁹⁸

The issue of authorship also comes up in these militant interventions, and differing opinions between signing individually – favouring the recognition of the work that someone has done or ‘giving credit where credit is due’ – or signing collectively – in recognition of a work that emerged out of a collective process. While in *Recherches* 17 they chose to use name codes, in *Recherches* 13 texts are signed individually and the issue is signed by a group of alphabetically listed names. The latter seeming to represent, for the authors of the introductory text (but perhaps not the totality of the contributors?)

¹⁹⁷ Anne Querrien, for example, manifested her concern with how *Recherches* 13 historical focus was leading to a relation to militancy being lost, without an adequate theoretical proposal to compensate for it. At the same time, Querrien notes that her conflict with Hervé regarding collective equipment led to them mutually cancelling each other out, resulting in Fourquet becoming the main writer of *Recherches* 13. On her part, Marie-Thérèse criticised Fourquet’s distancing, and writing by himself outside of the group’s discussions – as well as the stressful writing process they had to endure to produce the report due to externally imposed deadlines.

¹⁹⁸ The reasons behind this ranged from disruptions to the work derived from the beginning of a collaboration with *Front homosexuel d'action révolutionnaire* (FHAR) mid-way through the research project; to disagreements on theoretical and working methods, or simply to Fourquet’s prolific writing skills – as noted by Querrien in our interview, January 2020.

a certain collapse of militant idealism in the passage from action to writing, incarnated in the inability to resist the ‘first name’.

In “*Histoires d'une Revue*”, Stéphane Nadoud makes the fair argument that CERFI’s ambitious project of collective writing was only realised in a few issues¹⁹⁹. We would point out, however, that many issues were the very fruit of a collective process – such as the aforementioned *Recherches* 13, *Recherches* 17, *Histoire de la psychiatrie du secteur*, *Recherches* 21, *Histoires de La Borde*, *Recherches* 27, *Babillages*, or *Recherches* 15, *Coopération et Pratique* – all of which made extensive use of collective discussion and reflections on practice. But more to the point, in the light of our research, we are not sure that the ambition of ‘collective writing’ ever existed in such a formal way. In one of our conversations Anne Querrien explained “I don’t think we were all that concerned with collective writing, in the sense that everyone would have held the same pen. In reality, we wrote bits and pieces individually, which we submitted to others, who criticised, corrected and so on.”²⁰⁰ Fourquet’s preamble to *Recherches* 14 offers further insight:

“The ‘we’ who speaks in it is both fictional and real: fictional, because only one person, only one ‘deputy’ (and not a group) has materially written these pages. Real, because this deputy is dispersed in a multiplicity of “we” who constitute the historical framework of his discourse: “we, who were communist students”; “we, the revolutionary militants”; “we, who affirm the primacy of unconscious desire”; “we, the genealogy writer group”, etc. (to mention only the identifiable ‘we’). But it is impossible, unless *Recherches* and the Cerfi are frozen into a more or less unanimous collective entity, to maintain ambiguity about the origin of the text.”²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Stéphane Nadaud, “*Recherches* (1966–1982): histoire(s) d'une revue”, *La revue des revues* 34 (2003), pp. 47–76.

²⁰⁰ Interview with Anne Querrien, January 2020.

²⁰¹ Fourquet, *Recherches* 14, p. 5. [Our translation]

In the discussion “*Chercheurs fonctionnaires?*” published in *Recherches* 23 and included in this book, Anne Querrien, Claude Rouot, Lion Mu-rard and Michel Rostain return to this problem of defining collective research [See *State Researchers*, pp. 413–441]. Despite different expectations at the start, the realisation that CERFI members had different interests and skills, and the fact they did not want to become or be seen as homogeneous, dictated that the collective process of writing was not always collective in the same way. Sometimes this led to the erasure of the ‘first name’, other times this led to identifying the name of the writer, in a few cases fake names were used, in many cases initials only, and others even, a collective signature. They also explored ideas of ‘sensual writing’ which meant allowing themselves to be affected by the object of study.²⁰² In other words, collective work was more important than collective writing. In conversation with us, Anne Querrien said that François Fourquet was committed to writing all the time – which explained why he would be the author of so many of CERFI’s initial texts. Surely that is not all there is to it, and Marie-Thérèse Vernet-Stragiotti’s critical reflections on the difficult process of collective writing included in *Recherches* 13 are evidence of that. Nonetheless, we find it important to highlight how this reflection on the authorial aspects of collective work, as a continuation of the ambition of militant analysis, was constituent for CERFI, even if it led to inescapable difficulties. Tensions were not concealed. The fact that the critical comments on authorship are openly included as part of the published material speaks to the commitment to their analytical group practice.

202 See Judith Belladonna, *Recherches* 26, *Folles femmes de leurs corps, prostituées*, March, 1977: “A certain passion for writing that provokes reflection; a certain reflection that orders – or disrupts – writing. It is the combination of these two intensities that appealed to *Recherches* (...) The tone has this accuracy precisely because of the connection between the object and its unveiling through ‘sensual’ writing; between the object and the sensitive body that perceives it; because it allows the object to be what it is – absolute strangeness to the order of ‘reason’; because it discovers the object without appropriating it. This is what we also want to affirm alongside Judith.” p.8.

Analytical Self-management

CERFI's exploration of group-analytical processes is even more evident in their reinvention of administrative practices, converting them into analytical devices. We have previously made note of how, after 1968, CERFI reconstituted itself with a President, a General Secretary, an Administrator, among other positions. These roles, however, were only formal. In reality, a core decision of CERFI was that most roles were rotational, instead of pre-determined according to academic or professional training or skills. Avoiding the dangers that came with predefined roles (self-enclosure, alienation, formation of hierarchical distinctions), CERFI members occupied roles according to their interests and in a rotational fashion to avoid power crystallisations. That meant members had to develop multiple skills, of writing, administration, editing, researching, etc. As Lion Murard remarked: "Where the militancy was most salient, most prevalent, was indeed, around the idea of polyvalence..."²⁰³, an ambition that aimed at avoiding specialisation, the identification of subjects and tasks, and falling into what Sartre referred to as a *serial* condition. This approach was influenced by La Borde's implementation of "the grid", a mechanism for the distribution of tasks and duties across the entire institution, so as to avoid mindless repetition and identity crystallisation. As we observed elsewhere, this allowed both for transversality across the institution, as well for a collective analytical protocol²⁰⁴. In the words of Michel Rostain "the idea that we could all adapt to many different tasks came from La Borde. It was wonderful and sometimes a bit scary. From time to time, you'd end up with someone, an individual or a group, who was incapable of doing what they wanted to do. CERFI was like that... Wonderful, we often managed to get by."

²⁰³ Interview with Lion Murard, June 2021.

²⁰⁴ On the grid, see Caló, "The Grid", 2016.

In this spirit, CERFI's approach to budget and pay was also particular: as we have noted, its constitution post-68 was concerned firstly with guaranteeing means of survival for all. According to Lion Murard, "while all the left groups in Paris rejected anything to do with money, we were going to build up a war chest. We were going to make money, [considering that] it's not dirty as long as we know how to redistribute it, how to manage it."²⁰⁵ That aspect remained central throughout. While 'permanent' members had a fixed base salary, they could request additional funding depending on projects, in the same way as all others, non-permanent members. Pay was not equal for all but distributed in an equitable way according to each one's needs. This implied that a constant collective discussion of work processes in relation to pay was taking place. It was not democratic in a formal sense, but it presumed collective debate and decision.²⁰⁶ It also implied a different relationship with money, not of a quantitative nature, but as a means to support people in their lives.

Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel recalls how unique it was that her pay was adjusted to her needs:

"I went to one or two meetings and then I stayed. After a month they asked me how much I wanted to earn. I never imagined I'd make any money in this place of militant research. I saw that people were asking for the salary they wanted, no doubt what they needed to live on. I found it completely mind-boggling. I'd never heard of that, I'd never seen that. Except in books, in an egalitarian world, it could be possible. But in real life it did exist! It was unheard of. In short, I couldn't believe it and I just stood there. (...) Asking for the salary you wanted was incredible, especially as there were incredible differences in salary. And if you had a problem, with your car for example, you could ask for more. I asked for more. In your salary, you included your life,

²⁰⁵ Interview with Lion Murard, June 2021.

²⁰⁶ See Morford, pp. 140-147.

and in your life, there could be kids and you weren't blamed. Even if you turned up late because you were bringing up your child alone, it was still fine. I remember that as a relief, as a balm. It marked me for life.”²⁰⁷

This mode of budget distribution allowed providing financial support for those in need of childcare or others (it is worth noting that many members abandoned other jobs to be part of CERFI). Lion Murard provides additional detail on this aspect:

“Money was not indexed or related to the amount of work or the wealth of the work produced. It was a function of needs. That's the communist principle: from each according to his needs. So, you had to say, I've got my partner, I've got two little girls, I need x per month. We had very few collective expenses because we didn't have a secretary and so on. The equivalent of what a secretary would have cost, we put into our journal to produce it, and because we gave a lot of money, our own salary was very low. To tell the truth, it was a time when we had very, very little money.”²⁰⁸

Crucially, the funding that was granted for large research projects – such as the *genealogy* contracts – was often redistributed to other endeavours. In part, this had to do with solidarity and coordination across the different projects to prevent self-enclosure:

“There was solidarity between the different teams, and of course there were discrepancies in the times when the money came in. In other words, the money would come in, for example, on such and such a collective equipment contract. I had a contract, for example, on mining towns, the money came in. At that time, Anne Querrien, for example,

²⁰⁷ Interview with Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, March, 2022.

²⁰⁸ Interview with Lion Murard, June 2021.

who was working on a project for a school, and she hadn't received anything yet, the money was distributed around her. It didn't matter, because afterwards it was reciprocal, if you like, it wasn't everyone keeping their own money and living in isolation and autonomy. It was a system of solidarity between the different groups.”²⁰⁹

Often it was a matter of providing support to projects that otherwise would have difficulties in sourcing means of existence. And with this, a far more complex research agenda could be supported, avoiding crystallisations and serialisations typical of anti-production slowly setting in within institutions.

Tasked with managing this process, the practice of accounting would gain prominence as a collective analytical mechanism of sorts, as a space to argue both research, survival or interests and libidinal investments. Due to the ambition of programming against anti-production, like everything else in CERFI, accounting was rotational as a way to prevent a certain competency, and the formation of hierarchical structures and bureaucracy. Because everyone would have to assume the role, accounting became a mechanism to both trace and dispute the collective intellectual, militant and affective investments of the group.

Inspired by La Borde, the coordination of every administrative, managerial or mundane maintenance task allowed for a therapeutic opportunity of foregrounding how desire permeated the institution via the different libidinal investments of its participants. This “libidinal rationality” – in the words of Michel Rostain – was a mechanism that allowed for CERFI to operate differently and unlike a typical professional research centre. It was a different ethos of research in terms of management, one that Rostain tellingly remarks “was very funny, with crises and conflicts but which we overcame (...) It was a very, very crazy way of managing money which was not rational at all, I

209 Lion Murard, *ibid.*

mean, it was rational in terms of eroticism, but not at all in terms of the usual management of money”²¹⁰. And yet, although in principle the responsibility should be rotated, according to our interviews this was not always the case, because few volunteered for such a role and because it was necessary to find someone that everyone was comfortable with. It is also worth noting that it was not easy for everyone to articulate their needs in such a collective way. From 1975 onwards, the formation of independent sub-groups would help to make the discussion about money easier to handle and to take place in a more supported way. In any case, Rostain explains, the way money and budgets were managed allowed at least to involve, employ and reimburse people with no formal experience in research. He notes:

“In 1974, a year when there was plenty of work and cash around, there were nearly eighty people in receipt of CERFI money, which is to say probably around a hundred people who participated in our work in one way or another, or even who, having not participated very closely, still found themselves intimately brought into the network, which is to say that the dynamic of our work led to that result. It’s not that we were rich, not at all, I don’t know who calculated at the time that we in fact had enough money to employ 20 people full-time. However, we ensured that work and money circulated differently to how they would have done in state-run structures. This is what would become difficult, it seems, in the new age that’s being heralded, as it would be prohibited to compensate people without a formal history of experience in research.”²¹¹

210 Morford, p. 140.

211 Interview with Michel Rostain, June 2021.

Exceptional Objects

The redistribution of the research budget was core to CERFI to the point they put in place a mechanism to avoid getting blocked by forces of anti-production, beyond the demands and bureaucracies of state-funded research. As pointed out by Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel: “Even though there were other independent research groups that also won contracts, the CERFI’s singular feature was that it redistributed the money to militant activities, to the journal *Recherches*²¹², and to the development of projects that would otherwise have had difficulty finding funding, either because the subjects were risky or because the team did not have a degree, etc.”²¹³ CERFI supported ‘minor’ streams of research, to which they gave the name of ‘exceptional’ research objects, sometimes also called ‘erotic’ objects. This meant both the support for projects presented in meetings or directly to the accounting team; and more importantly, support for a diverse series of research groups, ranging from a research group on drugs, a film club, a theatre group, among many others.

Anne Querrien refers to this as one of the key rules of CERFI: “creating a line of flight, the possibility of financialising a project or an exceptional object”, and indeed, these objects varied broadly.²¹⁴ For example, Florence Pétry recalled how for a while a sewing group (*groupe couture*) led by Serge Ananian would do clothes for the CERFI members: “At one point, half of CERFI was wearing the same clothes because they were made to measure, but there weren’t many models.

²¹² All the issues of *Recherches* can be found on the website of *Editions Recherches*. Available at <http://www.editions-recherches.com/revue3.php> (accessed January 2024), together with a presentation of the journal by Anne Querrien at http://www.editions-recherches.com/revue_historique.php (accessed January 2024). *Editions Recherches*, born from the journal *Recherches*, is run by Florence Pétry and friends, who also operate the publishing house *La Chambre d'échos*.

²¹³ Interview with Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, March 2022.

²¹⁴ *Revue Multitudes* 71, p. 108.

That was Serge Ananian, who did that very, very well. But that was when we were still at Beaumarchais, I'd say 1973, 1974. There was one model of trousers for the boys, and another model for the women.”²¹⁵ If some activities were of a social nature, others opened up far more complex questions. Such was the case of a group that provided psychotherapeutic advice by letter. In his interview with us, Olivier Quérouil mentioned how the group had tried to follow a format of psychoanalytical advice close to that of a radio programme, where people would call in (in this case write to) with their most different concerns.²¹⁶ [See *Psychoclub*, pp. 249–256]

All of these would have almost no conditions for receiving direct state funding, in the same ways as the New Towns Group or the Genealogy Group did. One of the most powerful examples coming out of the ‘exceptional’ or ‘erotic’ CERFI groups, was IMAGO’s experimentation across multiple institutions with lending film cameras to children or to patients to film life and their institutions. [See *Imago*, pp. 257–266] To the question of what can video contribute to institutional analysis, they claimed:

“All too often, institutional analysis consists of nothing more than reports, presentations and minutes. Video, on the other hand, deals with material that has nothing to do with the object, and we use its data to extract verbal sequences, image sequences and institutional sequences, in order to edit them in a way that is still marked by our own particular way of seeing things [...] What we’re looking for is not to understand something, but to express what we don’t understand. We’re not trying to explain it in order to understand it better, but to find out if it’s a determining element, an a-signifying element, a *machinic* index.”²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Interview with Florence Pétry, February 2020.

²¹⁶ Interview with Olivier Quérouil, June 2020.

²¹⁷ Club Imago CERFI, 1974, “Analyse Institutionnelle et vidéo”, *Recherches 15 – La Coopération en pratique*, June 1974, pp. 136–137. [see *Institutional Analysis and Video*, pp. 455–460]

This was the case, for example, in a Cordes-funded research project at the *Pont Blanc crèche* in Aubervilliers on childcare and the evolution of the family, where a video monograph was produced on life in the crèche. The researchers sought in the video the possibility of “leading to a real commitment on (their) part; the video would help to ‘get out’ the Pont Blanc experience, to circulate it and to transmit it elsewhere, to other nurseries.”²¹⁸ They stressed the aim of using video in an exploratory rather than a documentary way, as a medium and tool for the creation of spaces of feedback, in this case feedback towards institutional and collective transformation. As François Pain put it:

“We received such feedback from the children and the staff. But we didn’t do anything else with these tapes, we didn’t have the means to use them. So it was something that was done in the immediate exchange through video-writing that could help us understand things, expressions, it gave us information. It allows you to read something other than the spoken word, it’s another way of going back over things that have happened”.²¹⁹

As the objective was to explore the contribution of video to an analytical process rather than to make a film, records of CERFI’s video-based interventions are scarce. In the *Recherches* 15 “In progress” section, where future publications and projects were announced, there is mention of a presentation of video-documents on community life “developed in parallel with video footage shot by CERFI teams in France, the United States, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Denmark”, and of a CERFI video team making a film on marginality in Amsterdam in collaboration with a group of Brazilians (Oxumaré) living in an open community, also promised in forthcoming issues of *Recherches*.²²⁰

²¹⁸ Liane Mozère, *Recherches*, 27. *Babillages. Des crèches aux multiplicités d’enfants*, eds. Liane Mozère and Geneviève Aubert, May 1977, p. 38. [Our translation]

²¹⁹ Interview with François Pain, February 2021.

²²⁰ See *Recherches* 15, *La Coopération en pratique*, 1974.

There were also training courses in institutional analysis using video. As per the training announcements the aim was to “train staff on the observation of ‘what happens’ in the institution”. The process consisted in learning about the video technique, followed by immediate viewing of the video made. At the *Centres psychothérapeutiques de Nantes* patients were shown how to use the camera, alongside nurses and other staff, which can be seen as a reversion to the power of recording or the medical gaze in psychiatric institutions. An absence of ‘methodology,’ as Thierry Rosenzweig described it, “something happened, but it was by chance”, “the camera made people speak.”²²¹ Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel added:

“That was the vitality of CERFI. The video group’s members were less present at CERFI than the others, but they were tentacles. They made connections with other fields. And Guattari understood that video, which was a new medium, could also be a political instrument. That’s how Godard used it. Instead of making films about people, about employees, about what time they go to work, in fact, with something constructed, he gave people a voice with videos. And that voice had never been heard before. So, it was another way of looking at the world, made possible by video art.”²²²

This was a CERFI that remained in the margins, not only of major funding, but also in the margins of *Recherches* as the main vehicle for dissemination of research.

In our opinion, in many ways ‘exceptional’ or ‘erotic’ objects were more truthful to CERFI’s original intentions – coming from FGERI and its goal of analysis everywhere – than the main research projects were ever able to do. It is for that reason that we have dedicated multiple pages of archival material across this book to them, in an attempt to

²²¹ Interview with Thierry Rosenzweig, December 2024.

²²² Interview with Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, February 2020.

counteract the exclusionary tendency of writing to erase wider processes of collective semiotisation. Free from the constraints of the state and its research demands – as well as free from the requirement to translate polyphonic analytical processes through written language – these exceptional research lines allowed for analytical experimentation across a multiplicity of fields and situations.

As Jean-Claude Polack reminded us, the attribution of funding to exceptional objects was very much in the ethos of how the club worked at La Borde, providing funding for not-obviously productive activities, and thus allowing for cartographic openings and unprogrammed consequences.²²³ Even so, only a few of these activities made their way into the publications of *Recherches*, manifesting a certain separation between different types or modes of developing research – in many cases, the production of a written document was not central or crucial. Despite this, it seems to us that CERFI groups or clubs were essential beyond their concrete research results as they allowed the opening of constant lines of thought, and the constitution of collectives around and through CERFI.

Tuesday Meetings

While forms of management and funding for exceptional research lines prevented CERFI from falling into serial crystallisations or from becoming too determined by the demands of professional research, the Tuesday meetings of the general assembly were equally crucial, and arguably one of the most significant institutions of CERFI. This is where the wider CERFI would congregate, from collaborators, researchers, friends, to anyone interested in coming along to the meetings with projects and funding ideas. Inspired by La Borde's meetings of the *Group of Groups*, a collective space coordinated by Guattari for the less verbal patients, and more dependent on presence, rhythm and pace,

223 Interview with Jean-Claude Polack, January 2020.

rather than on linguistic signification, this simple format of a weekly meeting had been picked up by FGGERI and continued with CERFI.²²⁴

The Tuesday meeting was the main space for effective discussion, critiques, disagreements, ranging from formal meetings to intense group discussions. It was treated as an analytical space, where different issues could emerge and be discussed collectively, such as tensions around management, work load, personal circumstances, frustrations and desires, but also ideas brought forward by everyone that attended the meetings, including other people and organisations working with CERFI. These meetings could effectively change the course of a project, result in new directions or in the decision to support an idea presented at the moment. This could sometimes mean that CERFI funded medical procedures, bought a camera for someone who wanted to make a film, among other less obvious uses of research funding, and so provided an additional layer to the already complex dynamics of CERFI's internal operations.²²⁵

As Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel reminisced:

“At CERFI, as at La Borde, there was the weekly meeting where everyone was invited from inside and outside, where anyone who felt able could speak. When a newcomer took the floor, if they were interested in what they had to say, Félix would say OK, we'll work together. He didn't ask them where they were from, how old they were, what qualifications they had and so on. (...) He had the least regard for norms, conventions and precedents. Anne [Querrien] was also like that. She feared ideological and social confinement. When a group wanted to exclude someone or another group, she would cut them off. The same applied to newcomers, where she made it a rule that if one or two people continued to want to work with them, they would stay.”²²⁶

224 Mozère, in Morford, p. 152.

225 See Morford, p. 151, and Dosse, p. 269.

226 Interview with Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, March 2022.

CERFI members recount that Guattari led most meetings, and that even in later years when he became more distant from the research projects, he would still participate. Apparently, for Guattari, the importance of the meeting was its existence, weekly, independently of an agenda. Querrien refers to this as a place with no predefined topic and where every topic was valid. It was “an empty space, which is filled, and therefore, analytical”²²⁷. Michel Rostain recalls that sometimes there was a long silence before anyone would say anything at all, and it could stay like this for as long as someone had something to say. More than a mere space for administrative resolutions, the Tuesday meeting was a crucial analytical device. Such was its success that, as we’ve noted in the previous chapter, CERFI members implemented it as well in Alma-Gare and in the Petit séminaire.

Centring the Margins

*May 1968 taught us to read the walls and, since then, we have begun to decipher graffiti in prisons, asylums and, today, in pissholes. It's a whole 'new scientific spirit' that needs to be rebuilt!*²²⁸

— FÉLIX GUATTARI, *Recherches* 12

Just as Tuesday’s meetings were pivotal in countering anti-production and encouraging CERFI to avoid isolation by inviting others to get involved, *Recherches* played a similar role by consistently publishing the work of other groups and movements, in addition to disseminating

227 Anne Querrien in Morford, p. 153. This idea of the meeting being an empty space to be filled, is in reference to Guattari’s theorisation of setting institutional objectives, *qua* ‘vacuoles’ – the term is from Lacan – around which collective analytical processes might emerge that reorganise the institution itself. See “The Person and the Group”, in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality*, p. 225.

228 Félix Guattari, *Recherches* 12, p. 3. [Our translation]

CERFI's work.²²⁹ [See *Revue Recherches*, pp. 281–303] In a document prepared by CERFI in 1981 – entitled *L'Art de la recherche où exist-t-il une science sociale?* – it was stated that the group's aim was to "maintain heterogeneity within a collective that always tends to homogenise, rejecting everything that is foreign to its field of specialisation at the margins. To allow itself to be invaded by other issues (minority, intellectual and political) that disturb and modify systems of thought."²³⁰ Such attempt to maintain heterogeneity is evident in the manner in which *Recherches* was edited without an editorial grid, in terms of both the kinds of research and topics published – there were no limitations – and the different groups outside of CERFI that were permitted to organise entire issues. As CERFI member Claudine Dardy pointed out, this was also an experiment, that of the researcher-author-editor.²³¹

Providing the infrastructure to others outside the group would sometimes mean publishing ready-to-print issues, as was the case with the Fernand Deligny and Isaac Joseph issues (*Recherches* 18, *Cahiers de l'immuable* 1, *Voix et voir*, 1975; *Recherches* 20, *Cahiers de l'immuable* 2, *Dérives*, 1975 and *Recherches* 24, *Cahiers de l'immuable* 3 – *Au Défaut du Langage*, 1876). According to Florence Pétry "I usually did the layout and the editing, but that was done outside, Deligny was very close to a lot of people at CERFI. One day Michel Rostain said to me, 'Oh, we're going to do a book with Deligny'. That's how it was done. It wasn't

²²⁹ At the beginning of the 1970s, *Recherches* was directed by Christian Hennion, Anne-Marie Glotz, Georges Préli and Catherine Yovanovitch, and from 1978 by Florence Pétry, Claude Rouot and Georges Préli. In 1977, in addition to the Revue, Éditions *Recherches* was launched, directed from then on by Numa Murard, Lion Murard, Françoise Noguès, Florence Pétry, Luc Rosenzweig, Anne-Marie Walter and Patrick Zylberman. From the 1980s, the journal was managed by a team led by Liane Mozère, while the publishing house became independent under the direction of Florence Pétry and Georges Préli. Later Florence Pétry took over running both the Revue and the Éditions.

²³⁰ *L'Art de la recherche où exist-t-il une science sociale*, p. 48. Unpublished document, CERFI archives.

²³¹ See Claudine Dardy, "Metteurs en page, metteurs en texte", *Actions et recherches sociales*, March 1983, issue 1, *10 Langage et Médiations*, pp. 117–127.

any more complicated than that.” Other times this meant opening to an autonomous group – such as *Recherches* 19, *Histoires de la rue des Caves* (1975), organised by a collective of militants who had been part of VLR (*Vive la révolution*) and the LCR (*Ligue communiste révolutionnaire*), and who tried a project of occupying derelict houses in Sèvres.²³² [See *Revue Recherches*, p. 294]

In terms of content, *Recherches* touched on a wide range of issues – critically distancing itself from any dogmatic theorising. The implicit rule was that anything and everything could be discussed and written about. As Querrien wrote “the issues hardly resemble each other, they have no common visual or editorial grid, and yet they are a collection because of the intensity with which the themes are tackled, and because of the desire to criticise without denouncing, to overturn negative stereotypes in order to open up avenues for construction and the possibility of action on the subject studied”.²³³ It prioritised first-hand experience and real-life accounts over the so-called objectivism of the human sciences, according to which research and the object of research must be kept separate. This last aspect is not coincidental and must be seen in conjunction with the requirements of institutional analysis, which continually de-centres ‘scientific’ enunciation. It is for this reason that several issues of *Recherches* were edited by marginalized and non-academic groups. Groups whose circumstances were typically told by experts speaking in their name, but never by themselves or those concerned directly. For example, Michel Rostain recounts how the work on drugs developed: “One time, I think, we

²³² Their slogan was “aujourd’hui nous prenons les maisons de la rue, demain la ville!” (Today we’re taking over the houses and tomorrow the city!) [Our translation]

²³³ See Anne Querrien, “Guattari en revues”, *La Revue des revues*, 1968, 2022, pp. 8–21. In Querrien’s analysis of Guattari’s practice of publishing, which included collective and freely accessible publications ranging from bulletins and pamphlets to journals such as *La voix communiste*, *Recherches* and *Chimères*, Querrien suggests reading each publication through key concepts of his work on the analysis and transformation of social relations. According to her, *Recherches* was an ‘agencement collectif de l’énonciation’.

were doing a study on drugs for the Ministry of Justice. One of Cerfi's basic ideas was that the most competent people to talk about anything were those closest to it. In the case of drugs, that meant drug users, among others.”²³⁴ Other examples of this approach are *Recherches* 36, *Déraisonnances: Textes issus des cahiers pour la folie* (1979), with texts by various authors with psychiatric experience, including poems, literature and personal accounts, or *Recherches* 26, *Folles femmes de leurs corps, prostituées* (1977), edited by Judith Belladonna (Fanny Bichon), featuring interviews and first-hand accounts by both female, transvestite and homosexual sex workers. [See *Revue Recherches*, p. 301]

Of course, this was not without its risks. In April 1979, CERFI published *Recherches* 37, *Fous d'enfance, qui a peur des pédophiles?* Contributors included Guy Hocquenghem, Luc Rosenzweig, and René Scherer, and the issue included articles that were sympathetic towards paedophilia. While at the time the issue didn't draw public attention nor much internal debate, in the 1980s, the journal's editorial team decided that the issue should be removed from the catalogue and taken out of circulation. They felt it ran counter to the ethos of the journal, and explained that: “the decentralised nature of the journal's editorial team at the time allowed the expression of a point of view that was insufficiently discussed, contrary to the ethos of the journal, which was to ensure that the different points of view involved contributed to the clarification of a problem”.²³⁵ We're not sure that “clarification of a problem” is exactly how CERFI was approaching editorial decisions at the time, but the fact that issue 37 was published, and that it was removed speaks to CERFI's mode of operation: to allow for the analytical potential of creating the conditions for the ‘objects of research’ to speak or *prendre la parole*, while having no issues with abandoning something when they felt it was wrong.

²³⁴ Interview with Michel Rostain, June 2021.

²³⁵ See the statement published on the *Recherches* website entitled “À propos du numéro 37”, available at http://www.editions-recherches.com/revue_37.php (accessed September 2024).

At the time, the most notable of such issues was *Recherches* 12, *Trois milliards de pervers: grande encyclopédie des homosexualités* (1973), edited by the *Front homosexuel d'action révolutionnaire* / FHAR (Homosexual Revolutionary Front) [See *Revue Recherches*, pp. 281–289]. FHAR was formed in 1971 against the dominant morality of work-family and homeland and in opposition to other homosexual groups which it considered conservative or apolitical. The front emerged from the encounter of members of *Arcadie* (a magazine that was the key site of the gay movement in France) and the MLF (*Mouvement pour la libération des femmes*) in the late 1970, continuing the practice of direct-action coming from 1968. FHAR's defence of the multiplicity of desire against the normalisation of sexuality aligned perfectly with the stakes proclaimed in *Anti-Oedipus* and found in CERFI a unique intellectual-political ally.²³⁶

In an interview with us, Anne Querrien recounts how it all started:

“One day Guy Hocquenghem arrived with *Anti-Oedipus* under his arm, and he said ‘I’ve got the book I need, so I’ve come here to talk about it. I’m really fed up with the people from the *Front homosexuel d'action révolutionnaire*’, etc. And so, he came to CERFI. For six months, he took part in the general assembly, and in the accounting team. And then, he offered to do an issue of *Recherches*, and I offered to take part with him. I also knew him from the UNEF before. And so, it was a bit like that,

236 At the helm of FHAR's collaboration with CERFI was Guy Hocquenghem, a renowned Maoist organiser from the 'mao-spontex' (Mao spontaneity) tendency. After having been expelled from the *Jeunesse communiste révolutionnaire* (JCR) in 1968, Hocquenghem had been active in *Vive la révolution* (VLR), a libertarian maoist group at the forefront of women's and homosexual struggles before 1968. FHAR is where Hocquenghem and others were able to move beyond the pre-existing – and mutually excluding – approaches of Maoism and liberal homosexual rights groups such as *Arcadie*. On this see, Bill Marshall, *Guy Hocquenghem: Beyond Gay Identity*, Duke University Press Books, 1997. The reason for Hocquenghem's interest in *Anti Oedipus* stems from Deleuze and Guattari's placing of normativity as a crucial feature of capitalism. On Hocquenghem and CERFI's encounter, see also Dosse, p. 273.

when someone from the outside suggested something and someone from the inside agreed to do it with him, a group began to form.”²³⁷

FHAR originated from feminist and the homosexual groups that reacted against the normalisation and control of sexuality. For FHAR, the so-called ‘normal’ sexuality aimed at reproducing the labour force, and implied the refusal of other non-reproductive sexualities as well as the subjection of women. In the words of Guattari, in the preface to *Recherches* 12: “the ‘fag’, no more than the schizo, is not in himself a revolutionary (...) we are simply saying that, among many others, he can be, he could become, the site of a major libidinal rupture in society, one of the points of emergence of the revolutionary desiring force from which classic militancy remains disconnected.”²³⁸

CERFI’s strategy cannot be boiled down to the idea of providing opportunities for others or enabling them to express their views, as if CERFI was a separate object or disinterested from the process.²³⁹ Beyond issues of representation, *Recherches* was given to the extent that there was mutual agency and CERFI saw a potential for catalyzing collective analytical processes leading to some level of social transformation. At the same time, it provided another way of preventing the group from closing in upon itself, in ways that might otherwise lead it into institutional crystallisations.

237 Interview with Anne Querrien, September 2021.

238 *Recherches* 12, p. 3. We have translated the word ‘péde’ by ‘fag’. While ‘péde’ is short for ‘péderaste’, both this and the shortened version were used indiscriminately in reference to homosexual relations, of which ‘péde’ was used as an insult. On this translation see as well Michael Sibalis, “The Spirit of May ‘68 and the Origins of the Gay Liberation Movement in France” in *Gender and Sexuality in 1968. Transformative Politics in the Cultural Imagination*, eds Lessie Jo Frazier and Deborah Cohen, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 238.

239 This aspect has been highlighted by Gary Genosko in *Félix Guattari: A Critical Introduction*, London, Pluto Press, p. 179.

In the introduction to the *Recherches* 12, Guattari argued that, unlike common research methods in the social sciences, institutional analysis, implied a “radical decentring of scientific enunciation (...) But to achieve this, it is not enough simply to ‘give a voice’ to the subjects concerned – which is sometimes a formal, even Jesuitical approach – we also need to create the conditions for a total, even paroxysmal, exercise of this enunciation”.²⁴⁰ Publishing the *Grande encyclopédie des homosexualités*, was precisely that. And yet, while many recall those years of collaboration as a period of intense enthusiasm, the presence of FHAR was placing increased organisational demands upon the core CERFI team, and bringing in unplanned public attention: one year after the issue came out in March 1973, the journal was accused of affronting public decency. According to the court letter dated 25 May, 1974, the issue contained “[...] writings, drawings and photographs contrary to public decency.”²⁴¹ Despite the request to attend court proceedings as a collective entity, Félix Guattari – as the director of the journal – was sentenced individually to pay a fine of 600 francs. The issue was ordered to be withdrawn from the market, and all copies destroyed. In his defence in court Guattari argued:

“The originality of this issue – what shocks, the reason why we are charged – is that perhaps for the first time homosexuals and non-homosexuals speak about these problems on their own behalf and in a completely free way (...) we had no intention of pornographic provocation, but only the deliberate will to take part in a movement which is nowadays more and more important, which consists in the fact that people can express themselves directly about the problems which concern them.”²⁴²

240 Félix Guattari, *Recherches* 12, p. 2. [Our translation]

241 *Recherches* 15, p. 197.

242 Guattari, *Recherches* 15, pp. 189–190.

The Right to Research

Guattari's response to the court points to a broader reflection on social sciences research. This was a core issue behind CERFI's willingness to seek alliances and coalitions with the margins, not just to keep a 'coefficient of transversality' within itself as an institution, but in view of the right to research by all – in the sense of a proliferation of analytical processes, everywhere.

Unfortunately, as the public controversy around the FHAR issue was calming down, a new and transformative dispute with the French state ensued, one that required CERFI to further articulate its own approach to research and bring it into the public eye. In December 1975, the French state decided to abolish contracted research with independent groups, proposing to integrate those researchers without status (*hors statut*) deemed sufficiently 'professional' into the CNRS, the French national research agency. This was the *fonctionarisation* of research, whereby researchers would now operate under a civil servant status, and would be paid by the central government following a single national salary system and a permanent contract. As was to be expected, the *fonctionarisation* of research had a dramatic impact on CERFI. A collective discussion from 1976, translated for the first time in this book, [See *State Researchers?*, pp. 413–441] gives an account of how the members of the group positioned themselves in relation to the very meaning and nature of research, what they felt was at stake in the way they conducted research and how the struggle for different models of research was a political and militant affair.²⁴³

For some, the issue was that many friends of CERFI, from FHAR to other non-academic organisations, would no longer be able to develop research. It was vital that 'non-status' people could have the initiative

²⁴³ Taking part in the discussion were: François Fourquet, Gérard Grass, Claude Harmelle, Lion Murard, Olivier Quérouil, Anne Querrien, Michel Rostain and Patrick Zylberman. See "Chercher fonctionnaires?" *Recherches 23, and L'enseignement. L'école primaire*, June, 1976, pp. 3–20.

to conduct research, be involved in research processes or collaborate in them. This is in opposition to the definition of the researcher as a professional – anticipating the difficulty that ‘non-experts’ would have to access research is what the group thought was negative.²⁴⁴ According to Murard, the integration into the CNRS:

“(...) was at odds with CERFI’s very fundamental project, which was to bring together research of a fairly professional nature, with people who could hold a pen, and others who rode motorbikes or made films. It was obvious that at that point we had to dissolve the whole project.”²⁴⁵

For others, the problem was more that of working for the state in the first place, as was the case of Claude Harmelle:

“It’s not so much the prohibition that’s the problem... it’s the fact that it’s a question of State logic. And that, as far as we’re concerned, what we’re aiming for, in some way, is the disintegration of the State. We should have practitioners who do research, and not just professional researchers who have no category at all, who are unclassifiable.”²⁴⁶

In a 1977 letter to Murard and Rostain who were preparing a manifesto on the right to research for *Le Monde* (included in this book), Fourquet raises a series of crucial points that capture CERFI’s opposition to the move:

²⁴⁴ At the same time there were pragmatic issues at stake, for if at one point CERFI had 80 people working with the group, this was not because it had the money to pay salaries to 80 people, but because a salary for one person was distributed among three. Such a level of flexibility and the possibility of redistributing budgets, would be very difficult to continue once integrated into the state and its institutions. The social capacity of CERFI was at risk.

²⁴⁵ Interview with Lion Murard, June 2021.

²⁴⁶ Claude Harmelle quoted in Morford, p. 149.

“ (...) integration into the state research will destroy existing networks of research, replacing them by serialised individuals; theoretical, purely intellectual research does not exist, only a formless social field exists; what we call researchers is nothing but the manifestation of this condition; researchers do not constitute a homogeneous force, with special skills – they are today more and more organic intellectuals; research qualities depend on entering in resonance with social forces, not ideological, but existential, or libidinal; research quality depends on the diversity of resonances with historical social bodies, and the force with which they can express, and the climate of liberty by which these can express themselves; the more this happens in allowing all types of social forces to express themselves, the more the quality of research; research that is not immediately utilitarian or subject to the cannons of academic research; when there is an organised institutionalised body, this is lost.”²⁴⁷

Fourquet’s arguments aligned with Murard and Rostain’s manifesto as it was eventually published. [See *The Right to Research*, pp. 443–454] In these powerful claims lies a radical reinvention of research, not so much against the state, but as research-action, striving for an idea of ‘objectivity’ that was only possible by being part of, by entering in composition with, by being sensually affected by. Research that was existential, instead of detached, methodological and formal. In this, CERFI aligned itself with the writings of anarchist, feminist or black liberation movements on research produced in struggle. At the same time it brings to mind more recent reflections on research militancy.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Unpublished letter. Archives Nationales de France, *Fonds François Fourquet*.

²⁴⁸ We are thinking here in particular on the work developed by Colectivo Situaciones, see “On the Researcher-Militant”, available at <https://transform.eipcp.net/transversal/0406/colectivosituaciones/en.html> (accessed December 2020) and Colectivo Situaciones, *Notes for a New Social Protagonism*, Minor Compositions, 2011. On militant research, see also, Stephen Shuklaikis, David Graeber, and Erika Biddle in *Constituent Imagination: Militant Investigations, Collective Theorisation*, Edinburgh, AK, 2007.

The French state, of course, would hear none of it. In 1978, CERFI applied for Associate Research Institution status with the CNRS. This would have allowed them to avoid individual integration and to remain as a team. However, they were unsuccessful. At that time, few people supported CERFI in their efforts. According to Querrien “there was an intellectual repression organised not just against CERFI but against the ideas of May 1968.”²⁴⁹ Despite eventual differences on how to resist this process, the group never wavered in its privileging of situated and first-hand accounts, allowing “desire to engage desire”, against the “seriality” of the objective and professional researcher. This was perhaps the most important aspect of their group analytical enterprise: at their core, a radical openness to entering into composition with the world instead of closing into institutionalised forms, the practice of research seen existentially more than epistemologically, as a mode of collective life, and as a continuous analytical endeavour.

249 Interview with Anne Querrien, September 2021.

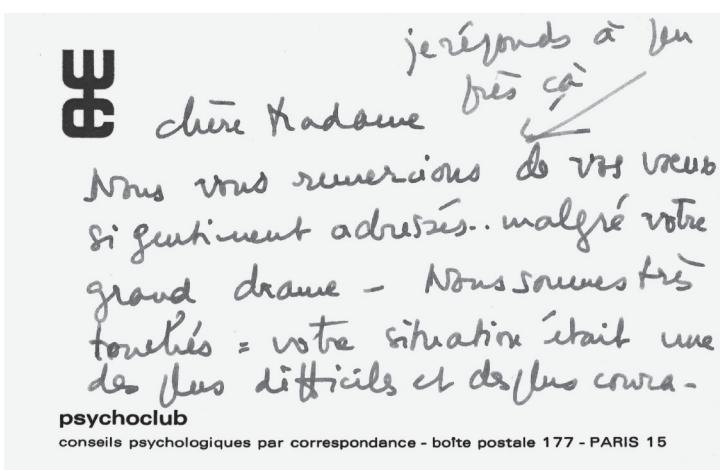
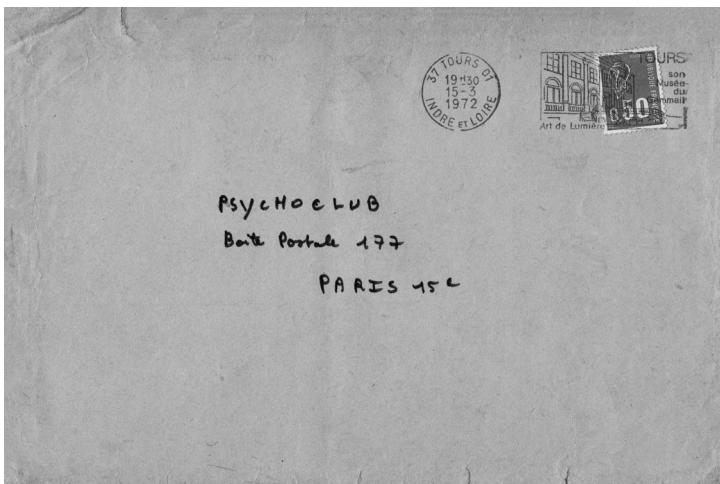
Dossiers and Visual Documents

PSYCHOCLUB

The group, created in 1970 by Françoise Dolto, aimed to explore a format of psychoanalytical advice resembling a radio broadcast, where people would call in (or, in this case, write) with their most different concerns. One of its main interests was the fear of discrimination or ridicule related to mental health issues. This proposal would make it easier for people to access support and advice while remaining anonymous. Coordinated by Olivier Quéroutil, the group would receive weekly letters. On Mondays, they would meet to read the letters collectively and discuss their thoughts on the issues. Then, they would distribute each letter to a member of the team (psychoanalysts, social workers, journalists, doctors, and even a lawyer). Each team member would then draft a response that would be presented to the group the following week, for comments, before being posted. There was a small membership fee to be part of the club – which, according to Quéroutil, wasn't enough to finance its activities. Participants were advised to speak freely on their first letter about all kinds of topics more or less related to their concern. According to Quéroutil, one of the psycho-club's main limitations was that it took a lot of time to write a letter just to convey one or two ideas, let alone to allow for nuanced conversation and feedback, and so very few people followed up after the first response.

CERFI members:

Françoise Dolto, Olivier Quéroutil, Nicole Guillet, France de La Garde, Anne Querrien, Gérard Grass.



▲ Letters to the Psychoclub. Courtesy Olivier Quérout.

Mais à qui donc parler ?
 A qui dire que l'on est esseulé, angoissé,
 déprimé, malade ?
 Un groupe de médecins vient de créer le Psycho-Club
 par correspondance.

....Le S.V.P. du cœur

Chaque jour entre 13 et 16 heures, le standard téléphonique de Radio-Luxembourg est embouteillé. Le soir, entre 23 et 24 heures, c'est celui d'Europe 1 qui connaît la même «mésaventure» : parmi les millions d'auditrices qui écoutent Ménie Grégoire ou Madame Soleil, des millions d'entre elles ont le besoin impérieux de confier leurs soucis.

On ne se demande même plus pourquoi. On le sait. La vie moderne, ses villes géantes, ses concentrations industrielles, ont rassemblé des millions d'individus dans des maisons, des immeubles, des cités-jardins, sans armes, des bureaux ou des ateliers trépidants. Les gens passent leur temps à courir d'autobus en métro pour finir, harassés, effondrés dans un fauteuil ou sur un divan, une journée plus en plus souvent commencée du pied au coude.

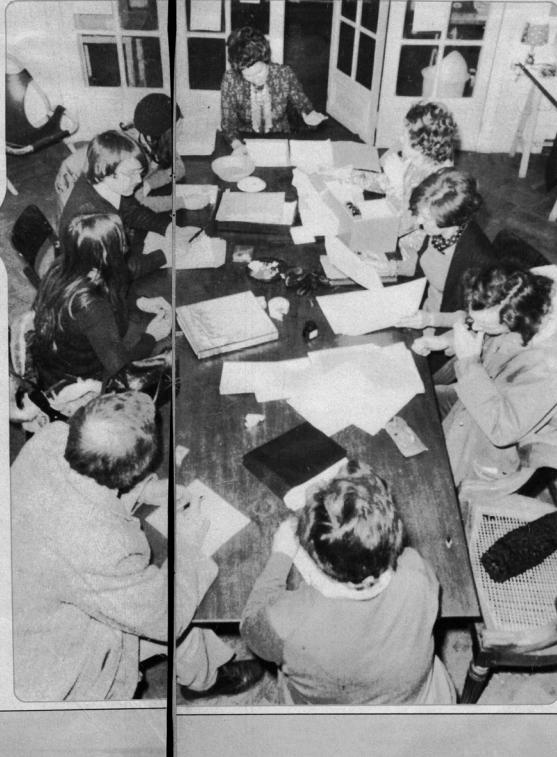
Dans ce monde complètement fou, l'individu ne s'est jamais senti aussi seul, aussi désemparé. Ménie Grégoire ou Madame Soleil apparaissent alors comme des planches de salut auxquelles

on se raccroche. Exposer son problème, dit-on, c'est déjà le réssouire aux trois-quarts. Malheureusement, dans ce domaine qui est psychologique, la bonne volonté ne suffit pas. C'est pourquoi, vient de se créer le Psycho-Club.

«Si mes parents savaient que je vous écris, je n'oserais plus rester à la maison.»

Ménie Grégoire, Madame Soleil, font office de calmants. Mais une conversation téléphonique de 3 minutes ne peut déboucher que sur une «solution recette» qui, la plupart du temps, ne résout rien. Partant de cette évidence, un groupe de spécialistes, psychologues, psychanalystes, éducateurs, thérapeutes, et même gréochiens ont décidé de se constituer en association pour répondre, ensemble, aux questions qui parfois nous submergent.

Les uns et les autres travaillaient déjà ensemble au sein de la Fédération des



▲ Article about the Psychoclub in a popular magazine. Courtesy Olivier Quérouil.

► Different Psychoclub membership forms. Courtesy Olivier Quérouil.

Des lettres venues de partout.
Une équipe attentive à chaque
problème :
le psycho-club à l'œuvre

Groupes d'Etudes et de Recherches Insitutives. Ils s'interrogeaient sur les incidences de la psychopathologie dans les domaines de l'éducation, l'urbanisme, la politique, l'économie, etc. Ils avaient déjà étudié les inquiétudes des enfants, des adolescents, des adultes, dans des champs aussi divers qu'une classe scolaire, un atelier, une maison de jeunes, un hôpital, ou de la vie quotidienne. Ils ont décidé de faire émettre une lettre à toute personne en difficulté morale, quel que soit son âge ou son sexe. « Il suffit bien souvent de peu de chose, explique le docteur X (Les médecins, dans la presse, sont également concernés par ce travail) pour que les crises de cafard, les angoisses, les problèmes de relations, cessent d'être des problèmes insurmontables. Malheureusement, on n'a pas souvent l'occasion de parler de façon vraie et directe. La peur du ridicule, la crainte d'être mal jugé, de ne pas être compris, arrêtent.

Cette appréhension est accrue par la peur de l'inconnu, le manque de docteurs spécialisés hors des villes, le coût des consultations, et l'impression de ne pas pouvoir prétendre des recherches les plus approfondies. Ensuite, une personne ne peut pas tout savoir. Prenez l'exemple d'une jeune femme désirant divorcer. Un divorce nécessite l'intervention concrète d'un juriste, d'un psychologue et d'un spécialiste des enfants. Et pourtant, dans la vie, ces spécialistes — qui déjà coûtent cher — se rencontrent rarement ensemble. Ici, nous travaillons en équipe.

« Je n'ai personne
à qui parler. Alors,
je vous écris car ici
personne ne me
comprend.
On me jette la pierre.
On dit que... »

Les consultations du Psycho-Club se font strictement par correspondance

Suite page 101

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psychoclub

conseils psychologiques par correspondance - boîte postale 177 - PARIS 15

choisissez l'une des deux formules
de correspondance en fonction de vos besoins

la simple consultation

Votre problème peut être exposé comme vous le voulez en une seule lettre si vous pénétez qu'une seule réponse du PSYCHOCLUB peut l'éclairer.

Un spécialiste ou le collectif de spécialistes vous répondra et, éventuellement, vous demandera d'autres informations.

Joignez à votre lettre une enveloppe à votre adresse et 25 F en chèque postal, chèque bancaire ou mandat-lettre.

IMPORTANT

Veuillez libeller tous vos
virements au C. C. P.
Conseils Psychologiques
par correspondance
31-655-30 La Source

Arbogast
Y Carte ou Timbre
2/3 Timbres
(-2)

la correspondance suivie

Vous désirez correspondre régulièrement avec le PSYCHOCLUB :

- soit parce que votre problème immédiat vous semble complexe et qu'il nécessite un échange de lettres préalable à toute réponse.
- soit parce que vous, ou votre famille, désirez une prise en charge permanente du PSYCHOCLUB pour pouvoir poser, à mesure qu'ils se présentent dans votre vie quotidienne, les différents problèmes qui vous embarrassent dans tous les domaines, psycho-affectifs, socio-professionnels, etc.

Vous réclamez alors votre **ADHESION** au PSYCHOCLUB vous recevez votre **CARTE DE MEMBRE** : 50 F que vous conserverez de manière à rappeler votre Numéro d'Adhérent pour bénéficier de tous nos services spécialisés :

- Accès aux Conférences
- Brochures
- Bulletin régulier, etc...

et vous demanderez, si vous le désirez, un carnet de 10 TIMBRES-PSYCHOCLUB vous donnant droit à 10 réponses pour 100 F.

Les membres de votre famille peuvent également bénéficier, pour leurs demandes des **TIMBRES-REPONSES-ADULTES** correspondant à votre Carte d'Adhérent.

Pour vos enfants, les **TIMBRES-REPONSES-ADULTES** correspondant à leur demande pour déclarer leur âge : Les Pédagogues et Psychologues d'enfance leur répondront.

Demandez pour eux un carnet de 10 **TIMBRES-REPONSE-PSYCHOCLUB-ENFANTS** pour 30 F
Une lettre : 3 F.

BULLETIN D'ADHESION

(à remplir en lettres capitales)

Je désire devenir membre adhérent du PSYCHOCLUB

NOM Prénom

ADRESSE

PROFESSION

Je joins ci ce bulletin la somme de 50 F, montant de ma cotisation annuelle.

Le Signature :

BULLETIN DE COMMANDE

DE TIMBRES

(à joindre au Bulletin d'adhésion)

Je désire recevoir carnet (s) de 10 Timbres-Réponse Adultes pour 100 F.

Et carnet (s) de 10 Timbres-Réponse Enfants pour 10 F.

Je joins la somme correspondante

● Tout paiement est à adresser à : PSYCHOCLUB C.C.P. 31 655 30 LA SOURCE — ou par mandat-lettre ou par Chèque bancaire à : PSYCHOCLUB B.P. 177 - PARIS XV

▼ Arguments for a Psychoclub, making reference to reflections on the importance of psychoanalysis across multiple fields, that originated with FGERI. Courtesy Olivier Quérouil.



cerfi

ARGUMENTS ET PROPOSITIONS POUR LE PSYCHO-CLUB

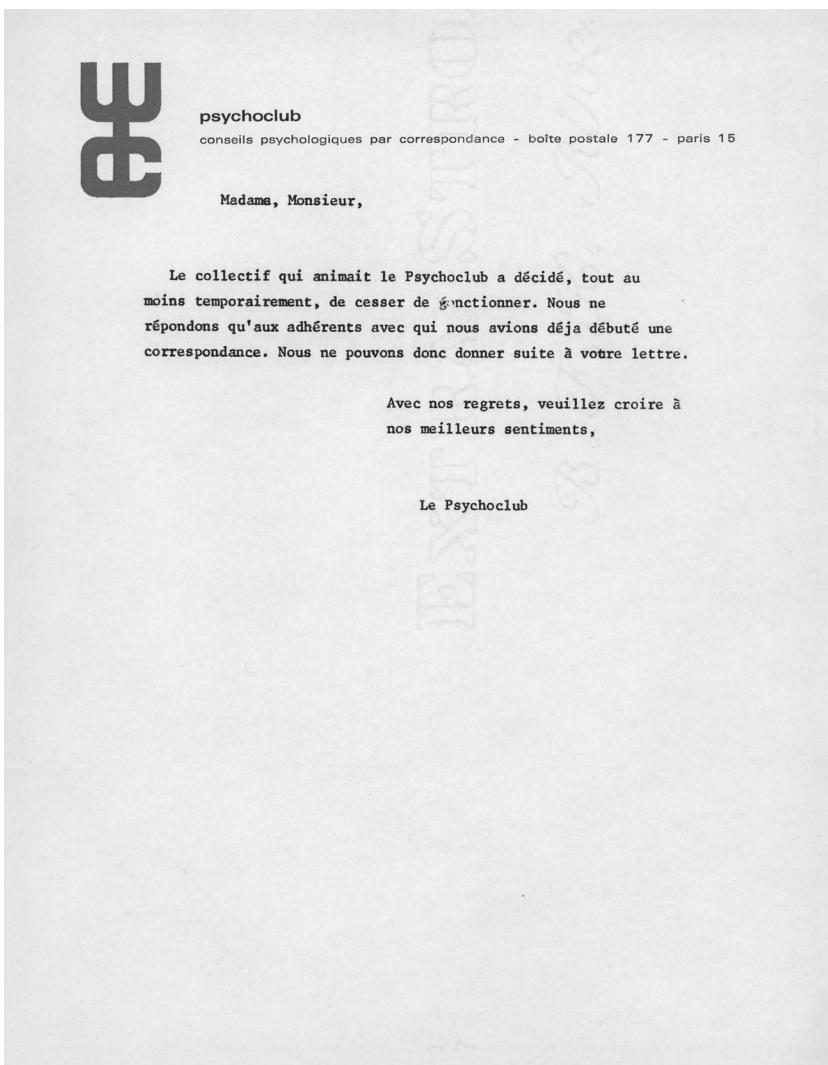
Le recours à la psychologie et à la psychanalyse est devenu de plus en plus courant et s'exprime en général sous la forme d'une demande de prise en charge psychothérapeutique ou de solutions recettes-miracles énoncées au nom d'un "Savoir" présenté comme pouvant répondre magiquement à tous les problèmes.

La F.G.E.R.I. depuis plusieurs années autour de la Revue RECHERCHES réunit des groupes d'études s'interrogeant sur les incidences de la psychanalyse dans la pratique de différents secteurs d'interventions des Sciences Humaines (Pédagogie, Psychopathologie, Urbanisme, Activités culturelles ou artistiques...). Ces recherches nous ont permis de repérer les effets de l'inconscient, au-delà de l'individu, au niveau des groupes, collectifs et institutions humaines, que ce soit la classe d'école, l'atelier d'une maison de jeunes, une équipe de travail, etc... Ainsi une articulation de la psychanalyse à ces différentes réalités quotidiennes est possible à condition de ne pas répondre médicalement à toutes difficultés, conflits, inadaptations, mais au contraire, de permettre à chacun d'utiliser les moyens qu'il a à sa portée et que l'angoisse ou l'anxiété empêche de voir.

L'expérience du Docteur X (Psychanalyste) sur EUROPE N° 1 se situait dans cette même perspective d'éviter une dépendance médicale donnant l'impression que tout pouvait être résolu au nom d'un savoir psychanalytique accessible qu'aux initiés. Il s'agit donc de démythifier l'utilisation magique d'une réponse psychanalytique afin de montrer que l'appa-

centre d'études, de recherches et de formation institutionnelles
siège social et administration : 6, rue du docteur finley paris XV^e . tél. 783.80.93

▼ Letter to a club member informing of the decision to terminate the Psychoclub. Courtesy Olivier Quérouil.



Nouveau Guérir
soutien n° 5 juin 72 PAR CHRISTIAN GIVRY
par retour du courrier

Des spécialistes ont mis au point une méthode de psychothérapie par correspondance

« J'ai 10 ans,
je m'appelle Francine X...
J'ai été soignée pour les nerfs. Depuis
un an, ça va mieux, plus de tiques,
mais j'peur la nuit. Y a comme ch'habite
dans un village, il y a des chiens. Et les
matins, je prends le car et justement
je passe devant une ferme où il y a des
chiens. J'peur la nuit, j'peur la nuit...
et je ne peux pas passer, j'peur et le
souci aussi j'y passe devant. Je n'ai pas
de seurs ni de frères, que pourrai-je
faire? J'ai tellement peur que j'en suis
malade d'avance, je vous remercie et je
vous joins une enveloppe pour la
réponse et ma mère se moque de moi. »
L'écriture à l'âge de l'enfant. Une

bouteille à la mer, lancée par l'angoisse, du fin fond de la province, abordant Boîte postale 177, Paris-15^e : l'adresse du Psycho-Club qui regroupe une vingtaine de psychologues, de psychanalystes, d'assistantes sociales, d'éducateurs, de juristes. Un S.O.S. par correspondance pluridisciplinaire, pour étudier la lettre de la petite Francine et lui répondre.

Comme on a répondu au père du garçon fugueur, au couple irrité en train de se défaire, à la femme de 45 ans qui se demande comment et pourquoi continuer, au professeur traqué par ses élèves, au retraité rongé de solitude. Depuis juillet 1940, 40 à 50 lettres par mois en moyenne parviennent au Psycho-Club, quelles selon la demande du demandeur, et il n'est pas rare de répondre (page 25 : 24 F), ou effectuer une prise en charge pérenne, qui nécessite une adhésion au Psycho-Club (montant : 50 F) et, au gré du demandeur, 10 réponses pour 100 F. L'œuvre de la psychanalyse par correspondance a commencé sans crier gare.

Extrait de la réponse à Francine :
« Le premier exercice, c'est de vous mettre volontairement dans le noir, dans la cave, par exemple, et de rester chaque fois plus longtemps malgré les images terrifiantes que vous aurez en vous disant : « ce qui me fait peur ne vient que de moi. Dans la cave je ne suis pas une chose bonne à manger pour les rats », « les souris sont mignonnes » et « les araignées ne sont pas du tout dangereuses ». Je ne

me moque pas de vous, parce que je sais que c'est l'imagination qui fait la valeur d'une intelligence, mais il faut savoir en devenir maîtresse et votre écriture me montre que vous avez beaucoup de volonté. Vous seriez plus forte que vos peurs. Le deuxième exercice, c'est d'imagerer dans le dessinant des personnes qui sont des personnes méchantes qui font des misères horribles, des contes à faire dresser les cheveux sur la tête, vous seriez étonnés de voir qu'après deux ou trois histoires écritées et illustrées, vous n'aurez presque plus peur... Envoyez-les moi, si vous le voulez et on rira bien tous les deux, car vous guériez. »

Les enfants doivent écrire eux mêmes

Psycho-Club, cela peut faire penser à une association mondaine en quête de culture bien digérée. Ou à des émules

de Ménie Grégoire jouant avec leurs adhérents des psychodrames par voie

A l'autre bout de la

Le bout de la chaîne,
20 spécialistes

20 spécialistes
analysent,
discutent.

discutent,
conseillent.

www.ijerpi.org

Pour l'enfant ou
l'adulte
la démarche
est la même
écrire, c'est faire un
premier pas hors
de la solitude

Les enfants doivent écrire eux mêmes

A l'autre bout de la chaîne, 20 spécialistes analysent, discutent, conseillent.

64

Dossiers and Visual Documents

VIDEO GROUP (IMAGO)

Group Imago experimented across multiple institutions with lending film cameras to the subjects of research, in order to partially invert the gaze, or at least to multiply it: they allowed children, patients, and users to film themselves and their institutions. As part of its collaboration with the crèche group they produced a 36-minute black & white video on the Crèche de Aubervilliers. Imago used video at *Hôpital d'Antony*, *Centre Psychotherapies de Nantes*, and La Borde clinic. It promoted a video club where films produced by various institutions were shared, resulting in the creation of a collective videography.

To the question of what can video contribute to institutional analysis, they argued:

“All too often, institutional analysis consists of nothing more than reports, presentations and minutes. Video, on the other hand, deals with material that has nothing to do with the object, and we use its data to extract verbal sequences, image sequences and institutional sequences, in order to edit them in a way that is still marked by our own particular way of seeing things [...] What we’re looking for is not to understand something, but to express what we don’t understand. We’re not trying to explain it in order to understand it better, but to find out if it’s a determining element, an a-signifying element, a *machinic* index.” *Recherches* 15, 136–137.

According to the official constitution of the association, its aims were:

“The promotion of audio-visual means (cinema and video) to widen the field of institutional analysis to all members of the institution, and to allow all categories of people present in each institution to participate at all levels of the production of these documents; training in the use of audio-visual equipment for members of staff of institutions and groups wishing to produce audio-visual documents, as part of continuing professional training, governed by the law of 16 July

1971; The creation of an equipment lending centre containing all the tools needed to produce these documents; the creation of a 'video and film library', bringing together all the documents produced within the institutions; the distribution of these audio-visual documents by any means that can be put in place." *Recherches* 15, 151.

One event from the *Centre psychothérapeutiques de Nantes*, makes evident how video can be a catalyst for transformation. According to François Pain and Thierry Rozenweig, a small group of 2 or 3 patients with a camera, accompanied by 1 or 2 carers being trained in institutional analysis, came across an unimaginable scene: the police had been called to question a patient who was in love with the centre's social worker and had been knocking on the door of her flat in the city all night to get her to open it. The doctor filed a complaint against the patient and the police came. At the centre's annual staff meeting, the director and chief medical officer explained what had happened and the handling of the disturbance, which had been filmed. The patient had 'committed an act on the outside', they said, so it was not a problem to be dealt with internally, between the institution and the patient, but by the police, who were responsible for external order. Those filming the meeting were all outraged. The problem was raised and, as François Pain put it, "the presence of the camera triggered a chain reaction". Alone, without the CERFI people, the video was viewed again by the administrator and the medical director, psychoanalysts and staff, nurses, the psychologist, the social worker. There were some heated discussions as some of the nurses were not in favour of the police being called in. A few weeks after the event, one of the defiant nurses was sacked, leading to the collective resignation of a large part of the nursing team.

Looking back, François Pain reflected: "How should we define this cinema machine? A care machine? Yes, undoubtedly, on an institutional level. The fact that there was nothing intentional about it makes it all the more a cinema machine. It was pure chance that the camera happened to be there when the cops came looking for the

boy. Maybe it was the result of poorly controlled feedback, because we weren't there. They wanted to sort it out among themselves". Interview, February 2021.

CERFI members:

François Pain, Félix Guattari, François Fourquet, Anne Querrien, Liane Mozère, Thierry Rosenzweig, Florence Gay-Bellile, Jean-Pol Pierre, Isabelle Cahen, Marion Scémama, Claude Harmelle, and Georges Goldman.

LE CERFI PROPOSE :

Dans le cadre de la Formation Permanente
aux établissements d'Education et d'Hygiène mentale.

**UNE FORMATION A L'ANALYSE INSTITUTIONNELLE
PAR LES TECHNIQUES AUDIOVISUELLES**

L'apprentissage d'un certain nombre de techniques d'animation et d'organisation du travail élaborées par le courant de pédagogie et de psychothérapie institutionnelle.

Objectif : Former les salariés à l'observation de « ce qui se passe » dans l'institution. On utilise la technique vidéo : enregistrement télévisuel et révisionnement immédiat.

Déroulement :

- Formation rapide sur le tas des stagiaires.
- Tournage par les animateurs et les stagiaires.
- Analyse des bandes par les animateurs et les stagiaires.
- Montage des passages sélectionnés.
- Bilan collectif : analyse du montage par les animateurs et les stagiaires.

Durée : La durée du stage est fonction des ressources de l'établissement. Trois journées sont réservées à la prise de contact avec l'institution, l'analyse, le bilan. En dehors de ces trois journées inamovibles, le stage comportera autant de journées que le permettent les ressources de l'établissement.

Coût : Une journée d'intervention (en institution) coûte 1 500,00 F. Ce forfait comprend la rémunération des animateurs, la fourniture de l'ensemble des matériels nécessaires, la fourniture d'une copie montée à l'institution.

▲ Imago announcing training in institutional analysis using a video technique involving visual recording and immediate replay and review, designed for educational and mental health institutions. The aim is to teach staff how to observe "what happens" within their institution. Participants will learn how to use a camera to film their institution, project and analyse the footage, create a montage from their selection and analyse it collectively. Reprint from *Recherches* 15, 1974, p. 149.

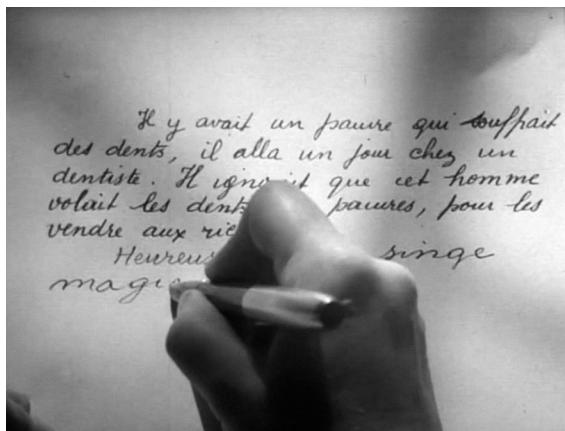


• The film *La vague de Cristal* (1990), which was shot, conceived and directed by the *L'Atelier Vidéo* group at the Club de La Borde, with J-F Mesuron and François Pain. It was developed at Pain's video workshop with patients at La Borde, with the story based on *La vague de Cristal* by Fernand Deligny.

• An imminent crystal wave is approaching and threatens to freeze anything and anyone in its path.
Image taken from the film
La Vague de crystal (1990).
Courtesy of François Pain.

... Imago promoted audio-visual exchange between the different institutions where it developed workshops. Video correspondence between different institutions formed the basis of an ongoing collective analysis of what was happening in the institutions concerned. The 'videography' included *Les dents du singe*, an animated film made by René Laloux at La Borde in 1960, with drawings and a collective script by the 'pensionnaires'. *Les Dents du singe*, René Laloux, 1961.

.... An evil dentist robs his anaesthetised patients of their teeth to sell to his rich clients. Or so it seems, until a monkey on a bicycle comes to the rescue. Film still from *Les Dents du singe*, René Laloux, 1961.



limites, aussi axiomatique que la théorie newtonienne. De ces axiomes, de celui de l'impossibilité de travailler dans un espace social non dominé ou de l'inexistence du travail dans un espace social non dominé dont les gauchistes se sont faits les héritiers frénétiques, nous devons nous échapper pour trouver dès aujourd'hui nos propres espaces de désirs, aussi pervers que nos éclatements et nos déchirures eu égard au travail capitaliste ou militant.

La révolution n'est pas la critique radicale et pratique de la vie actuelle. La révolution est la fin de la vie actuelle, son ignorance. La révolution n'a que faire de la vie actuelle, elle n'est pas réaliste, elle ne connaît ni homme, ni femme, ni rien, elle ne connaît que le mouvement, des particules sociales infinitésimales qui passent, et il n'y a plus aucun socius, aucun appareil de pouvoir pour les enregistrer. C'est du moins ce que je voudrais. Déjà se borner à l'enregistrement, et que ça pète si l'aiguille s'affole ; c'est que ce que nous tenons ensemble ne tient pas, éclate. Il ne faut pas d'appareil de pouvoir pour le rentrer dans le rang. Peut-être un organe de pilotage pour organiser la sortie, le parasitage des appareils environnants ? Mais c'est encore aveu d'impuissance, nécessité d'un répérage.

N'en déplaise à Nietzsche, je désire intensément « une vie qui s'abstiendrait volontairement de toute fonction organique », une vie sans domination, sans exploitation, une vie anorganique, anhumaine, une vie dont la multiplicité des intensités ne se ramènerait pas toujours au corps naturel, propre, comme mesure de toutes choses, une vie qui ferait sauter le corps, comme le reste.

Anne Querrien

IMAGO

Imago tient à votre disposition un document vidéo sur certains aspects de la vie d'une crèche à Aubervilliers. Il ne s'agit pas d'un reportage mais plutôt d'une monographie réalisée à l'occasion d'une étude du Cerfi pour le Cordes : garde d'enfants et évolution de la famille conjugale.

Durée : 36' - noir et blanc

Disponible sur une ou deux (30' + 10') bandes

1/2 pouce Sony ET AJ : 350 F. Également sur une bande 1 pouce IVC : 500 F.

STAGES CERFI

Le Cerfi organise un cycle de formation aux techniques d'expression écrites et orales ainsi que des stages sur les problèmes de l'enfance. Pour tous renseignements, s'adresser au Cerfi, 49 rue Dalayrac, 94120 Fontenay sous Bois, tél. 875 03 11.

◀ Imago announcing a new addition to the video club: a video shot during research at the Aubervilliers crèche, documenting various aspects of crèche life. Part of Cerfi's CORDES - funded project on childcare and the evolution of the conjugal family. Reprint from *Recherches* 17, 1975, p. 587.

▼ François Pain, Bruno Guattari, Joséphine Guattari and others at La Borde during the filming of *Min Tanaka* (1986). Photo by Jean-Michel Pain, courtesy François Pain.



Dossiers and Visual Documents

MUSIC GROUP

CERFI-Music was born after the publication of *Histoires de La Borde*, when Michel Rostain met the opera singer Martine Thomas and the jazz musician Philippe Gumplowicz. It gathered professional musicians (composers, instrumentalists), music researchers and amateurs interested in music, from opera singers to jazz musicians, instrumentalists, and composers. They set up a vibrant community made up almost entirely of musicians at Villa d'Idalie, a large house in the suburbs in Vincennes where nine of them lived: the basement converted into a studio and the garage into a jazz room. CERFI-Music included the musical theatre group "L'Atelier lyrique expérimental", and the jazz band, "Arcane V".

In the words of Michel Rostain:

"I remember waking up exhausted the day after writing the last page of *Histoires de La Borde*. That was in 1974. The five of us had worked tremendously on it for months and months, the effort had been extraordinary and the result seemed stimulating. When I woke up that morning, I said to myself, 'I've had enough of sociology, psychiatry and the history of institutions. I've got another urgent need: to get back to music!' But that didn't mean I was leaving CERFI, no way. CERFI was great for just that; it was there to help us move forward along the paths that, individually or collectively, we wanted to explore. So I brought music into CERFI. That same year, Anne Querrien introduced me to an American researcher who was also a singer and who was working on a production of The Magic Flute at the Opéra Comique in Paris. I fell in love with another singer in that team, Martine Thomas, who played the role of the Queen of the Night in that fine team. That was forty-eight years ago and the love still lasts. (...) That's how the music group came about. CERFI also helped us to find out how we would live with music. I'd given up my philosophy thesis since the birth of the CERFI. So, quite by chance, I started a thesis on the history of music, very much in the footsteps of our research on the history of music at CERFI-Musique. In 1975, Philippe Gumplowicz, Martine and I moved into a

house with eight musicians. The CERFI-Musique was going to take up residence there, at Villa d'Idalie in Vincennes. There were opera singers and a jazz musician who had arrived from Israel with no money or social security. CERFI got him a job. Philippe and other musicians had set up a music studio in the basement. The resources of CERFI-Musique contributed directly or indirectly to this. At the same time, I was setting up a school of lyric art, a singing school for young top-level professionals and exceptional singers every week, first in the CERFI collective space in Fontenay, then in the refurbished garage of our house in Vincennes". Interview with Michel Rostian, February 2021.

Cerfi-Music conducted research on the profession of musicians, amateur musicians, and the history of musical institutions such as the history of the birth of opera in France, the birth of the *conservatoire*, the birth of male choirs known as *orphéons*. It described its research as the continuation of CERFI's general research on collective equipment in music equipment ("systems of obligation in cultural life") along with a reflection on art and culture from the point of view of its different institutions, with a particular focus on music and theatre.

The first research, on the history of musical equipment in France and funded by the DGRST was: "*L'Opéra: la première direction de la musique. L'État et les équipements de diffusion culturelle.*" The study focused on analysing the establishment of the Paris Opera in 1669 as the first musical venue in France. The aim was to identify the centre from which a musical administration would emerge, forming the basis of a cultural equipment policy. In a second study, they examined how the French state encouraged the creation of national and local cultural equipment in the 19th century. What plans for spaces and sensibilities did this policy entail, and how did art and its dissemination become a concrete administrative matter, with an overall administrative plan for it? Between 1977-1978, they conducted a study on the institutional history of the Opera and the Conservatoire during the Revolution.

Funded by a CORDES grant, in 1976, Philippe Gumpelwicz, Michel Rostain, Marjorie Samoff, carried out research on the profession of the musician (*“Le métier de musicien”*), interviewing a large number of performers and composers, as well as amateur musicians. In addition, a major work based on interviews and reflections was published in issue 42 of *Recherches*, entitled *“Aujourd’hui, l’opéra”* (Marie-Noel Rio and Michel Rostain, 1980), and, two years later, one entitled *“L’Opéra mort ou vif”* (Marie-Noel Rio and Michel Rostain, 1982).

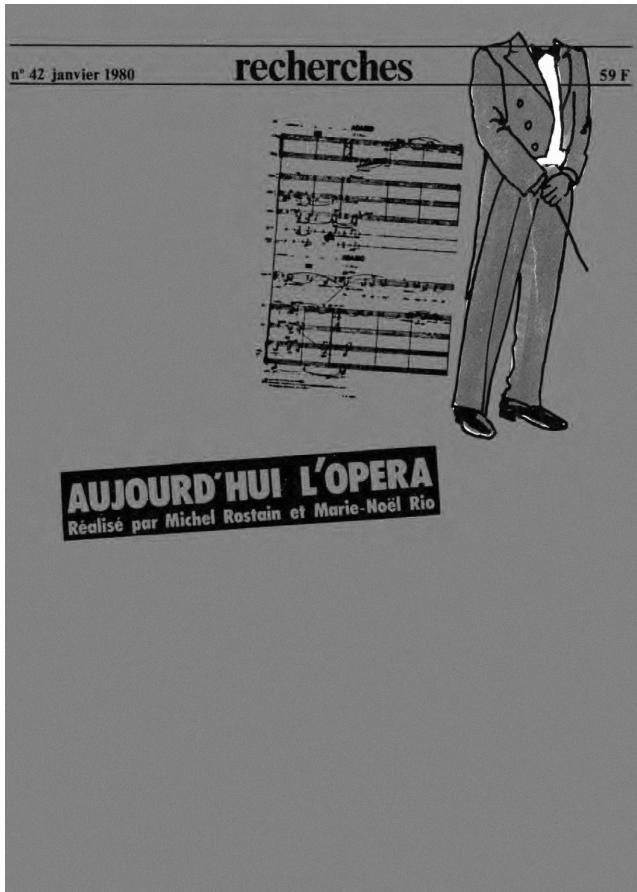
CERFI members:

Michel Rostain, Philippe Gumpelwicz, Martine Thomas, Arcane V: Philippe Gumpelwicz; Nano Peylet; Michel Saulnier; Youval Micenmacher.

Sonorhc: members of ARCANE V with Jean-François Gaël, Pierre Buffenoir, Marie-Noel Rio, and many others.



▲ ARCANE V was a jazz quartet comprising guitar, bass, clarinet and percussion. It was formed by Philippe Gumplowicz and Youval Micenmacher. They recorded an album, played at many festivals and toured abroad, performing in Greece, Algeria, Tunisia and Israel. Three of the four musicians lived in Idalie. ARCANE V in concert at Longpont, at the home of Jean-François Gaël, 1979. Courtesy Philippe Gumplowicz.



▲ *Recherches* 42, *Aujourd'hui l'opéra*, 1980, edited by Michel Rostain and Marie-Noël Rio, cover by André Rodeghiero. The starting point for this issue was the following question: What is the state of opera creation in France? This question was posed to composers, writers, stage directors, and theatre managers with a view to draw up 'a map of lyric creation' and trigger 'a process of reflection, analysis and narrative'. Emphasising the importance of the process of collective reflection, the fact that "articles are not 'papers', and that interviews are not 'interviews'", the editors emphasised that they have ensured that the dossier is produced entirely by people in the profession *with* people in the profession.

▼ Pages of *Recherches 42 Aujourd'hui* l'opéra, "L'Ankylose du Théâtre Psychologique" by Maurice Ohana, pages taken from the score of Répons, p. 202. Maurice Ohana also composed the music for the *Les Dents du singe*, the 1961 animated film by René Laloux, based on drawings by residents at the La Borde.

AGRÉGATS

Extrait de la partition de *Répons*.

24

I
Piano
II
Clavier
III
C. Hours

Extraits de « La noirceur du lait », opéra-test.

Extrait de la partition de *La grand-mère française*.

IMAGE (Guit.)
SON (centre (B))
SON (centre (A))
Guitare
Voix
Geste

IMAGE (Guit.)
SON (centre (B))
SON (centre (A))
Guitare
Voix
Geste

IMAGE (Guit.)
SON (centre (B))
SON (centre (A))
Guitare
Voix
Geste

IMAGE (Guit.)
SON (centre (B))
SON (centre (A))
Guitare

Extrait de la partition de *La noirceur du lait*, opéra-test.

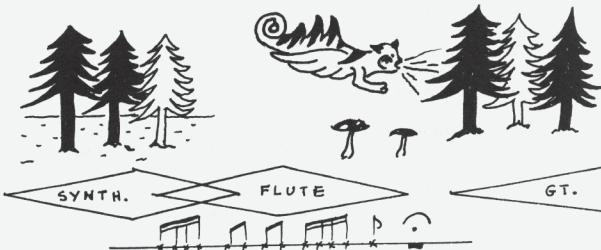
Pages extraites de la partition de *DA CAPO* (F. B. Mache).

3

- Pages of *Recherches 42 Aujourd'hui l'opéra*, 1980, "Rencontre de Claude Prey, extraits de *La noirceur du lait opéra-test*" by Claude Prey, p. 160.
- Pages of *Recherches 42 Aujourd'hui l'opéra*, 1980, "Rencontre de Claude Prey, extraits de *La grand-mère française*" by Claude Prey, p. 162.

- Pages of *Recherches 42 Aujourd'hui l'opéra*, 1980, "La musique théâtrale" by François-Bernard Mâche (1935), pages taken from the score of *Da Capo*, p. 180.

PROMENADE EN FORET POUR
 FLUTE SYNTHÉTISEUR GUITARE
 ET PERCUSSION.



FLUTE ZOLE



SYNTHÉTISEUR TRAME LARGE

GUITARE  DISTORSION

GONG à la paume + brèves interventions crotelle



Établissement d'un rythme simple, puis DOPPLER



Reste une petite
itération de guitare
reprise xylo ou maximba

• / •• Announcement of an experimental musical walk through the forest featuring the flute, synthesiser, guitar, marimba and percussion, organised by SONORHC, a jazz fusion group composed by Arcane V with Jean-François Gaël and Pierre Buffenoir. Reprinted from *Recherches* 17, 1975, p. 590.

SOLO DE PERCUSSION EXTRÉMEMENT VIOLENT
25° - POINT CULMINANT DÉBOUCHANT SUR LA
REPRISE DE L'ITÉRATION GUITARE MARIMBA

+ FLUTE berceuse grave.

Passage paisible
de la vache
(RENTREE DU SYNTHÉTISEUR)

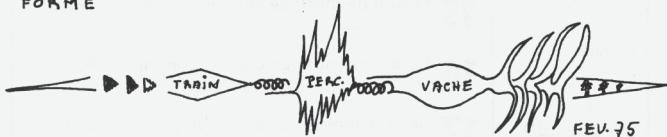


Aller vers une
musique de singes
jouant dans les
lianes.



POUR FINIR, REVENIR A LA FORMULE DU DEBUT

FORME



..



disques du cavalier / 30 cm 33 t / stéréo mono

(U) CVR MG 650

SONORHC
purf

SONORHC est une musique Extrême, une musique Amitié, une musique Dialogue, une musique Plaisir.

SONORHC est une histoire de Rencontres et de Voyages. - Rencontres entre hommes et d'entre elles-mêmes, dans des mondes différents de la musique. Voyages dans l'Espace et dans le Temps. Nous avons "fabriqué" SONORHC comme d'autres écrivent un livre de Science Fiction. Ce premier disque est le témoignage d'un voyage sur la planète PURF, royaume des machines et des machines.

J.-F. Gall

FACE A

1. PLANE DU TAL* U.F. Galt
2. SEPT ELEMENTS POUR SONORHC U.F. Galt - A
3. SEPT ELEMENTS POUR SONORHC U.F. Galt - B.C.D
4. SEPT ELEMENTS POUR SONORHC U.F. Galt - E
5. SEPT ELEMENTS POUR SONORHC U.F. Galt - F.G

FACE B

1. BRUJUE (Phone Buffer) 509
2. SARA BOLASKA (A. Chante) 306
3. LINE RUE SUR LA PLANÈTE PURF (Impression collective) 250
4. 505 228
5. 545 316

Enregistrements réalisés les 27 avril et 15 mai 1972 aux studios SOFRESON

jean-françois GALT : batterie électrique, basse, flûte
Pierre BRUTENGER : guitare électrique, basse
Philippe GUILFOUARD : guitare électrique, guitare sèche, trompette
Yves MICHELMACHER : percussions
Pierre DOBLER : voix de son

Photos : Dominique LAVANDIER
Maquette : S. LAMBERGON

* Il y a très longtemps sur la planète PURF coulait le fleuve TAL. On y trouvait de l'eau et des poissons. Les grandes équinoxes étaient l'île par des danses sauvages.

MUSIQUE

Musiciens amateurs, nous organisons en juillet prochain un stage dans les Cévennes ou en Provence. Objectifs :

- jouer ensemble (classique, jazz, pop)
- travailler son instrument
- faire du solfège, de l'harmonie, etc.
- travailler la voix (théâtre musical)

Nous voulons être relativement peu nombreux (15 à 25 personnes maximum), y compris les musiciens formateurs. Au départ, nous sommes 5 ou 6 à vouloir ce stage, et nous invitons les gens intéressés à nous écrire. Nous prévoyons une réunion pour organiser le stage (lieu, dates, prix, etc.), le mardi 20 mai à 18 heures, au Cerfi, 49, rue Dalayrac à Fontenay-sous-Bois 94120.

SONORHC



Pour les musiciens qui s'y activent, Sonorhc signifie une brèche dans l'activité musicale quotidienne. S'y élabore en effet une musique issue du seul plaisir. Un plaisir qui bouleverse les codes : les musiciens de Sonorhc viennent de territoires différents ; classique, jazz, pop. Les instruments utilisés relèvent eux aussi du même collage baroque ; instruments occidentaux tempérés, instruments traditionnels, instruments électroniques.

A ce titre, il s'y joue une « free music » véritablement sans traditions au sens où l'on ne retrouve pas les déploiements du free-jazz (le tempo aussi implicite soit-il) ou de la musique contemporaine (la « phrase » sérielle).

Dans ces conditions, tout peut faire figure de support aux intensités collectives. Les partitions sont des événements où chacun se mesure, des surfaces d'accrochage où surgit une musique essentiellement improvisée (pages suivantes).

Disques SONORHC : Disque du Cavalier 30 cm/33 tours CVR.MG 650
Jean-François Gaël, 25, rue Durrier, 91310 Longpont

◀ Sonorhc (Chronos backwards) was an experimental ensemble with a rotating membership, formed around Jean-François Gaël, Pierre Buffenoir and André Chini, as well as members of the group Arcane V, Philippe Gumplowicz and Youval Micenmacher. Cover of Purf, 1972.

↑ Announcement in the pages of *Recherches* 17 addressed to amateur musicians about an initiative to create a small group activity (in the Cévennes or Provence) with the aim of: “playing together (classical, jazz, pop), working on your instrument, practising *solfeggio*, harmony, and working on your voice (musical theatre). Reprint from *Recherches* 17, 1975, p. 589.

Dossiers and Visual Documents

REVUE RECHERCHES

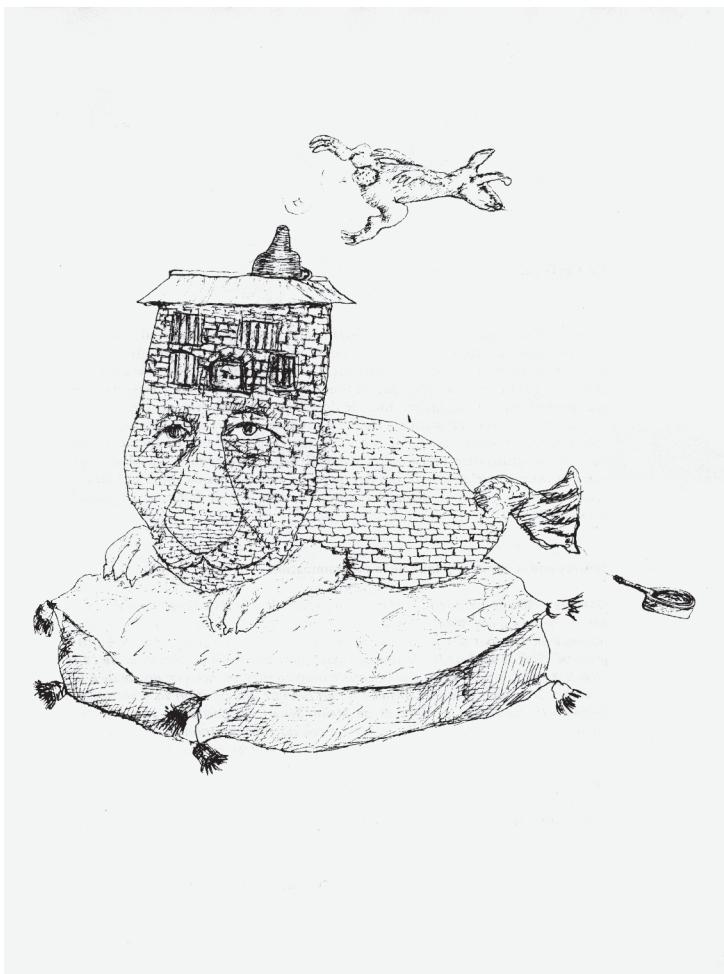
Revue Recherches was the editorial platform of CERFI. *Recherches* was originally created by FGERI which published its first four issues: the first and second came out in 1966, and the double issue 3-4 in 1967. Issue 5, despite still being presented as *Revue Trimestrielle de la Fédération des Groupes d'Etudes et de Recherches Institutionnelles*, mentions for the first time the name of CERFI. Issue 11 published in 1973 was the first that no longer described it as the journal of FGERI, but simply as "*Recherches Revue éditée par le C.E.R.F.I.*," with Félix Guattari as its editor. The upkeep of the journal was a priority for CERFI. *Recherches* was co-financed by all CERFI sub-groups and from the budget derived from its research contracts (a percentage captured for the journal to exist). *Recherches'* management was supposedly rotating and strategic, but Guattari remained its main editor until the end, and Liane Mozère was editor of the journal over two periods (1967-1970 and 1980-1982). Other CERFI members would take on this role for some of the issues. In total, there were 47 issues ranging between special thematic issues, research projects and reports, colloquium proceedings, and issues edited by groups outside of CERFI. *Recherches* allowed CERFI to quickly publish and disseminate their work. With a team led, since 1972, by Florence Pétry, they edited, designed, and distributed the issues themselves, which means they had methodological and graphic freedom, and that there wasn't a long interval of time between finalising copy, printing, and the distribution.

Revue Recherches team:

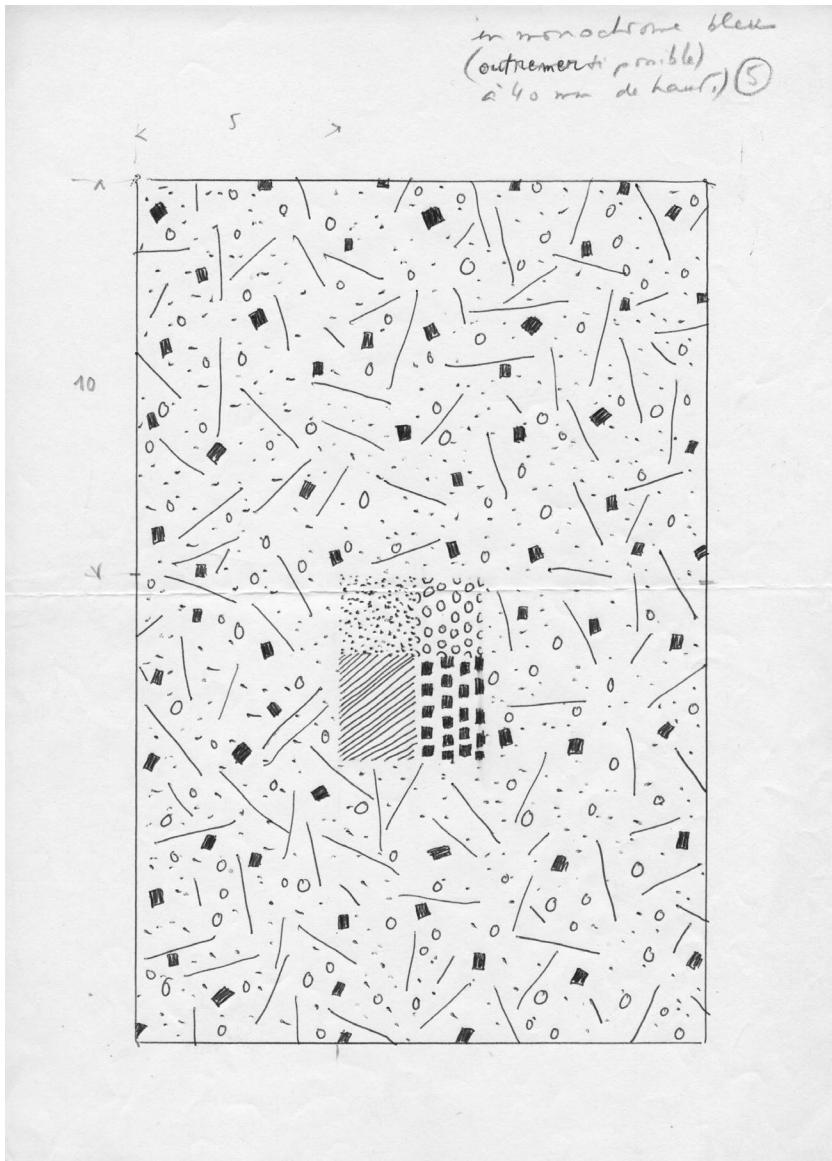
Early 1970s: Christian Hennion, Anne-Marie Glotz, Georges Préli, Catherine Yovanovitch. From 1978: Florence Pétry, Claude Rouot.

Édition Recherches team:

Numa Murard, Lion Murard, Françoise Nogues, Florence Pétry, Luc Rosenzweig, Anne-Marie Walter, Patrick Zylberman.



▲ Drawing by Misha Garrigue for *Recherches* 17. Courtesy Florence Pétry.

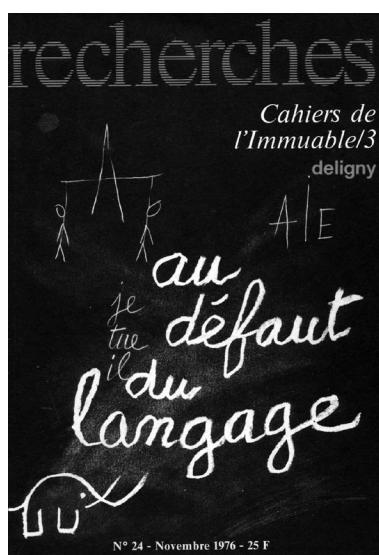


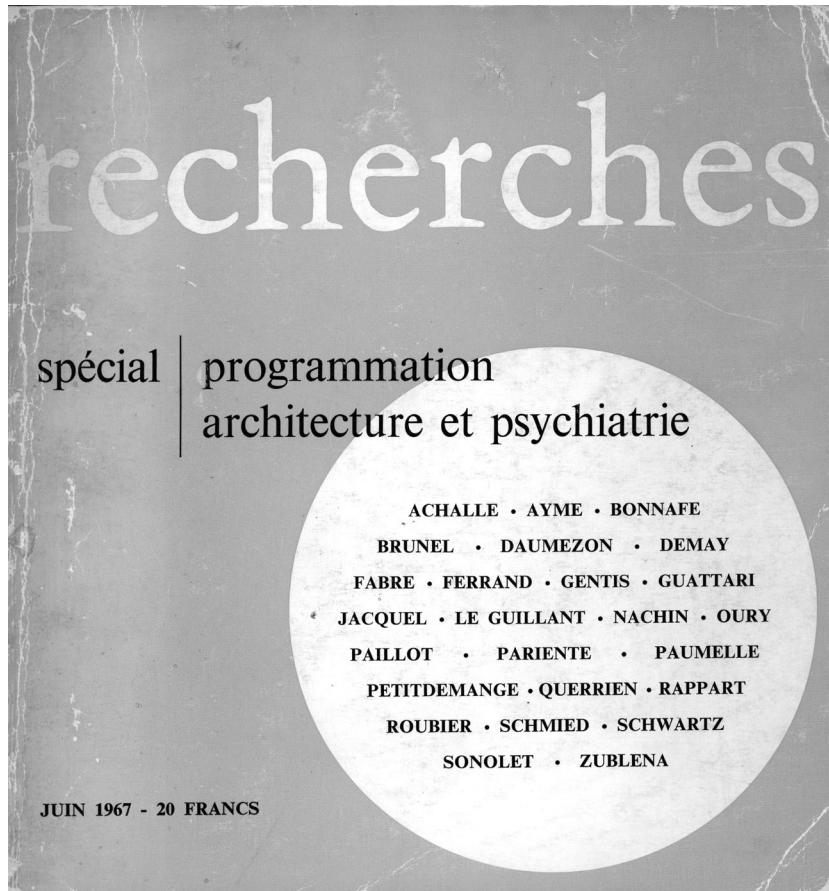
• Drawing maquette for *La révolution moléculaire* 1977, by Félix Guattari. Éditions Recherches. Courtesy Florence Pétry.

• Drawing maquette for *Recherches* 24, November 1976, *Cahiers de l'immuable* 3. Courtesy Florence Pétry.



... All three of Deligny's *Cahiers de l'Immu...*, with the help of Isaac Joseph and Florence Pétry from Cerfi/Recherches were published as issues of *Recherches*, each with its own title: *Voix et voir* (issue 18, April 1975), *Dérives* (issue 20, December 1975) and *Au défaut du langage* (issue 24, November 1976). The first issue sold out quickly, with 100 copies sold per month, and was reprinted. The CERFI supported Deligny's work through a contract with the Ministry of Equipment. The CERFI would then justify expenses against invoices for equipment, work or salaries.





▲ Edited by FGERI, *Recherches 06 Programmation, architecture et psychiatrie* (1967) brought together architects and psychiatrists to reflect on the programming of collective equipment. This laid the foundations for the creation of CERFI and its primary research interests in the years to come, particularly the critique of the state's mode of calculating social demands and needs, and the importance of understanding programming analytically and beyond disciplinary confines.

recherches

GENEALOGIE DU CAPITAL

1. les équipements du pouvoir

N°13 décembre 1973 - 32 F.

▲ *Recherches* 13 brings together multiple texts by CERFI as a first response to the commission by the *Direction de l'aménagement foncier et de l'urbanisme* (DAFU) to devise a theoretical framework for intervening in the collective equipment of the French state. Due to the inclusion of a discussion with Foucault and Deleuze, the issue was the object of multiple academic studies and commentary, and became one of CERFI's more recognised publications. *Recherches* 13, *Généalogie du capital*.
1 - *Les équipements du pouvoir*, 1973.

recherches



Grande Encyclopédie des Homosexualités

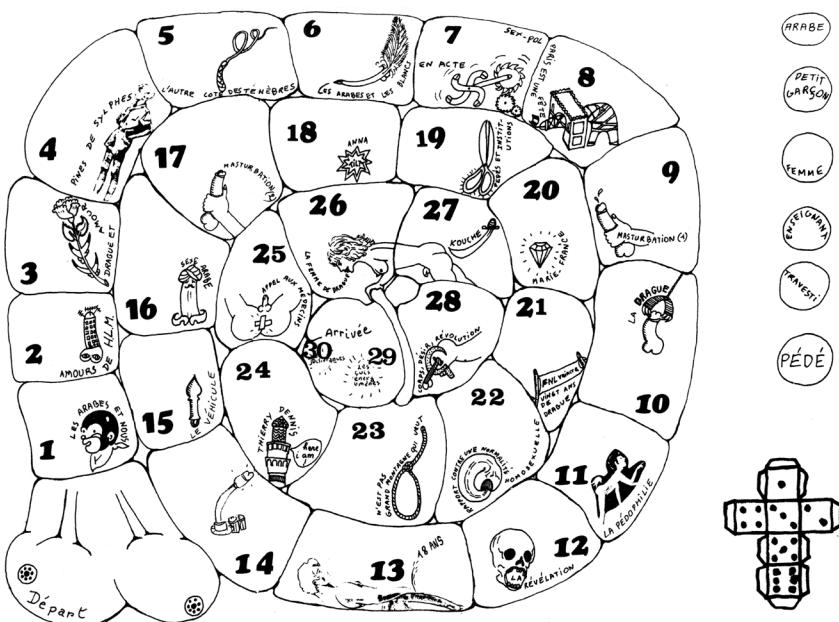
Mars 1973 23 F

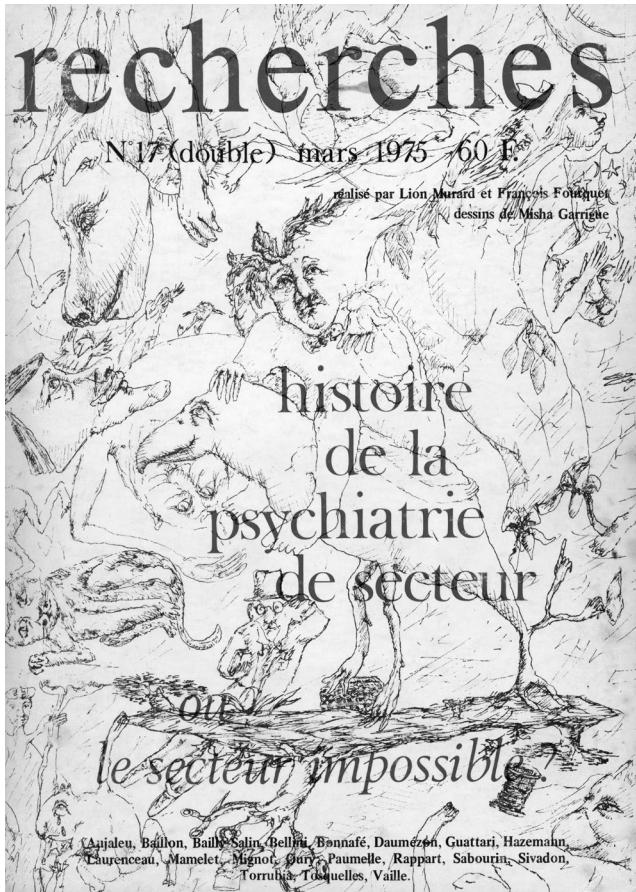
▲ *Recherches* 12. In 1972, CERFI initiated a collaboration with the *Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire* (Homosexual Front for Revolutionary Action) or FHAR, for the publication of an issue of *Recherches* dedicated to homosexual and feminist movements. The issue was titled *Trois milliards de pervers: la grande encyclopédie des homosexualités*, and composed of very different contributions, ranging from topics on sado-masochism to essays on masturbation and children's sexuality, and with participants that included sex-workers, transvestites, as well as renowned authors such as Gilles Chatelet, Jean-Jaques Lebel, Foucault, Sartre, Deleuze, and CERFI members Guattari and Anne Querrien. The issue was both theoretically and aesthetically diverse, with a polyphony of modes and means of expression. It was never about the liberal problem of recognition or inclusion, as became the norm, but about building revolutionary alliances for political transformation and a politics of sexuality against pattern or normality, where it was important to be open about "desires and fantasies hitherto confined to bedrooms and public urinals".

▼ Table of contents of *Recherches* 12, March, 1973.

CERFI's collaboration with Guy Hocquenghem and FHAR on this particular issue had long lasting effects on the group and its internal dynamics. Released in 1973, the issue was censured on the grounds of pornography and its distribution was blocked by the court. Court proceedings and CERFI's responses were published in *Recherches* 15. Michel Foucault, who contributed to the volume, testified at the trial:

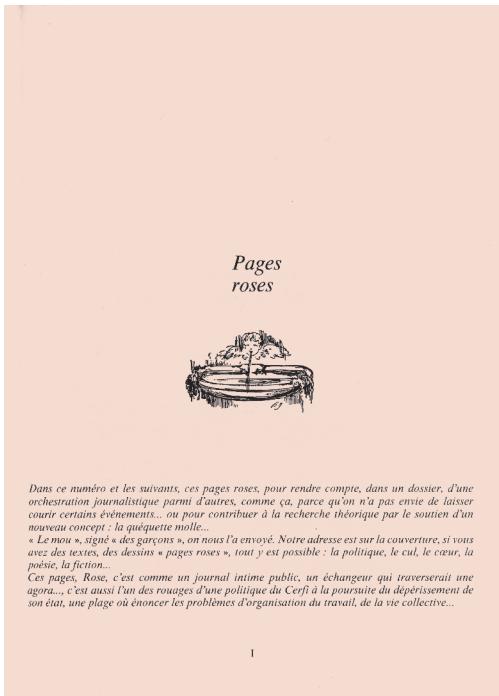
"It is this struggle for the body that makes sexuality a political problem. It is understandable, in these conditions, that the so-called normal sexuality, that is to say, the reproductive sexuality of labour power - with all that this implies in terms of the rejection of other sexualities and also of the subjection of women - should want to show itself to be normative. It is also normal that in the political movement for the recovery of the body, there are movements for the liberation of women, as well as for male and female homosexuality."





- *Recherches 17, Histoire de la psychiatrie de secteur ou le secteur impossible.* March 1975, with drawings by Misha Garrigue.
- Leaflet announcing the second edition of *Recherches 17 - Histoire de la psychiatrie de secteur* with a review by Robert Castel. Archives Nationales.
- *Pages Rose* was a pink insert at the end of *Recherches*, 'a collective intime diary', or a space for expression of problems about the daily life and organisation of work in CERFI.

This is an example taken from issue 21, which comes with the following description of *Pages Rose*: "Our address is on the cover, if you have texts, drawings, in 'pink pages', everything is possible: politics, the arse, the heart, poetry, fiction... These pages, Rose, are like a public intimate diary, an exchange that runs through an agora... It's also one of the cogs in CERFI's politics of seeking to understand its own decline, a place where the problems of organising work and collective life are exposed..."



Dans ce numéro et les suivants, ces pages roses, pour rendre compte, dans un dossier, d'une orchestration journalistique parmi d'autres, comme ça, parce qu'on n'a pas envie de laisser courir certains événements... ou pour contribuer à la recherche théorique par le soutien d'un nouveau concept : la quéquette molle...

« Le mot », signé « des garçons », on nous l'a envoyé. Notre adresse est sur la couverture, si vous avez des textes, des dessins « pages roses », tout y est possible : la politique, le cul, le cave, la poésie, la fiction...

Ces pages, Rose, c'est comme un journal intime public, un échangeur qui traverserait une agora... c'est aussi l'un des rouages d'une politique du Cerf à la poursuite du déperissement de son état, une plage où énoncer les problèmes d'organisation du travail, de la vie collective...

I



DEUXIÈME ÉDITION:

FRANÇOIS BOURGUET, LION MURAT

Histoire de la psychiatrie de secteur

Une histoire éprouvée par ses acteurs (psychiatres et administrateurs), et traversée par une problématique du pouvoir et de son oppo... le service (la thérapie, la recherche, l'enseignement), l'écriture, d'une génération de psychiatres militants profondément engagés dans la cause de l'émancipation sociale, la guerre et la Résistance, la Libération (où ils jouent un rôle prépondérant), l'après-guerre, le dispute autour de la psychanalyse, la traversée du débat sur la psychopathologie et la psychopathologie reprise

La son compte la doctrine de secteur...

— l'Etat a officiellement proclamé la doctrine de secteur, mais les psychiatres (et les psychotérapeutes ou hospitaliers) n'en ont jamais entendu parler

— les psychiatres voudraient bien sortir de l'hôpital, mais ne peuvent s'en détacher, car c'est de lui qu'ils tirent leur légitimité et leur légitimité (et ils sont administrativement imposés)

— avec l'ouverture l'asile de soins, la psychiatrie de secteur veut mettre fin à l'enclos de la folie, mais trouve dans l'asile la grise du contrôle social

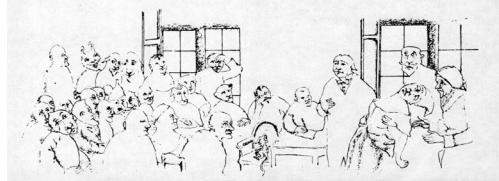
Recherches n° 17, mars 75.

2 éd. : Éditions Recherches, octobre 1980.

272 p. - PCB 37,40

"Une histoire de la psychiatrie de secteur a encore ce plaisir, puisque c'est celle de nos contemporains. Pour écrire le document sera être submergé par les bavardages complaisants, le rôle du narrateur en soi est décisif. L'équipe réalisatrice de ce numéro de la revue Recherches l'a tenu avec une rare maîtrise.... Une chance donc que ce livre propose l'ensemble le plus riche de documents publiés à ce jour en France pour commentier cette évolution".

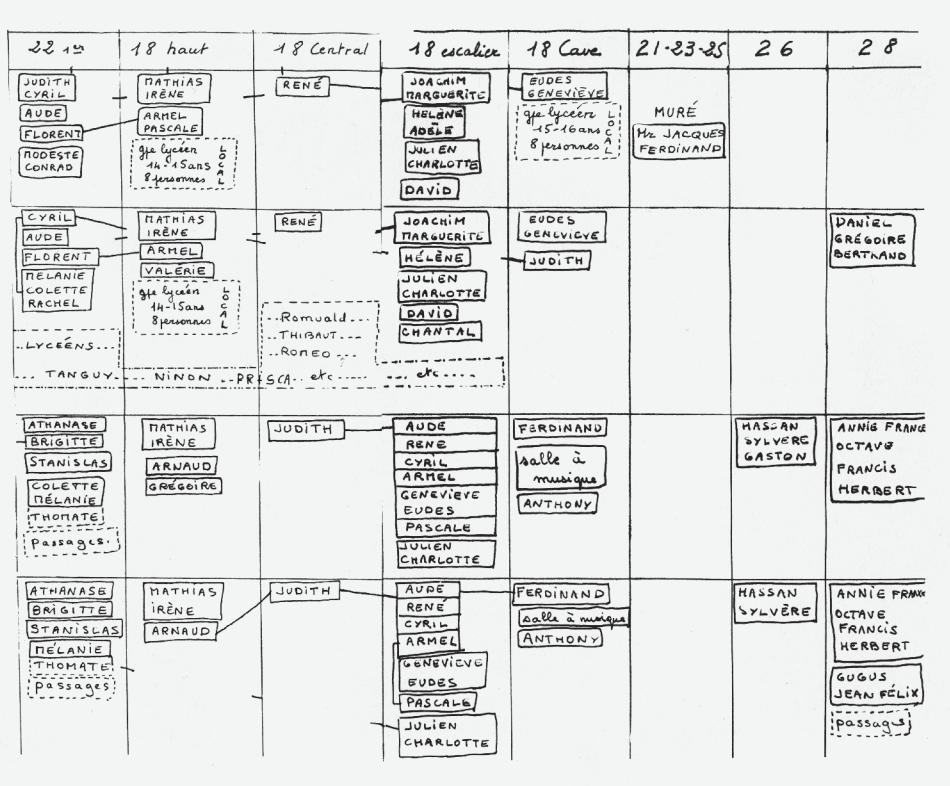
Robert Castel, "Le Nouvel Observateur"



•••

▼ The space-time of occupations in Sèvres. Reprint from *Histoires de la rue des Caves. Recherches* 19, 1975. The scheme is explained as follows: "This table, divided into four successive periods, details the changes in the locations of groups and individuals during 1973. The vertical columns correspond to houses (collective structures). The horizontal lines arbitrarily delimit a relative permanence in the dwelling (two to three months). The dots indicate people passing through (a few days, individuals with no fixed place) The lines crossing the houses indicate relationships (it is possible to eat in one house and sleep in another) Let's play a game: let's retrace stories from these texts using this table."

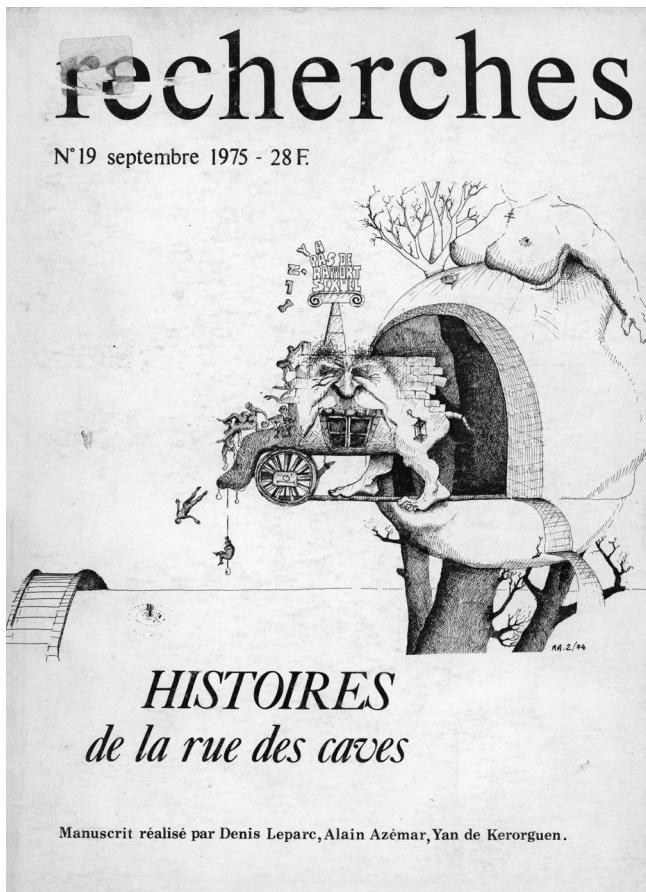
12	5	10	7	12 bis	14 bis	14	16	22 R.C	23ème
ALBERT SEBASTIEN MATHIEU MAURICE ? + LUCIE CHRISTINE	ALFRED MARIE KAREN ARMAND KATE MAHMOUD		DANIEL CHANTAL GREGOIRE VALERIE ARMAND BERTRAND HUGUES ATHANASE THOMATE	MICHELNE INGRID			salie de poterie Atelier de Marionnettes	jean lucien 44-45 ans 40 semaines RAYMOND MALIKA	RAOUL NICOLE CLAUDE BRIGITTE
ALBERT SEBASTIEN MATHIEU MAURICE ?	ALFRED KATE Aida		ARNAUD HUGUES ATHANASE THOMATE	MODESTE STANISLAS				MICHELNE BLANCHE FRED ADELE jean lucien 44-45 ans 40 semaines LO RAYMOND MALIKA	RAOUL NICOLE CLAUDE BRIGITTE
ALBERT SEBASTIEN MATHIEU MAURICE ?	ALFRED		VIVIAN... BARBARA... EUSÈBE... Placide...	gues de "e Commune"	TETO... OLDAG... SIRON... DIANE... JEANNE...			ALBROISE Nadège... CLARISSA MARTIAL	
ALBERT SEBASTIEN MATHIEU MAURICE ?	ALFRED		DAVID ANDRÉ	RACHEL GOEFFROY passages	HUGUES SÉVERIN	DANIEL CHANTAL BERTRAND	VINCENT	GILAIN FLORENTIN FULBERT ANGELE KATE Aida	RAOUL NICOLE CLAUDE GUGUS JEAN FELIX passages
ALBERT SEBASTIEN MAURICE MATHIEU ?	ALFRED		DAVID ANDRÉ ?	URBIN COLETTE passages	HUGUES SÉVERIN	DANIEL CHANTAL BERTRAND GREGOIRE		GILAIN FLORENTIN L'Zélemand! passages	RAOUL NICOLE CLAUDE PRISCA ANSELME passages
UNE TRANCHE DE L'HISTOIRE									
<p>Ce tableau composé de 4 périodes successives détaille les changements de lieux des groupes et des individus pendant l'année 1973.</p> <p>Les colonnes verticales correspondent aux maisons (structures collectives). Les traits horizontaux délimitent arbitrairement une relative permanence dans l'habitat (en général 2 à 3 mois).</p> <p>Les points indiquent précisés les gens de passage (quelques jours, individus sans lieu déterminé).</p> <p>Les traits traversant les maisons indiquent une relation (c'est-à-dire qu'il est possible de manger en une maison et de dormir dans une autre).</p> <p>RETRACER DES HISTOIRES A TRAVERS LES TEXTES, AU MOYEN DE CE TABLEAU...</p>									



▼ Cover of *Histoires de la rue des Caves*. *Recherches* 19, 1975. This issue was compiled by Yan de Kerorguen, Alain Azémard and Denis Leparc, militants from the group *Désidérata*, and documents the process of the collective occupation of buildings on a street in Sèvres (Hauts-de-Seine). From the introductory text of CERFI on the issue:

“The texts presented in this issue of *Recherches* are raw documents; the people of the rue des Caves are reserving one or more possible interpretations of this series of material archives, whose value, in their view, is sufficient in itself. Any historical

reconstruction simply reduces the multiplicity and discontinuity of events, powers and impulses to the unity of meaning and the continuity of a historical discourse – even if that discourse has no other ambition than to introduce the reader to the archives. This reduction is inherent in historical discourse itself: as a ‘true story’ (as opposed to fiction), it always tends to unfold in the milieu of causality, coherence, continuity and signification; it places the emphasis on the individual-actors, the subjects of enunciation, to the detriment of the drive multiplicities and intensive networks that form the very matter of the event.”



n° 25 novembre 1976 45 F

recherches

LION MURARD
PATRICK ZYLBERMAN

LE PETIT TRAVAILLEUR INFATIGABLE *ou le prolétaire régénéré*



VILLES-USINES,
HABITAT ET INTIMITÉS
AU XIX^e SIÈCLE.

▲ Image Cover from *Recherches*, 25, November 1976, 'Le petit travailleur infatigable', edited by Lion Murard and Patrick Zylbermann.

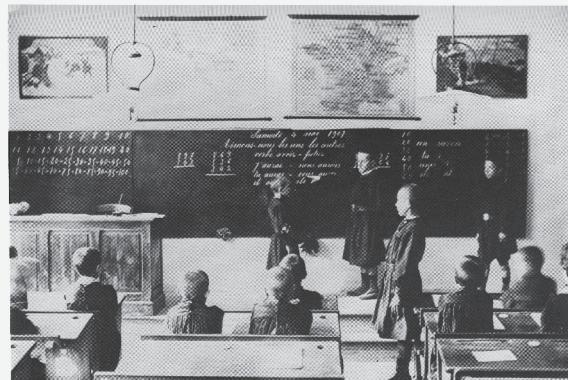


• / .. / ... / *Recherches* 23, *L'enseignement. L'école primaire*, 1976. Anne Querrien's research on the mutualist school system was conducted under research contracts on collective equipment. The study examined the school as a form of collective equipment, looking at the history of Western schooling since the 19th century as an example of collective normalisation. Mutualist schools are highlighted as an example of schools created for the poor that worked differently, with one teacher for eighty or more students of all ages and minimal resources. Of note is a section in the issue where Querrien self-analyses her work and her own desires, in her words, "a delirium of self-criticism and proliferation", and "an indispensable element that would enable her to continue, and overcome the self-censorship preventing engagement with contradictory voices" (p.6).



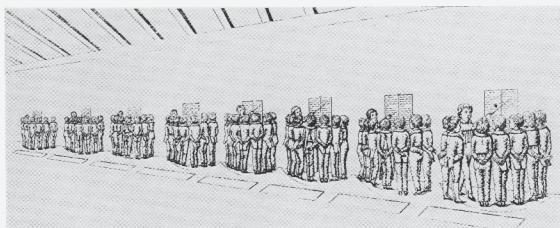
École primaire avant la normalisation : 1880.

••



École primaire après la normalisation : 1907.

•••



Groupes de travail : l'école mutuelle.

••••

déraisonances



Textes des Cahiers pour la folie
du Collectif 125
du journal *La Borde Éclair*

• *Recherches* 36, *Déraisonances*, 1979 is composed of a collection of texts, poems and drawings from the work of three patient groups: *Les cahiers pour la folie*, the *La Borde Éclair* and *Le groupe d'écriture* (the writing group) part of the patients' association (A.D.R.E.S. Collectif 125). The issue also features a letter and conversation between David Cooper and *Le groupe d'écriture*.

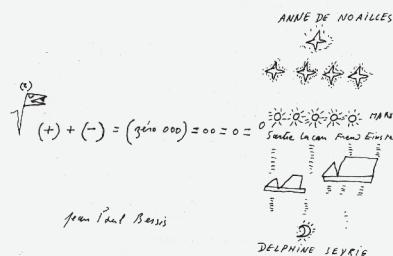
•• *Effervescences*, poem by Jean-Paul Bessis. Reprint from *Recherches* 36, *Déraisonances*, 1979.

••• Drawing by Jean Couchat. Reprint from *Recherches* 36, *Déraisonances*, 1979.

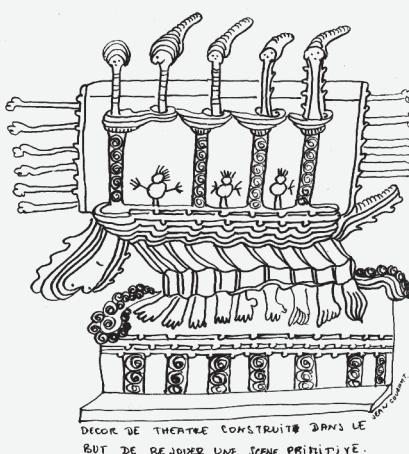
effervescence

DANS UN BAISER FOU J'AI MOUILLE UN DE TES CHEVEUX
BLONDS J'EN METTRAI DANS L'AQUARELLE QUE JE FERAI
POUR MOI ÇA APPORTERA UN PEU D'OR DANS MA VIE
LE PINCEAU S'AFFOLE LA COULEUR SUIT L'ESSAIE DE CON-
TROLER...

630

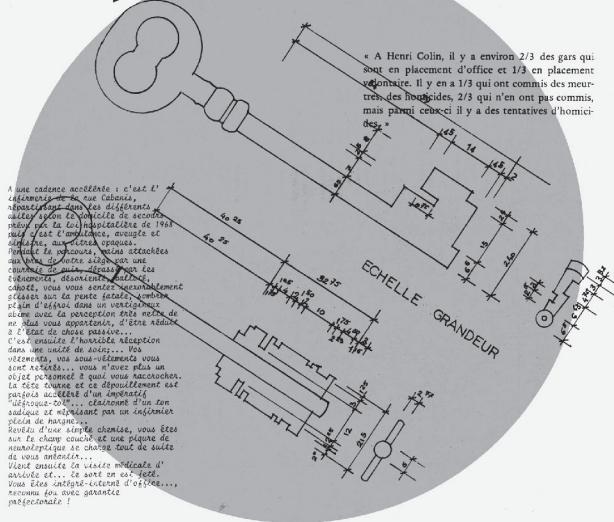


175



118

supplément à
recherches
clés pour henri colin 3,50 f.

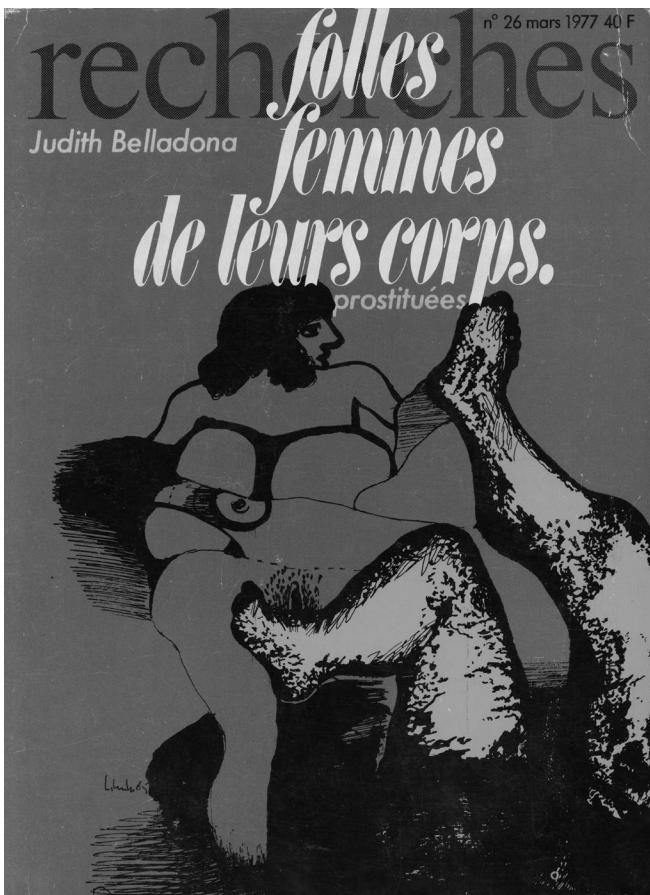


CAHIERS POUR LA FOLIE

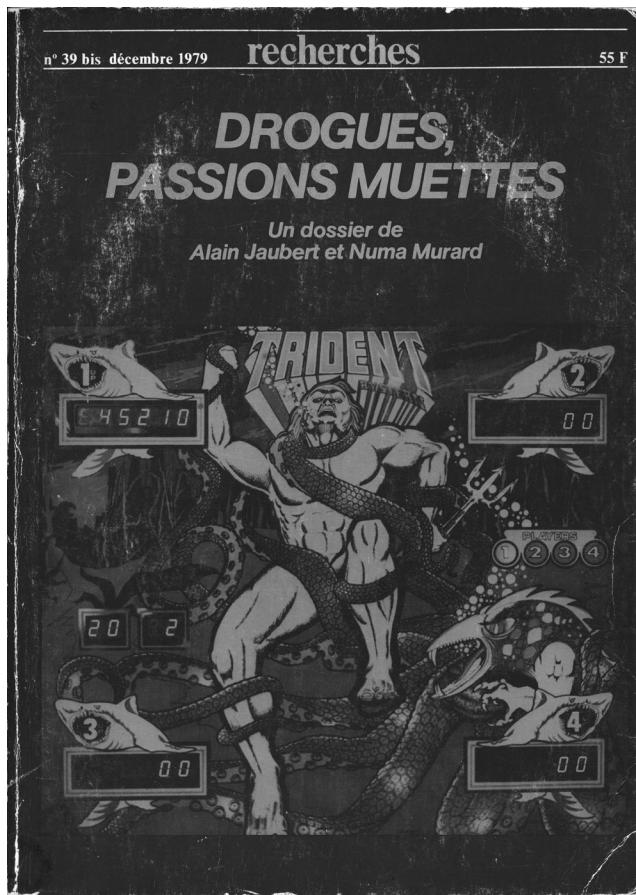
numéro spécial n°11 juin 73

▲ *Cahiers pour la folie* 11, June 1973, a special supplement published with *Recherches* about internal struggles within the Henri Colin section of the Villejuif psychiatric hospital, such as forced hospitalisation, including letters from interns, transcripts of conversations with nurses and administrative notes, as well as several first-hand accounts from the Henri Colin section. *Cahiers* made public the struggles within psychiatric institutions, the initiatives of the *Groupe Information Asiles* (C.I.A.), the creation of patients' associations (Heidelberg), etc., and tried to give a direct voice to those who, despite censorship, continued to exercise their right to speak from behind the walls. The *Cahiers* meetings were also open to the public and were held on Wednesday evenings at the CERFI offices (73 rue du Buffon).

▼ *Recherches* 26, *Folles, femmes de leurs corps prostituées*, 1977. Cover designed by Alain Berthet featuring a drawing by Léa Lublin.



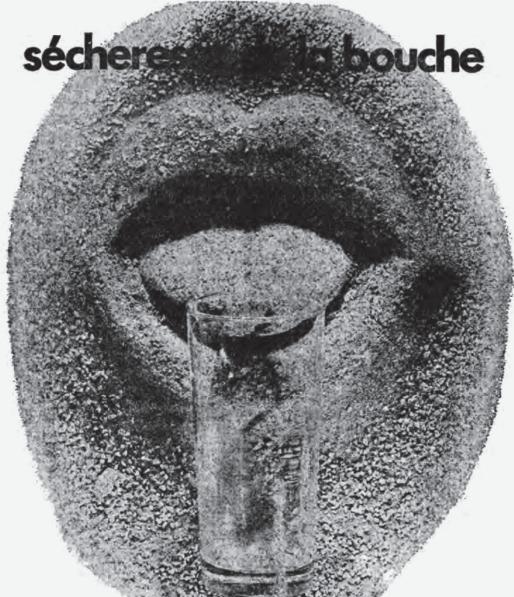
▼ *Recherches* 39 bis, *Drogues passions muettes*, December 1979, prepared by Alain Jaubert and Numa Murard. Contributors to this issue included: Olivier Biégelmann, Michel Brassinne, Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, Alain Jaubert, Numa Murard, Paul Stapledon, Anne-Lise Stern. Leaving aside the supposed expertise of social workers or specialists and their academic knowledge, the issue was developed out of a desire to work "in search of the real actors, and in particular drug users". The introductory editorial ends with a message to users: "To our friends who walk close by or who glide far away in drugs, and even in death. We tried not to speak for you, but of course we couldn't help ourselves. No excuses. We simply tried to find a different tone, to avoid empty formulas. Can we hear you? That's all there is to it." (p. 9)



La première partie du texte ci-contre a été publiée, telle quelle, il y a cinq ans, dans une revue « spécialisée ». Donc en compagnie de pubs, de celle-ci justement, pour un de ces « correcteurs » des nombreux neuroleptiques dessécheurs de bouche actuellement prescrits.

Tout texte aujourd’hui se fait la pub d’une pub. Alors ? Ne plus écrire ? Nulle part ?

sécheresse de la bouche



hyposalies médicamenteuses
dues aux neuroleptiques, antidepresseurs,
I.M.A.O., tranquillisants, anti-parkinsoniens
et autres médications sialoprives

hyposalies radiothérapeutiques
par irradiation de la sphère O.R.L.

hyposalies du syndrome
de Gougerot-Sjögren
(dans sa phase inflammatoire)

hyposalies d'origines diverses :
diabète, tabagisme, éthyisme,
xéroses séniles...

▲ *Recherches 39 bis, Drogues passions muettes*, December 1979, featuring an advert for correctors for the many neuroleptic mouth-dryers (legal drugs), prescribed in the text by Anne-Lise Stern.

CHAPTER 5

TWO, THREE, MANY CERFI'S

BY THE MID-1970S, ARMED RESISTANCE ORGANISATIONS SUCH AS the ETA, the *Brigatte Rosse*, the IRA or the RAF were taking the centre stage of political struggle across Europe. At the same time, in France, the mainstream media, fed by the political conversions and media campaigns of the *New Philosophers*, the right, and even some within the PCF, came together to promote a historical memory of a May 1968 as no more than an outburst of a romantic, but naive youth.²⁵⁰

By this time CERFI had grown massively. Due to organisational pressures, in 1974 the group decided to split into several multiple CERFIs, self-managed working groups, each organised around a specific focus or research contract. Lion Murard explained to us that:

"[CERFI] became too complicated, too cumbersome to manage, so we made it more independent. For example, the big turning point was that everyone had their own cheque book. In the beginning there was only one cheque book, which Michel Rostain and I managed. But, from 1975 onwards, we created satellites who had their own contracts and managed them in their own way. They simply deducted the common share for the office, for the journal and other shared expenses, then managed the rest as they saw fit."²⁵¹

250 The marketing operation around "the new philosophers" was unprecedented, with television and radio appearances, and in the press, with articles on the subject published in the *Nouvel Observateur*, *Le Figaro*, *L'Express* and *Le Monde*, but also in outlets such as *Elle*, *Marie-Claire*, *Lui*, *Paris-Match* and even *Playboy*, denouncing all forms of Marxism as a "philosophy of domination". In our interview, Anne Querrien noted that the 'New Philosophers' were paid by publishers, particularly Grasset, to undermine Anti-Oedipus in the marketplace. Meanwhile, Franco 'Bifo' Berardi argued that their actions have had a very negative impact on the originality and creativity of French philosophy, as well as having a destructive impact on the left in general. Interview with Berardi, May, 2022. See, for instance, Deleuze's response to the "new philosophers" in *Recherches* 30, entitled "À propos des nouveaux philosophes et d'un problème plus général", 1977, pp. 185-179.

251 Interview with Lion Murard, June 2021.

After this split, or dispersal, only the journal *Recherches* was maintained as the unified voice of CERFI. Each group would have to find its own funding, with the positive effect of allowing more liberty and the emergence of new lines of research. Many of these were the existing subgroups, while others were new. As Michel Rostain explained:

“I was one of those who pushed for the existence of all sorts of small units that were very free in their work. There’s no doubt that this led to less density in the central core. CERFI was not pyramid-shaped. On the contrary, it was an upside-down pyramid, constantly shaped and reshaped by the work and resources of each sub-group. Decisions were essentially taken within each group. CERFI was a sort of confederator of all this. There was no obligation to think alike. There was no obligation to agree with what others did. There was no obligation, but I think there remained a shared inspiration, even if it was experienced much less explicitly.”²⁵²

At the same time, the core CERFI group was coming out of several public controversies that inevitably strained its internal relations, firstly with the courts around the publication of *Recherches* 12 by FHAR, and later around the critique of CERFI’s ‘deviations’ by ex-Maoist and Althusserian groups. The culmination of this was Robert Linhart’s 1974 “Gauchisme à Vendre” published in *Libération*, criticising the group of technocracy and selling leftist ideas to the state, to make money.²⁵³ This latter critique was not a surprise but was particularly felt given how CERFI had from the start focused precisely on the dangers of working within and against the state. CERFI reacted by writing three responses, between the more ironic and the direct criticism of the “morality” of its leftist critics, as well as a self-critique to its

252 Interview with Michel Rostain, February 2021.

253 Robert Linhart, “Gauchisme à vendre”, *Libération*, 1974. Robert Linhart, was a former leader of the *Union de la Jeunesse Communiste (marxiste-léniniste)* (UJCML), and editor of *Cahiers marxistes-léninistes*.

own limitations.²⁵⁴ Unavoidably, in accepting to work with the state CERFI had set themselves up for criticism by the likes of Linhart and many others who saw this as evidence of cooptation. While spending time working for corporate entities like *Citroën* – as Linhart did – was seen as a legitimate militant practice – *l'établir* – working for the state, even as external consultants, was not. The difference lies in engaging with worker organising *vs* collaborating with the state, since the latter would inevitably lead to a pacification of revolutionary processes.

CERFI itself was traversed by these same debates – we can refer to their internal discussions regarding the new towns, or in the opposition between militant *vs* participatory approaches to *Petit Séminaire*. The difference between catalysing collective analytical projects from within – as they had done in *La Borde*, *Alma-Gare* and the *Pont Blanc* crèche, and attempting to do so as consultants in the new towns had plagued CERFI itself. Much like their Maoist counterparts practising *établissement* in the factories, despite finding a way to ‘establish’ themselves in the planning teams, CERFI had been unable to catalyse collective processes. The difficulties faced in the new towns or in *Bouaké* made it clear that analytical militancy implies the constitution of a collective, and that collectives do not emerge by following the advice of consulting teams. We can also refer to the fact that part of the group was clearly disillusioned with the ‘militant ideal’. But what such criticism of CERFI overlooked the group’s singularity: its refusal to see the state as a monolith that could only be transformed by taking full control of it; and its attempt (like FGERI before it) to explore forms of analytical militancy that were transversal to the state or any other form of social organisation.

While the many ways in which these controversies affected the CERFI are impossible to trace, what is clear is that CERFI itself was changing. A few of the group members wanted to push *Recherches* to

²⁵⁴ See “Techno-Gauchistes” in *Recherches* 15, pp. 125–138.

become more professional.²⁵⁵ In 1977, CERFI initiated the production of stand-alone books under *Éditions Recherches* such as the *Encres* series or in partnership with *Éditions 10/18*. Florence Pétry had a crucial role in re-structuring *Recherches*, both at the level of design and distribution. Notably *Éditions Recherches* published Guattari's *La Révolution moléculaire* (1977) and *L'Inconscient machinique* (1979) and Georges Préli's *La force du dehors* (1977). Murard and Fourquet later republished *Recherches* 13, *Les Équipements du Pouvoir* as an edited version, minus the "Militant Interventions". The same happened with the republication of *Recherches* 17 as *Histoire de la psychiatrie de secteur* (1980), from which the collective discussions about their engagement with the new towns were left out. While the reasons for these exclusions referred to the need for keeping only the more formal or 'professional' sections of the work, we should note the most militant comments were by the female members of the group. Was this alignment of professionalisation with patriarchy a coincidence? From our interviews with Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel and Anne Querrien, we have a clear sense that female group members didn't find it so.

Difficulties in accessing funding were equally strangling the group's capacity to keep afloat and putting pressure on its unique organisational practices. For context, after the replacement of Chaban-Delmas as prime minister by Giscard D'Estaing, in December 1975, the establishing contracts of research with independent research centres was stopped. This motivated Lion Murard and Michel Rostain to assume the financial direction and the overall coordination of CERFI – a takeover that was justified as a last resort to guarantee CERFI's survival, but that was all but peaceful, as it implied terminating the rotational and analytical dimension of accounting and budget.²⁵⁶

When research funding became harder to come by, the pressure

²⁵⁵ It should be noted that this move was not prompted by a lack of subscriptions, given that they sold an average of 5,000 copies of their first issues between 1975 and 1977.

²⁵⁶ Lion Murard, in Morford, p. 111.

on CERFI increased tenfold, with consequences for social relations, creativity and collective life. As much is noted by Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel in the group discussions included in *Recherches* 17:

“At present, we are so dependent on the contracts that come in that we have no ideas other than those that are generated by the contracts. We are dependent on the production of ideas, and on top of that we are economically dependent, with the current economic shit, we have to reduce the salaries, and the people. So, in fact, group life is taking a big hit. We’re surviving. It’s a huge problem at the moment: we have to be decisive with regard to the “institutional”, we have to be decisive with regard to all the grids that are put on the contracts: we can’t be decisive at all. We are no longer able to be dynamic, to be active, to think differently than within the contracts. Not everyone is bored, some people have ideas, but we talk about them in the corners, it is impossible to talk about them at CERFI.”²⁵⁷

CERFI had its last period of collective intensity when it became apparent that independent (*hors status*) researchers would be forced to integrate into the CNRS. Fighting the integration into the state research body led to both public mobilising and to multiple internal strategy meetings and discussions, up until 1977. The way of fighting this assimilation wasn’t consensual due to the different levels of precarity of its members, and an opposition between those that had caring responsibilities vs those that did not, started to emerge. A tension between the males and females of the group emerges around the necessity that women, as mothers, had for a basic level of financial security, in ways that the men, who pushed the more visible side of the contestation, had not. According to Querrien this explains why it was that some of the women would accept to be integrated into the CNRS, while most of the men would not. In any case, there was a lot

257 Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, *Recherches* 17, p. 456. [Our translation]

of collective work required for putting out critical pieces in multiple journals. Despite this, due to its split CERFI was losing its broader collective dimension and closing upon the smaller group. According to Michel Rostain “CERFI as a very tight collective form certainly became looser at this time. The energies were distributed differently. We can think that they also dispersed.”²⁵⁸

In 1974, CERFI moved to a house in Fontenay-sous-Bois in the suburbs of Paris. This move helped to remove the pressure that working in the centre of Paris placed on the core group, but in the long term, it had the downside of limiting their openness to other external forces. This loss of intensity is inverse to the growth in work by some of its off-spring, namely those of Alma-Gare in Roubaix and Petit Séminaire in Marseille, that from this moment on until the early 1980s enjoyed their main period of intensity.²⁵⁹ However, as pointed out by Michel Peraldi, there was limited capacity to feed these new strands of work and the perspectives of new, often younger, collaborators into CERFI’s main strategic discussions.²⁶⁰ They worked in different parts of the country and there was no way of collectively discussing their work with the main group beyond sporadic, individual encounters.

In 1978, Michel Conan, who had been their greatest supporter within the Ministry of Equipment was moved to CSTB (*Centre scientifique et technique du bâtiment*) ending in this way CERFI’s main point of access to state funding. In 1977, several meetings still took place on the occasion of a small funding for writing an overview of CERFI’s work. These allowed for a final collective moment of discussion. By this point, only the founding members and a few others joined – something that Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel would observe critically as evidence of a non-declared hierarchical division between core (‘mafia’) and peripheral members.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ Interview with Michel Rostain, February 2021.

²⁵⁹ Interview with Michel Peraldi, June 2021.

²⁶⁰ Michel Peraldi, *ibid.*

²⁶¹ Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel, in Morford, p. 132.

Another important issue for the group was its relationship with Guattari. Since the early days of CERFI, some of its members desired more independence from Guattari as a 'father' figure – particularly since they weren't in agreement with the ideas of militancy he exposed. There was a desire to break away from his network of marginal militants, and as we've previously noted, to produce 'serious' research. The necessity of this break was both the perceived negative impacts that controversies had had over CERFI, and more importantly, Guattari's implicit support for radical leftist movements across Europe, many of which were at that point being labelled as terrorist organisations (in particular the Italian Red Brigades).

For some, Guattari should have distanced himself publicly from armed resistance movements: not doing so, implied he supported them. For others, it was clear that Guattari's priority was to keep in contact with those groups to dissuade them from armed struggle.²⁶² Moreover, despite the group's shared criticism of Stalinism and bureaucratic party structures already from the time of *Opposition de gauche* and FGERI, it's clear how the publication of Soljenitsin's *Gulag* had a profound impact on some CERFI members. The first-hand reporting on the lived realities within the Soviet Union were making certain models of communist militancy less and less appealing to part of CERFI, something that cannot be dissociated from the debates during these years on the Gulag and on 'dissidence' brought into the mainstream of French society by the 'New Philosophers'. These concerns were reflected in *Recherches 34, Nous dissidents*, published in 1978. This volume consisted of contributions from dissidents in Russia, the Czech Republic, Poland and East Germany.

On his part, François Fourquet had for long been disappointed with the communist movement at large and in particular with the Althusserian idea of militancy built around scientific truth. This was

262 Unpublished email exchanges, April–May 2010. Archives Nationales de France, *Fonds François Fourquet*.

an argument he first developed in *Recherches* 14 and would reprise in *Recherches* 46. In *Recherches* 14 Fourquet would state: “we know that today: consciousness is nothing. No knowledge of the mechanisms of exploitation by the workers has ever changed anything in the relations of forces that condition them (...) We have to tell ourselves: desire does not ask the question of truth.”²⁶³ From this perspective, every militant project based on scientific objectivity or truth was doomed to fail, by misunderstanding the libidinal nature of social relations. This critique is directed as well at Guattari and those in CERFI who aligned with him, arguing that the revolutionary ideal informing CERFI suffered from the same limitations: “We do not see the world as it is in reality but as it should be, deformed by our ideal (...) we hallucinate the world, constantly”.²⁶⁴

We know that Liane Mozère and Anne Querrien, among others, had a very different position. Perhaps this was due to the fact they kept stronger connections with the broader CERFI outside of its central group or with activist work on the ground. Querrien would continuously refer to this ‘other’ CERFI in their internal debates.²⁶⁵ As was happening with the French left, CERFI itself was breaking down across political fault lines concerning not only the future but also the past of the communist movement. Despite internal disputes, in 1978 *Recherches* still coordinated the publication of *Les Untorelli* on the Italian uprisings.²⁶⁶ And yet, during this time CERFI provided support for the group of Italian authors, as noted by Franco ‘Bifo’ Berardi in a conversation with us, not just towards the publication but in their

263 *Recherches* 14, p. 12.

264 François Fourquet, “La Religion du CERFI”, 23 May 2010. Archives Nationales de France, *Fonds François Fourquet*.

265 Email exchanges, April–May 2010. Archives Nationales de France, *Fonds François Fourquet*.

266 The term, *untorelli*, refers to those who have the plague. This is how Enrico Berlinguer, the leader of the Italian Communist Party, had described the 1977 movement.

organising efforts against repression in Italy.²⁶⁷ Anne Querrien wrote about the discontent she felt during this period:

“The CERFI is financially strangled, the journal *Recherches* remains, but the CERFI males ask that Félix Guattari no longer be its director so as not to taint their own research with his taste for investigation, and publication, of the margins most condemned by society: the homosexual movement, prostitutes, paedophiles, the Italian extreme left, etc... One should no longer go and see, but limit oneself to contributing to the edification of knowledge like everyone else. CERFI is exploding”.²⁶⁸

By all accounts, Guattari himself was less and less interested in CERFI's work, if not for the Tuesday general assembly. It had always been the analytical dimension that mattered to him, not so much the investigative aspect. As a result, Murard and Mozère would fight for the control of *Recherches*. Murard in rupture, Liane in continuity with the history of the journal.²⁶⁹ In 1983, the last issue of *Recherches* was published, titled *Crimes de la Philosophie*, listing Liane Mozère and Guattari as co-directors, and formally terminating the journal. This is usually given as the date of CERFI's end and could perhaps be the end of our story.²⁷⁰ But to speak of a clear end, is also to miss something of what CERFI was.

²⁶⁷ Interview with Franco 'Bifo' Berardi, December 2020.

²⁶⁸ Anne Querrien, 2017, *De l'architecture pour la psychiatrie à l'écologie de la ville. Un ensemble de recherches-actions inspirées par Félix Guattari*, in Journée Doctorale de l'ENSAG. [Our translation]

²⁶⁹ Morford, p. 134.

²⁷⁰ We concur with Genosko and Nadaud in that from 1975 the end of CERFI was expected, as both the lack of funding, and the militant intensity of the previous decade, left their marks on the group. See Gary Genosko, *Félix Guattari: A Critical Introduction*, 179; and Stéphane Nadaud, “*Recherches* (1966-1982): histoire(s) d'une revue”, *La Revue des revues* 34 (2003), pp. 47-76.

Rule 0

In a recent text reflecting on CERFI's experience, Anne Querrien highlighted what she called rule 0 or the constituent rule of CERFI. This rule was that 'the group should be an attractor rather than its members. This was made possible by the publication of its research and by holding a frequent general assembly open to all interpellations, allowing for all aggregations as well as recompositions'.²⁷¹ Querrien's observation points to a crucial aspect of CERFI that needs to be understood, so that we are able to grasp not only its internal conflicts, but also its afterlives and mutations: despite its designation as 'centre', CERFI was not a central point from which something is directed, but a node that was open to all, and existed within a much broader constellation of organisations.

In an interview we conducted on the history of CERFI, Michel Peraldi, described the group as a "porous nebula", in the sense of having no clear limits or boundaries. We noted in the previous chapter the importance of CERFI's self-programming against self-closure, from the open assembly to funding exceptional objects or the platforming of marginal groups. The result is a research group that was constantly traversed by external militant, artistic, professional or research interests and desires, to a point where it is hard for its members today, to clearly remember who was part of CERFI or not. Michel Rostain confirms this idea:

"There was no CERFI membership card. We didn't know exactly who was in CERFI. And even today, if someone says they were part of CERFI, or even that they still are, I'd tend to say it's true... We had big meetings every week to talk about what we were going to do. Anyone could come. If you said you were from CERFI, that meant you were."²⁷²

²⁷¹ Anne Querrien, 'Le revenu universel, condition d'une finance post-capitaliste', in *Deriver la Finance: inventer des formes de vie, Multitudes 71*, 2018/2.

²⁷² Interview with Michel Rostain, February 2021.

In our interviews with CERFI members, such distinctions appear to be based more on personal affiliations than on any clear formal distinction. Liane Mozère provides the following formulation on this point: "We used to say willingly 'Everyone is a CERFI member', 'Anyone can declare themselves a CERFI member', and also willingly 'We're all CERFI members.'"²⁷³

As an attractor within the nebula of leftist militant organisations, many groups existed within CERFI and orbited around it. Examples are the already mentioned subgroups such as the new towns and genealogy groups, the childcare group, the group IMAGO, the group on drugs, the sewing group, the psychoclub or the CERFI-musique, but also the group on transport, and the group on social experimentation and urban planning. In addition to these, there were also the groups which benefited from CERFI's support and followed along similar lines of research such as the CERFI-SudEst, the CERFI-Arte²⁷⁴, CERFI Ipsilon, CERFI-EXEE (*Expérimentation enfances-espaces*) or even others that came later such as IKERKA (*Association de recherche économique et sociale*) and ARIESE (*Association de recherches, d'interventions et d'études sociologiques et ethnologiques*²⁷⁵) which continued in the vein of its urban research.

There were also several groups that remained closer to CERFI's original militant tradition, such as CINEL (*Centre d'initiatives de nouveaux espaces de liberté*), Radio Tomate and the *Réseau-alternative à la psychiatrie* among others. All these were independent formations that for some time existed in parallel, but mostly continued beyond CERFI and in which multiple CERFI members were involved. [See *Rhizomatic friendships*, pp. 329-339]

CINEL, for example, was created in 1977 as a support machine for European protest movements with the aim of allowing international

²⁷³ Liane Mozère, "Les Printemps des crèches, p. 147.

²⁷⁴ CERFI Arte was created by Olivier Quérouil.

²⁷⁵ ARIESE (*Association de Recherches, d'Interventions et d'études sociologiques et ethnologiques*) was created in 1982 by Isaac Joseph.

militants to come together, such as Italian refugees (in particular, Franco ‘Bifo’ Berardi and Toni Negri), Polish supporters of *Solidarnosc*, or most notably the RAF lawyer Klaus Croissant, and offering legal support to political prisoners.²⁷⁶ CINEL members collected numerous documents, drew up petitions, and visited prisoners. These initiatives influenced François Mitterrand’s decision to grant political exile to Italian revolutionary activists in exchange for renouncing violence.²⁷⁷ In addition to Félix Guattari, both François Pain and Anne Querrien were members of the group, together with Giselle Donnard,²⁷⁸ also collaborator of CERFI, Danielle Sivadon²⁷⁹, Michel Burnier²⁸⁰, and Yann

276 Klaus Croissant was the lawyer defending Ulrika Meinhof and Andreas Baader, of the Baader -Meinhof group / Red Army Faction. As François Pain explained: “At the time European countries were at ‘war’ against terrorism (Italian and German governments in particular with *Brigatte Rosse* and the *Baader Meinhof* groups, but also in France with *Action Directe*) and went far beyond the framework of terrorism. Any protest movement was monitored. This was the beginning of the construction of the ‘European judicial area’ which aimed to modify the legislation concerning extraditions in particular, to make them automatic, without a French court having to give its opinion on the legal validity of the request. In these ‘years of led’, the abuses of power, particularly in Germany, were of a rare violence.” Interview with François Pain, January, 2021. In any case, as mentioned in our previous note regarding the opposition of certain members to Guattari due to his non-denunciation of these movements, it is reasonable to assume that not all CERFI members supported CINEL.

277 In “Multitudes: aux origines d’une revue radicale”, Antoine Aubert situated the magazine in the sequence of the creation of CINEL and of a common Franco-Italian history that we have reported on since the early years of CERFI. Existing to this day, the magazine was the meeting place of different militant and intellectual families: opéraïstes, French autonomes and ‘Guattarists’, such as CERFI members Anne Querrien, Giselle Donnard and Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel. See, Antoine Aubert, “Multitudes: aux origines d’une revue radicale”, *Raisons politiques*, 2017/3, no. 67, 2017, pp. 31-47.

278 Giselle Donnard, “L’urgence à développer une citoyenneté planétaire” *Multitudes*, 2007/2 no. 29, 2007, pp. 203-208, available at shs.cairn.info/revue-multitudes-2007-2-page-203?lang=fr.

279 See the special issue of *Chimères, Revue Des Schizoanalyses*, dedicated to the work of Danielle Sivadon, “*Avec Sivadon*”, 94, ed. Annick Kouba, Paul Bretécher and Jean-Claude Polack, 2019

280 Michel Burnier, 2007, “Faire de la politique sans parti, l’expérience du

Moulier-Boutang²⁸¹, the artist Gérard Fromanger, the lawyer Michel Tubiana, among others. As noted by Bifo Berardi, while Deleuze and Guattari's work had provided theoretical inspiration, CERFI provided invaluable material and infrastructural support for the Italian autonomist movement:

“Those three, four months, that period was enormously important for me, personally and politically, but also for them, in a way, because I think I can say that for Félix the Bologna experience, the Italian autonomy in general, but especially the Bologna movement, was a laboratory of anti-Oedipian theory. I'm well aware of that, because in Bologna in 1976, 1977 it was very fashionable to read the *Anti-Oedipus*, and the movement was aware of that. The language of the movement, it's very visible in *A/traverso* (...) I understand that the summer of 1977 wasn't just important for me, but that something became clearer in the internal history of CERFI and, above all, CINEL, yes, for them too, I suppose. They were really valuable from a political point of view. I mean, I don't even know if they know how important this group was for the history of the Italian movement.”²⁸²

Supported by CINEL, *Radio Tomate* was founded in 1981 and played an important role in the free radio and alternative media movements in France. Among those actively involved were Félix Guattari, Bruno

CINEL”, in *Multitudes* no. 29, *Liens: Giselle Donnard [online]*, available at <https://www.multitudes.net/wp-content/uploads/2007/06/29-burnier.pdf>

281 “CINEL had started to develop questions about the repression of the Italians, the first extraditions... So, we did everything: the extradition of Bifo, the extradition of Piperno, that of Klaus Croissant, obviously the Negri case, on 7 April... And there were lots of people meeting on rue Vau-girard. The people of CINEL are important, because it's one of the places where there was a debate... CINEL also took a strong stance on questions of public freedoms, with the question of free radio.” Yann Moulier-Boutang interviewed by Sébastien Schifres, May 2004. [Our translation] Available at <http://sebastien.schifres.free.fr/moulier.htm>

282 Interview with Franco ‘Bifo’ Berardi, December 2020.

Guattari, Jean-Marc de Felice, Giselle Donnard, Pierre Halbwachs and François Pain of CERFI and Group Imago (who was also a co-founder of the Fédération of Non-Commercial Free Radios in France).²⁸³ Initially, the radio was broadcast from Guattari's kitchen, and then from a squat on *Rue Lacépède* in the 5th arrondissement of Paris. The radio was a self-managed, decentralised organisation, it adopted the "grid" of La Borde to avoid hierarchical and centralised power and control structures, and a general assembly decided on the main orientations and strategic options. [See *Rhizomatic friendships*, pp. 329-339] As Bruno Guattari explained:

"This radio is original in many ways, and the way it is programmed is one of them. There is no programme director, each day is divided into time slots, and each time slot is under the responsibility of a co-ordinator who must ensure the effective presence of a programme. There is a weekly meeting to draw up the programme schedule. We are dealing with several entities with identical structures: the time slots, which, grouped together, make up the programming schedule, without there being any possibility of taking control of the programming of the station (...) A general assembly decides on the main orientations and strategic options (...) Individuals who offer to host a time slot come together to form the 'grid'. They may be representatives of militant groups or individuals driven by passion. Patients from the Trames association took the floor. (...) There are also 'open mic' slots, including the nightly 'Arbre à palabres', hosted by an African activist, where listeners take the floor. The studio has moved from the basement of the Fondation de France in rue Lacépède to Félix's

²⁸³ Listen to Roc Jiménez de Cisneros's research podcast with François Pain, which covers *Radio Tomate*, *Radio Alice*, and the Minitel experience, available at <https://rwm.macba.cat/en/podcasts/radioactivity-2-radio-tomate/> See also Prince, Bernard, et Emmanuel Videcoq, "Félix Guattari et les agencements post-média. L'expérience de radio Tomate et du minitel Alter", *Multitudes*, no. 21, no. 2, 2005, pp. 23-30

kitchen in rue de Condé, or to more conventional associative spaces such as the Cité Voltaire, depending on raids or physical threats from other groups. The radio station was present at the demonstrations by means of a procedure that allowed it to intervene on the air from public telephone booths, either to report on what was happening or to broadcast interviews recorded on the spot with a cassette recorder. It also broadcasts conferences and meetings organised by the movements involved. A chain of cassettes is then set up between the conference locations and the studio. The news is regularly commented on by a small team who try to take a step back and analyse".²⁸⁴

As for the *Réseau*, or Network of Alternatives to Psychiatry, it provided space to continue CERFI's original engagements with psychiatry, but now as a militant practice, in coordination with a broader range of anti-racist, feminist, anti-colonial or indigenous movements. Formed in 1975 in Brussels, some 400-people participated, including mental health teams, psychiatrists, nurses, lawyers, communities, users and survivors – and from CERFI, Guattari, Anne Querrien, and François Pain. The *Réseau* aimed at creating a new form of “militant practice of psychiatry that is not closed in upon itself, but that connects the problems of mental illness to broader social struggles, to social and political alienation.”²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ Bernard Prince and Emmanuel Videcoq, “Félix Guattari et les agencements post-média. L'expérience de radio Tomate et du Minitel Alter”, *Multitudes*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2005, pp. 23-30. Available at https://www.persee.fr/doc/memor_1626-1429_2008_hos_4_1_2842 (accessed September 2024).

²⁸⁵ For more on the internationalism of the *Réseau* and its aims, see the fundamental and comprehensive work of the Parades collective, “À-propos-du-Réseau-Alternative-à-la-psychiatrie”, pp. 78-103, available at <https://communaux.cc/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Parades-A%CC%80-propos-du-Re%CC%81seau-Alternative-a%CC%80-la-psychiatrie.pdf> (accessed February 2023) and “Italie, années 1970”, pp. 250-283, *Revue Parades - Battre le Fer*, issue 3, avril 2022. The *Réseau* was the inspiration for a meeting of international collectives working at the intersection of politics, mental health and social justice, organised by the association Chaosmosemedia in October 2023. See “Réseau-Alternative à la psychiatrie # 0 - Présentation du projet”

The *Réseau* followed a logic of networking that had been central to *Opposition de gauche*, to FGERTI, to Guattari and Deleuze's writings on the rhizome, and that Liane Mozère so eloquently captured in relation to the Childcare group's networking of nurseries: "A network is constantly under construction, constantly experimenting [...] But its originality lies in the fact that it develops freely, partly outside the framework of the established project. A network always escapes, it proliferates. It's a network of networks."²⁸⁶ In this sense, the *Réseau* does exactly what the CERFI, or the FGERTI before them did, to avoid self-enclosure, to escape from institutionalisation, to transversalise struggles, to mutualise experiences, to constantly trace new lines of flight, and to continue to form one group into another. [See *Rhizomatic friendships*, pp. 329-339]

This is not the space to write exhaustively about the groups that existed in the periphery of CERFI. In these short overviews, our aim is that of avoiding the tendency for static descriptions of groups as having clearly defined limits, beginnings or ends. CERFI's breakdown and multiplication in 1974, which we alluded to before, is described by Michel Rostain under the Guevarian motto of 'two, three, many CERFIs', an expression that speaks to how the group imagined such process as an opportunity for the multiplication of revolutionary groupuscules across the social field. If this corresponds to a breakdown of its central nucleus, to an extent it was also a way of CERFI going back into the federative or rhizomatic logic that had characterised FGERTI. Such a move is suggestive of a mutation within the mode of operation of CERFI more than a simple end. For those interested in the more militant approach, the *Réseau*, *Radio Tomate*, the CINEL, and others, were organisations that could bring the struggle against the capitalist

available at <https://chaosmosemedia.net/2021/05/12/reseau-alternative-a-la-psychiatrie-0-presentation-du-projet/> (available February 2024).

286 Mozère, *Les Printemps des crèches*, p. 192.

co-optation of subjectivities into new directions, and in ways that CERFI was no longer able to do.

In his interview with Morford, Michel Rostain put it in the following terms: "I believe that CERFI died because it had to die. And that was one of the parameters that was in the equation at the beginning. A movement, it lives, and it dies."²⁸⁷ Rostain's comment raises another point that was crucial since the inception of CERFI: a new type of militant organisation was not to be thought of as a creation for eternity, but something but as something that existed in relation to certain pragmatic conditions. In the context of 1968, militant groups were frequently created and dissolved. The multitude of organisations that were created by FGGERI and that disappeared after 1968 are a good example of this approach. A permanent analytical dimension allowed institutions to address shifting conditions but was never to be thought of as a solution for institutional survival. Institutions should also die, and perhaps this ability to let go of an institution that no longer works, is precisely the trick that prevents crystallisation. After all, the purpose of militant analysis was to avoid the paranoid turn, not to keep institutions forever.

We see in Rostain's comment something essential to grasp the militant-analytical project that CERFI tried to address, which is the importance of *instituting* over that which is *instituted*. And yet, we cannot disregard how CERFI shaped ways of living, politics and work for its members and for many others to come. In a conversation with us, Franco 'Bifo' Berardi noted that CERFI members were always around for any help that might be needed. Similarly, Sylvère Lotringer noted the influence that CERFI and its network of militants had on setting up *Semiotext(e)* and for developing his work on *Autonomia*.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷ Morford, p. 136.

²⁸⁸ François Aubart and François Piron, "Ce que Sylvère Lotringer n'écrivait pas", 2022, Paris, Paraguay.

And at large, CERFI was incredibly influential for collectives such as *Autonomedia*, of which *Minor Compositions*²⁸⁹ is part, and *Transversal*²⁹⁰, as well as many others across the world. We can see it as well in our interviews, conducted with people who worked with CERFI members and/or were inspired by the group, that CERFI was much more than a research cooperative, that it was a form of militant practice that affected a collective far greater than the sum of its members. [See *Rhizomatic friendships*, pp. 329-339]

Of course, all agree that at its core, CERFI was about presence, permanence and participation in the discussions and collective processes – more than any formal filiation. Without participating, fighting for this or that project, for this or that budget priority, without being part of its analytical machine, one would not participate in CERFI. “The basis of CERFI was working together. Producing ideas together, producing desire, producing everything we wanted, and producing money together. And then managing it together.”²⁹¹ If there

289 In this two-part interview, by *Class War University*, Stephen Shukaitis, editor of *Minor Compositions*, speaks about autonomous publishing as a possibility for collectively engaged research in a way distinct from what can be afforded by academia, and the co-production of subjectivity in similar ways to CERFI’s editorial approach in *Recherches*. Available at <https://classwaru.org/2013/12/02/what-can-an-open-insurgent-publishing-body-do-an-interview-with-stephen-shukaitis/> and <https://classwaru.org/2013/12/05/excavating-minor-histories-autonomous-publishing-for-movements-an-interview-with-stephen-shukaitis/> (accessed February 2021). Read also, Stephen Shukaitis and Joanna Figiel, “Publishing to Find Comrades: Constructions of Temporality and Solidarity in Autonomous Print Cultures,” *Lateral* 8.2 (2019).

290 See the *Transform Project* of *transversal*, particularly, *Instituent Practices*, 07/2007, and *Militant Research*, 04/2006, and the texts by Marta Malo de Molina, “Common Notions, Part 2: Institutional Analysis, Participatory Action-Research, Militant Research”, and Raúl Sánchez Cedillo, “Towards New Political Creations: Movements, Institutions, New Militancy,” in *Transversal: Instituent Practices*, available at <https://transversal.at/transversal/0707> (accessed January 2020). Also see Gerald Raunig, ‘Instituent Practices: Fleeing, Instituting, Transforming’, in *Transversal Texts*, 2006, or ‘Transversal Multitudes’ 2002, reprinted in *Art and Contemporary Critical Practice*, ed. Gerald Raunig and Gene Ray, London, Mayfly Books, 2019.

291 Interview with Michel Rostain, February 2021.

were some tensions around who exactly was part of CERFI or not, it does not contradict this description. If anything, we would point out that the coordination of such an attractor with the wider constellation, required a difficult energetic balance, one that was very hard to sustain without the support of state funding. To be a porous nebula wasn't always easy but for Michel Rostain, this does not mean it was not worth the effort:

“In retrospect, I see the fact that the CERFI never closed itself off or unified as a sign of maturity, rather than fragility. This means that, even though it cannot be reduced to a totalising vision, CERFI remains in my memory unquestionably as an ensemble with well-defined contours, despite or even because of its plasticity.”²⁹²

In other words, we feel that the same logic that converts history into a succession of clearly defined beginnings and ends is that same that unavoidably misses the minor politics of collective life and work, the affective dimensions, the ever-mutating consistencies of subjectivity as a collective thing. We have witnessed how members of CERFI have been profoundly affected by this experience, and how their future political and personal trajectories have been significantly influenced by their participation in CERFI.

Thus, to reflect on the CERFI project of militant analysis cannot be done with the same type of simplistic intellectual tools deployed by the *New Philosophers* in their theatrical refusal of May 1968, nor by using as lenses a series of simplified concepts – such as ‘ethics’ or ‘desire’ – through which the multiple movements that existed during this period were both framed, simplified, and depoliticised.²⁹³ It seems

292 Michel Rostain, *ibid.*

293 Desire in the sense in which it was theorised by Deleuze and Guattari in *Anti-Oedipus*, as a force that traverses and animates social relations, was not an individualised issue of fulfilment or consumption, nor did it imply a lack of militant discipline. That which was named as ‘desire’ was not a

to us that for CERFI, the encounter of ‘Marx with Freud’ was not so much an academic endeavour but an inspirational thought-machine, catalysing the exploration of new kinds of militant organisations. If the generation that spoke of revolution and ‘desire’ in the aftermath of 1968 eventually started speaking of ethics, at least in what concerns CERFI as a project and its multiple experimental efforts, it seems clear to us that this was not so much the ethics of individualised existence, but more importantly, the ethico-aesthetics of engaging in collective assemblings of revolutionary enunciation.²⁹⁴

Deciding to try this within the state, within its bureaucratic machines, programming *institutions* from within the *Institution* led to a direct encounter with difficult realities – unlike many anti-power movements of the time. It is clear to us that engaging with the state head-on was both what made CERFI unique and what limited its original scope. For very soon, – in what concerned its practical engagements – it was dealing mostly with the state, with the problems it posed, and less and less with the movements and revolutionary problems being posed outside of it, outside of France, and outside of Europe.

Considering the shared foundational influence of the institutional psychotherapy movement, it is noticeable the radical difference between CERFI’s development and the militant pathways of someone like Frantz Fanon or even of Guattari.²⁹⁵ After the events of 1968, most CERFI members would never return to traditional forms of militancy. But was CERFI therefore part of the move from politics to ethics that Julien Bourg identified in French leftists post-1968?

matter of needs, that could be fulfilled, neither was it a matter of lack, but of a positive force animating social relations and forms of organisation. See Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*.

²⁹⁴ Regarding the ‘ethical turn’ in many post-1968 militants and scholars, see Julian Bourg, *From Revolution to Ethics: May 1968 and Contemporary French Thought*, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2017.

²⁹⁵ See Adam Shatz, *The Rebels Clinic: The Revolutionary Lives of Frantz Fanon*, London, Head of Zeus, 2024; *Frantz Fanon: Alienation and Freedom*, eds. Jean Khalfa and Robert C. Young, London, Bloomsbury Academic, 2018.

An epochal passage “from action to reflection” built upon the ‘fading away’ of revolutionary horizons?²⁹⁶ To answer this, would depend on who’s CERFI we choose to focus on, that of the grounded militants, the groups in the ‘margins’ or the professional theorists; and more importantly, it would require considering what was meant by *revolution* in the first place. And in any case, before embarking on such broad-sweeping readings, one should not forget the magnitude of leftist disappointment with the communist movements of the time due to their unwillingness to recognise or support ongoing revolutionary processes, every time these sat outside of their strategic calculus, or in many cases directly undermining them.²⁹⁷

We could say that CERFI’s dependence on state-funding over-determined what could have been a much more ambitious political project – and even some of the more radical aspects of CERFI’s work. On the other hand, it is likely that without the possibility of state-funding CERFI wouldn’t have come together and none of its work would have been possible to fund. In any case, and despite the limitations in terms of what could be achieved by CERFI’s attempts at bringing an analytical approach to the programming of collective equipment, these are questions that result from CERFI not seeking protection in comfortable positions, or ideological distancing from concrete problems. If the capitalist state was the enemy, the enforcer of normopathic behaviours, engaging it should not be avoided, for the state would not go away.

In one of our conversations, Anne Querrien noted how the translation of Guattari’s *Lignes de Fuite* to English as “Lines of Flight” should not lead to confusing ‘*fuge*’ with running away from the problem, into

²⁹⁶ Julien Bourg, *From Revolution to Ethics: May 1968 and Contemporary French Thought*, p. 336.

²⁹⁷ On this Vijay Prashad’s overview of the non-aligned and third-world Marxist movements paints a less than positive picture of the main international communist organisations willingness to support revolutionary processes elsewhere. See Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, New York, New Press, 2007.

the blue sky. ‘Lines of Flight’ can only emerge by *staying* with the problem. *Fuite* here is in reference to the fugue or the *ritornello*, an autopoietic re-composition. But what exactly was the problem? The French state or capitalism at large? CERFI members appear torn from the start between these two priorities, militant analysis within and of the state, or militant analysis everywhere, of every social formation. Or perhaps not torn, but at least in a constant flux between one and the other. We are also not sure if any other thing would be possible.

As François Fourquet wrote in his final review of the group’s history, CERFI was “an attractor, a moment, a consistency within molecular revolutions”. In the same way that CERFI emerged from multiple organisations, the groups and groupuscules so dear to the pre-1968 left in France, it also disappears within them, back to the militant humus, or more aptly, back to the social compositions whose energies give rise to the formation of new groups or networks. CERFI was a consistency that emerged first as an idea, that gained a more stable form due to the possibility of a certain mode of funding, and that has since returned to the molecular memory of politics. Where others see an end, we prefer to see a becoming, as is always the case when something returns to the intensities, concentrations and dispersals that characterise the flows of revolutionary politics.

Dossiers and Visual Documents

RHIZOMATIC FRIENDSHIPS



• Fédération de Radios Libres Non Commerciales and Radio Tomate. View of the Radio Tomate studio, set in the basement of the Fondation de France on Rue Lacépée. Bruno Guattari, Dany Ratajak, Félix Guattari and others. Image courtesy of François Pain.

• / • • A view of the Radio Alice studios. The radio station began broadcasting on 9 February 1976. It broadcast news as it happened, often using telephone phone-ins from activists to describe events, call for help in a particular area, or report police movements. The same collective that founded Radio Alice had published the political magazine *A/Traverso* since 1975. Image courtesy of Franco Berardi.



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n° 30 novembre 1977

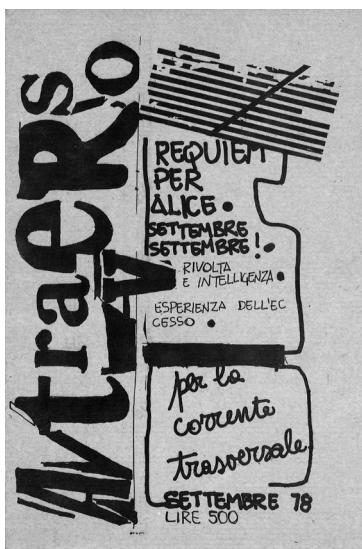
37 f

recherches

les untorelli

"Ce ne sont pas
quelques porteurs de peste
qui déracineront Bologne"

Enrico Berlinguer



• Cover of “Les untorelli. Porteurs de peste” *Recherches* 30, 1977 on the events of 1977 in Bologna. The cover includes a quote from Enrico Berlinguer, the head of the Italian Communist Party at the time: “A few *untorelli* won’t uproot Bologna.” The term *untorelli* refers to people who have the plague and those who spread the plague. According to Bifo Berardi, this insulting expression evidenced a total break between the 1977 movement and the Communist Party during those years.

•• Cover of *A/traverso*, September 1978. *A/traverso* was founded in 1975 by a collective of militants of *Potere Operaio* and university students, most notably Franco ‘Bifo’ Berardi, and was influenced by the writings of Guattari with Deleuze.

••• 1977 Bologna movement mural in Piazza Verdi, 25 March 1977. This photo was featured on the cover of *Recherches* 30 “Les Untorelli” from November 1977. Photo from the Luciano Nadalini archives “the 1977 movement in Bologna”. Photographer unknown.



•••



• Poster for the third encounter of the Latin American Network of Alternatives to Psychiatry, 17 to 21st of September, 1986, in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Titled "For a society without asylums" this was one of many encounters from the Latin American section of the *Réseau-Alternative à la psychiatrie* that had been initiated in 1975.

• Poster for an event held in Mexico by the Network for Alternatives to Psychiatry entitled: "An Alternative: The No Psychiatry".

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- Cover of issue 16 of *Recherches*, September, 1974. This issue of *Recherches* was produced by Sémiotext(e), described as: "organ of a theoretical group exploring the various current semiotic breakthroughs that challenge the primacy of the linguistic sign", associated with Columbia University and directed by Sylvère Lotringer, Wlad Godzich, Denis Hallier, and John Rajchman. The issue contains papers presented at the conference *Les deux Saussures* held at Columbia University, New York, on 12 and 13 April 1974. CERFI added the following to its introduction to the issue: "For us, this is the first in a series of publications on semiology and language. Some time ago, a CERFI working group was formed

around texts from a schizophrenic discussion group. It proved to be an arduous undertaking and we put it aside for a while, waiting for another opportunity, another distraction, to tackle it. The realisation of this series will give us the opportunity to return to it".

- *From Psychoanalysis to Schyzopolitics*. Semiotext(e) Volume 2, no 3, New York, 1976.

- Semiotexte's poster for the schizoculture event. Martine Barat's photos taken in the South Bronx with the camera bought by CERFI, were exhibited here for the first time. November 1975.

Semiotext(e)
sponsors a colloquium on

schizo culture

13-16 november 1975
columbia university

"One does not desire revolution, desire is revolutionary"
—G. DELEUZE and F. GUATTARI

"The power to punish is not essentially different from the power to cure or to educate"
—M. FOUCAULT

<p>Thursday, November 13</p> <p>2:30 p.m. (Harkness): Sylvère Lotringer, John Rajchman <i>Introduction</i></p> <p>7:30 p.m. (Harkness): Arthur Danto <i>Freudian Explanation</i></p>	<p>James Fessenden <i>Transversity and Style</i></p> <p>Jean-François Lyotard <i>La Force des Faibles</i></p>	<p>"One does not desire revolution, desire is revolutionary" —G. DELEUZE and F. GUATTARI</p> <p>"The power to punish is not essentially different from the power to cure or to educate" —M. FOUCAULT</p>
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<p>Friday, November 14</p> <p>9:30 a.m. Workshops: Psychiatry and Social Control. — Radical Therapy. — Schizo-City [Harlem]; Cinema: Representation and Energistics. — Ontologico-hysterical theatre.</p> <p>2:30 p.m. (Harkness): Robert Fine <i>Psychiatry and Materialism</i> Joel Kovel <i>Therapy in Late Capitalism</i> Panel with Félix Guattari</p>	<p>James Fessenden <i>Transversity and Style</i></p> <p>Jean-François Lyotard <i>La Force des Faibles</i></p>	<p>"One does not desire revolution, desire is revolutionary" —G. DELEUZE and F. GUATTARI</p> <p>"The power to punish is not essentially different from the power to cure or to educate" —M. FOUCAULT</p>
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<p>8:00 p.m. (S.I.A.): William Burroughs <i>The Impasses of Control</i></p>	<p>Michel Foucault <i>Nous ne sommes pas Réprimés</i></p>	<p>"One does not desire revolution, desire is revolutionary" —G. DELEUZE and F. GUATTARI</p> <p>"The power to punish is not essentially different from the power to cure or to educate" —M. FOUCAULT</p>
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<p>Saturday, November 15</p> <p>10 a.m. (A-B Law)</p> <p>Panel on Prisons/Asylums Judy Clark, Michel Foucault, Robert Michels, David Rothman</p>	<p>John Cage <i>Empty Words</i></p>	<p>Gilles Deleuze <i>Le Régime des Signes</i></p>
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<p>2:30 p.m. (A-B Law)</p> <p>Ti Grace Atkinson <i>The Psyche of Social Movements</i></p>	<p>Félix Guattari <i>Politique et Signification</i></p>	<p>"One does not desire revolution, desire is revolutionary" —G. DELEUZE and F. GUATTARI</p> <p>"The power to punish is not essentially different from the power to cure or to educate" —M. FOUCAULT</p>
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<p>Sunday, November 16</p> <p>9:30 a.m. Meetings will be held at the Maison Française of the French Department, 560 W. 113 St. Workshops: Feminism and Therapy. — Psychoanalysis and Politics. — Gay Liberation — Mental Patients' Liberation</p>	<p>2:30 p.m. Workshops: Prison Politics — Lincoln Detox. — Mass Culture. — Psychoanalysis and Schizoanalysis</p>	<p>Schizo-Party</p>
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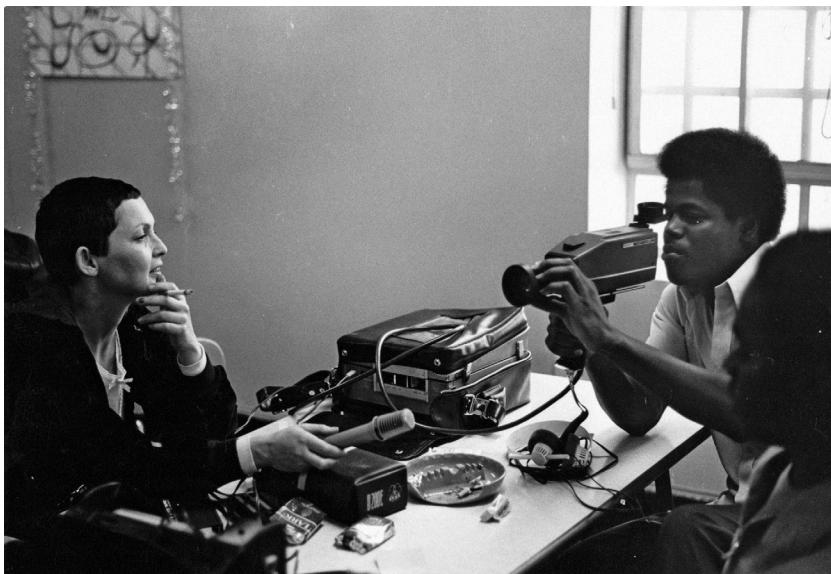
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▲ *Échafaudages* du CINEL (Centre d'initiative pour de nouveaux espaces de liberté) 1979, collection Le Temps mêlé, Éditions Recherches, with drawings by Gérard Fromanger.

▼ Cameras weren't widely available in the early 1970s and Guattari and CERFI managed to get hold of one for the photographer Martine Barrat. She travelled from Paris to Canada to get the equipment, which was a mono audio on open half-inch reels using a Sony Portapak video recorder, the same François Pain got for Club-Imago. In 1971, Barrat began working with this camera in the South Bronx with the Roman Kings and the Roman Queens and recorded more than 100 hours of tape and 181 reels of video between 1971 and 1978.

The approach to the camera resonates with Imago's work at the CERFI: the camera is both a tool and a part of the collective. "The camera is often a blunt instrument, but it seems to have a unique power to express the truth of people's lives as they see them." *You Do the Crime, You Do the Time*, 1971-1978, Martine Barrat. Photo by Hélio Oiticica. Courtesy Martine Barrat.



CHAPTER 6

MILITANT ANALYSIS OR ANALYSIS EVERYWHERE

OUR INTEREST IN CERFI'S HISTORY IS VERY MUCH INFORMED BY our struggles in the present. For this reason, it is perhaps those aspects that first led to the constitution of CERFI (and FGERI before it) that we were more interested in: the encounter of militancy with institutional psychotherapy – an encounter perhaps naive and yet, that with our renewed naivety, we today find crucial.

Throughout this book, we have made frequent use of the expression 'militant analysis' when referring to CERFI's work. When we say 'militant analysis', we mean both bringing analysis into the field of militancy (as was the case pre-1968) *and* an analytical militancy, bringing analysis everywhere. Our use of this expression, inspired by Guattari's idea of an 'analytical-militant programme', attempts to capture what for us was at stake in CERFI, in the movement from institutional psychotherapy to institutional analysis and beyond.²⁹⁸ At the same time, it allows differentiating CERFI from Guattari's theorisations of 'schizoanalysis' with Deleuze. We use the term 'militant' not in the sense of a small cog of a broader hierarchical organisation, but in the sense of a permanent commitment to analytical approaches and practises, beyond the clinical space, but also beyond the exclusive domains of professional and disciplinary confines. Militant analysis implies an attention to analytical processes that might take place everywhere and in unforeseeable ways, with an attention to what CERFI's called the 'libidinal' or the 'unconscious'.

The possibility of programming collective equipment provided CERFI with its first opportunity to bring this analytical militancy into effect. As sites of capitalist normalisation and standardisation, collective equipment drew most of CERFI's attention throughout the years, the exploration of a new form of anti-capitalist militancy taking place at the intersection of psychotherapy and architecture. As we attempted to demonstrate in the preceding chapters, the results

298 For Guattari's definition of an 'analytic-militant programme', see *Lines of Flight*, p. 69.

of CERFI's work were mixed. The possibility of programming within and against the state demanded a level of institutional support, persistence and continuity that CERFI could not achieve. Eventually the group started focusing on other avenues of programming, more bottom-up, no longer within the state. To some, the terms 'collective equipment' and 'programming' remained attached to their genesis within the French state apparatus, while for other members of the group, the terms gained new reverberations, in line with the work being developed in partnership with popular organisations and marginalised communities.

With CERFI, programming was rescued from its bureaucratic origins (the brief) and reimagined as a way to collectivise the design process by converting the different actors involved in the development of any equipment (funders, regulators, planners, designers, users, builders, etc.) into its co-producers; and as a device for the permanent *analysis* of needs and demands, preventing the collective from crystalizing or closing in on itself. ABAC's views on programming Alma-Gare are a good example of how this approach resonated with the architectural teams working with CERFI: "At every moment, this programme should allow us to question the object at hand, as well as the actors involved in its production, about their interpretations of the programme".²⁹⁹

But while CERFI is contemporary to architectural movements that in the 1960s and 1970s started to implement bottom-up, cooperative and participatory practices through which the programme became an object of collective discussion, CERFI's analytical focus was unique.³⁰⁰ In that sense, the potential of programming remains un-

²⁹⁹ Pre-programming research dossier for Alma-Gare, ABAC, August–September 1979. Archives Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, *Fonds Raoul Pastrana*.

³⁰⁰ See, for example, the writings of Giancarlo di Carlo, Sérgio Ferro or Colin Ward, and the case of *Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local* (Service for Local Mobile Support) or SAAL, in Portugal, in the period immediately after the 1974 revolution.

derexplored until today, blocked both by disciplinary walls (between architecture, psychiatry, or urban planning, for example) and by capitalist modes of production, through which architecture (or psychiatry for that matter) consists of a service that is provided by an ‘architect’ to a ‘client’, and is to be inhabited by a ‘user’.

Collective equipment, however, remains as crucial as they ever were. As ‘identities’ have returned to the centre of political debates, both in the sense of disputes over norms and codes or in the sense of the role the dispute itself plays within capitalist anti-production, collective equipment has returned to the fore as sites of both immense violence and important resistance. Recent years have reminded us how none of the victories of the past century is ever truly safe, unless these battles are not fought again and again, be it in schools, hospitals or community centres across the world. Be it the equipment of the state or – in the broader sense of the term – the social or recreational equipment of popular and community organisations. Both as spaces of ‘normalisation’ and as spaces of care, support and solidarity.

As their work progressed CERFI started to note collective equipment’s increasing miniaturisation, a mutation that today has become all encompassing, the equipment continuous with the app, the mobile phone and a myriad of social media platforms. Inevitably, the mode of operation of collective equipment will keep evolving with the times. But their impact is no less real today than it was back then. Indeed, the precariousness of labour conditions, coupled together with the intensity of our contemporary social media scape, makes attempts at grasping the collective machinic-semiotic flows that traverse and recompose our subjectivities perhaps even more urgent. And here, *analysis* has a crucial role to play.

Fifty years after the creation of CERFI, we don’t think that much has changed in terms of organisational pathologies across large- and small-scale political movements and organisations. We still fall into the same traps of power and desire, and we still see the same crystallisations, hierarchies and microfascisms. The inertia and reliance on normativity are also still prevalent, as is that peculiar trap whereby,

in Sartrean terms, the group in fusion constantly falls into a serial condition, with its main purpose becoming the preservation of the form (the instituted) it once took. Across the left, many organisations still avoid addressing how – *unavoidably* – capitalist subjectivities traverse them, and the undeclared, invisible issues that grow from within, often forming a kind of deep capitalist insider at the core of leftism, manifesting in all forms of elite capture. Is it not obvious that if we exist within capitalism, then our subjectivities, desires, and existential territories will inevitably be traversed by it, not only in how we think but perhaps most importantly in how we organise? A willingness to address this should be at the core of every militant endeavour.

Many small scale and ‘non-’ or ‘anti-institutional’ organisations manifest similar problems today as they did when CERFI was formed, the fact of being smaller, independent or ‘non-institutional’ being insufficient, *per se*, to avoid redeploying hierarchical positions that are so characteristic of state institutions, such as the ‘president’, the ‘speaker’, the ‘consultant’, the ‘advisory committee’, the ‘secretary’, the ‘user’, as if there are no other formal and /or organisational imaginations to respond to. To this, we can add the frequent self-enclosing of organisations on themselves, undermining broader capacities of alliance across movements and concerns, both locally and internationally.

Perhaps this absence of an analytical dimension in militant organisations is due to the corporate and bureaucratic takeover of institutional analysis. There is no lack of departments of social innovation and collective team-building within contemporary institutions, be it public or private. On this, Fred Moten and Stefano Harney’s critique of improvement, management or the figure of the consultant, brilliantly captures what is at stake with the afterlives of institutional analysis, and the ways in which it was re-appropriated by neoliberalism.³⁰¹ This was, after all, a term that Guattari stopped using for precisely that rea-

301 See Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *All Incomplete*, Minor Compositions, 2021.

son, as it was becoming more and more a mechanism of institutional pacification, the focus on the individual, the worker or the group, but the institution itself never put into question.³⁰² Of course, the difference between capitalist efficiency or improvement, and promoting the emergence of collective institutional machines breaking away from institutional self-enclosure, should be obvious.³⁰³ Nonetheless, such crucial distinction is frequently made nebulous by the constant HR deployment of leftist discourse, by ‘inclusive’ and participatory management classes, by hordes of consultancy teams and mindfulness exercises that make any mention of institutional invention send shivers down our spines.

In this context CERFI can be a source of inspiration. The institutional blockages that CERFI was concerned with were not those of capitalist circulation, be it of people or of value, but those of desire.³⁰⁴ The analytical processes of institutionalisation that CERFI tried to explore, were not a matter of economic or functional efficiency; production was not to do more and better; nor was self-management an excuse to repeat the same institutional pathologies but in small. The goal was the *permanent* creation of collective analytical processes able

302 Félix Guattari, “Institutional Intervention” in *Soft Subversions*, pp. 35–36.

303 It would be worth dedicating more time to this encounter as *All Incomplete* is written from the perspective of the constant institutional attack on fugitive life via all sorts of ‘institutional analyses’ and their endless desire for access, optimisation and productivity.

304 “Desiring-machines work only when they break down, and by continually breaking down.” *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1983, p. 8. For Guattari and Deleuze it is the breaking down that allows desiring-machines to reorganise, and continue operating as desiring machines, and not as crystallised social formations. But to avoid the blockages of desire within institutions, it is not so much a matter of organising in such a way that the institution constantly breaks down, but of constantly fighting against an idea of efficiency that is external to the institution as a collective body, subsuming institutional flows (‘production’) under the weight of needs (‘anti-production’). Or in other words, privileging the breaking-down is a matter of promoting the constant emergence of collective assemblages of enunciation, instead of serialised, stratified institutional forms.

to recognise and work molecular shifts across institutional and collective unconscious. Not in this or that kind of ‘institution’ but everywhere. A process of *instituting*, promoting the emergence of singular collective enunciations and new micro-institutions, non-alienating institutions, institutions within the “Institution”, to keep capitalist subjectivities at bay.

At stake there, was a reworking of *analysis*, a term whose usage by Freud and Lacan was expanded by institutional psychotherapy (Bon-nafé, Daumézon, Tosquelle, Oury, Michaud) to articulate transference relations at the institutional level, and then by Guattari and CERFI, to speak of analytical processes that could take place (and indeed were already taking place) across many other sites *other than the clinical*. And to an extent, CERFI can be seen as part of a broader existential struggle against the normative enforcements of fascism, capitalism, patriarchy or the state. These forces have, over time, sought to eradicate non-normative and so-considered ‘mad’ behaviours, together with community and popular care, or the most radical experiments of psychotherapy and psychoanalysis from dominant history.³⁰⁵

305 More recently, a number of studies have provided an alternative narrative to the dominant histories of disengagement and neutrality in psy practices. These studies have not only shed light on a marginal set of practices and frameworks that incorporated the political dimension into their exploration of the unconscious, but also on the circulation of ideas among these various communities of practice. Examples include Elizabeth Ann Danto's seminal work on the international free clinics movement, *Freud's Free Clinics: Psychoanalysis and Social Justice, 1918–1938*, Columbia University Press, 2005, and Sasha Warren's *Storming Bedlam*, Brooklyn, Common Notions, 2024, covering the lesser-known histories of progressive engaged psy practices. Also see the work produced by the Freepsy Collective in “Free Clinics and a Psychoanalysis for the People” (<https://freepsyproject.com>), which explores politically engaged psy practices from historical and contemporary perspectives as they confront issues of patriarchy, colonialism, and racism. See also the proposal for a mental health commons Raluca Soreanu and Ana Minozzo, 2024, “On Mental Health Commons: The Case of Brazilian Free Psychoanalytic Clinics and an Ethics of Togetherness”, *Critical Times, Special Issue on Solidarity*, 7, 3, pp. 423–447.

This expansion of analysis beyond clinical institutions – that we have captured here under the ideas of *militant analysis* or *analysis everywhere* – is also a case of analysis by other means. During the writing of this book, our understanding of analytical practices expanded beyond the carefully curated conversations that we commonly associate with individual and group therapy, to include the collective programming of institutions, using film cameras or writing letters, self-management, using administrative duties as lenses to the unconscious, engaging in the investigation of music, sewing, theatre or drugs, deploying free association in research, amongst many other activities. And yet, despite its exploration of a broad range of practical avenues, certain aspects have remained consistent throughout CERFI's multiple engagements, and in that, marking the core of an expanded analytical approach.

We would highlight CERFI's ambition of creating institutional processes the least 'policing' and the more open as possible (such as the proposed psychiatric walk-in centre in Marne-la-Vallée); the importance given to the organisation of meetings, discussion groups, forums and assemblies where psychoanalytic techniques would become key (free association, paying attention to the voids, discontinuities, contradictions and repetitions in speech); the willingness to convert every bureaucratic and organisational procedure into collective analytical processes (to avoid the formation of specialisms, experts, authorities and the subsequent creation of hierarchies and crystallisations); the polyvalent approach to the organisation of research teams instead of assigning always the same tasks to the same individuals (with the same purpose of the previous point); the centring of 'users' and first hand experiences (such as the use of film cameras by psychiatric patients); the diversification of the 'listening grid' across multiple disciplines and professions so as to avoid the enclosure of transversal issues within specialist knowledges (evident in the Psychoclub or Crèches groups and attempted in the new towns via the role of the institutional programmer); the focus on programming as a collective and permanent analytical process (and the

refusal to programme when such collective is not in place, as was the case in Bouaké or the new towns); the permanent and experimental constitution of networks *qua* rhizomes or cartographies (to explore, analytically, the limits of a certain conceptual territory and again, to avoid self-enclosure); the constant search for mechanisms that would prevent any organisation to close in on itself, including the support for all types of openings to the outside (for example CERFI's inviting other groups to edit issues of *Recherches*); and the very basic idea of running weekly meetings, something they drew from La Borde and consistently returned to in all their engagements: an analytical rhythm, an analytical space, void, but able to be filled.

Of course, none of these was a method to be redeployed a-critically across different sites or contexts. The priority was always the setting up of *analytical* processes that in going beyond the institutional focus on the individual would allow foregrounding the pragmatics of each situation. Analysis *as* research *as* self-management *as* programming. Analysis not in the sense of interpretation, social adaptation or normative production, but of collective unblocking and liberation. Clearly, in moving away from conventional avenues of militancy, those involved in FGERI and CERFI were able to address issues that were notably absent from political theorisation at the time by most communist organisations, namely issues of sexuality, reproductive health, gender, mental health, sex work, the prison system, schooling, childcare, among many others. In this regard, CERFI's impact was undeniable. But more than this, by bringing analysis everywhere – under the assumption that analytical processes were revolutionary – what CERFI tried to do was to engage a new arena of political struggle: the unconscious. And the unconscious is everywhere.

Instead of looking for new forms of militant organisation, as was proposed in the Nine Theses, FGERI and CERFI approached institutional creation rhizomatically, each group or practice, understood as a plateau, a temporary focus on a certain problematic, always in relation to the pragmatics of each situation, and to others that traversed it, an institution that could be dissolved with the same ease as it was

created.³⁰⁶ This is the aspect of CERFI's work that we highlight here under the banner of *militant analysis* or *analysis everywhere*: not the need for a certain type of institution, nor simply the idea of bringing analysis *into* existing institutions, be it of the state, professional or militant organisations. With the privilege of hindsight, we see analysis as processes of institutional creation that should take place *transversally* to every place and site of existence, not only to ward-off the brutality of the capitalist take on subjectivities, the dangers of self-enclosure, of power crystallisations or the emergence of fascisms of all kinds – but equally, to promote the emergence of subject-groups, of singular expressions, of desalienated collective enunciations. This is why, to us, the work of CERFI remains profoundly inspiring.

306 In line with this, see Rodrigo Nunes' proposal to think organisation ecologically in Rodrigo Nunes, *Neither Vertical nor Horizontal: A Theory of Political Organisation*, London, Verso, 2021.



Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel holding the two editions of *Histoire de la psychiatrie de secteur* and comparing them. During our interview, she mentioned that the republished standalone edition had omitted the collective discussions from the New Towns group. The book was originally published as *Recherches 17* in 1975. The second, revised edition, was published in 1980. The photo is from our interview in Paris in 2022.



Jean-Claude with a drawing of La Borde map pointing to where and how he lived in the château: "I worked there, in the doctors' office. But in fact, very few of us were in the offices. Personally, I lived in the château above the kitchen. So here, where the bell is. So this is the château here. The kitchens are over there. I'm in the corner. I had a room above the kitchen. I lived there for two or three years. So to go up to my room, I had to go through the kitchen. In keeping with the spirit of the clinic, that meant there was no privacy. Our interview, Paris, 2018.

Interview with Lion Murard on different avenues of militantism and the creation of CERFI. June 2021.

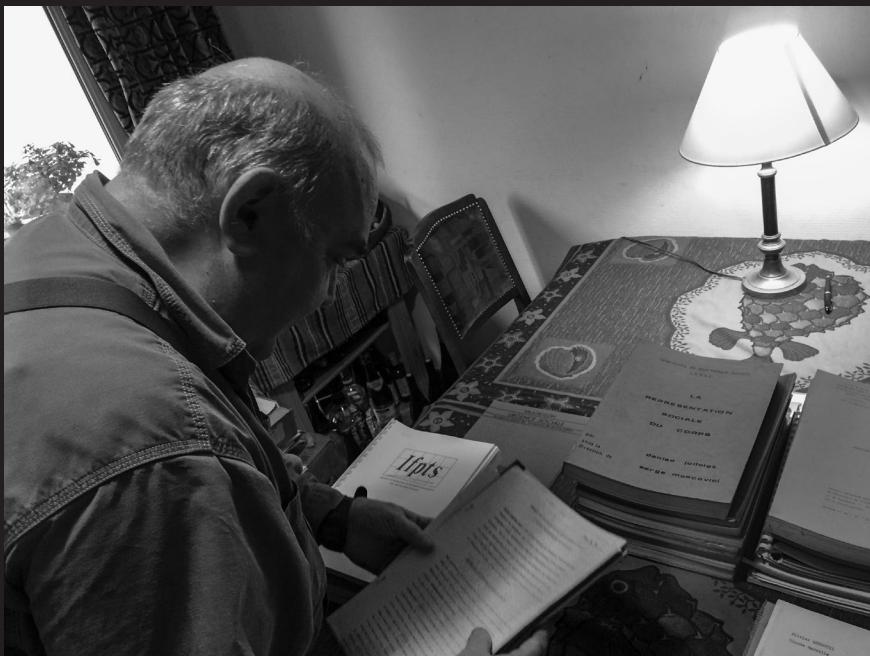


Conversation with François Pain, viewing his “D'une machine à l'autre, un même flux...” (2010). At this point, François points to the image of the grid. Also on screen are images of Saint-Alban taken by François Tosquelle, as well as an excerpt from an interview with Guattari carried out by François and Danielle Sivadon.



Michel Peraldi holding a picture of a family at the Petit Séminaire. "I just found some images, photos and pictures of the Petit Séminaire from that time. I can show you this photo because it is very telling. This photo tells a story because you can see how this family opened the doors in the housing estate: they dug large holes with pickaxes, opened doors in the flats and moved in. And this is a kind of photo of the conquest of an apartment. The men made a hole, and then the women and children entered. A woman and her children pose a little too seriously in the photo before settling into an apartment (...) That was the approach: going to where people lived to try to understand what was happening. Our interview, June 2021.

Michel Rostain, during one of our many Zoom conversations. At some point, he suggested that it was more interesting to fictionalise the past than to remember it.



Olivier Quérout, June 2020. "I kept a lot of papers from the different stages of CERFI's life because I stayed at CERFI for about 10 years, a little over 10 years until the end of CERFI. And even after that, I created a CERFI when CERFI collapsed. I had a branch of CERFI - CERFI ARTE."



Anne Querrien in our house in London, May, 2020.



Apart from this group photograph taken by Olivier Querouil in Étretat in the 1970s, there are hardly any collective images of CERFI. We have asked Anne Querrien to name the CERFI group members. Top row, from left to right: Michel Rostain, Anne Querrien and Numa Murard. Second row, from left to right: Patrick Zylbermann, Luc Rosenzweig, Gérard Grass and Claude Harmelle. Below, from left to right: Claude Rouot, Florence Pétry, Nicole and Hervé Maury. Seated in front of the group, from left to right: François Fourquet and Lion Murard. Courtesy of Olivier Querouil.



CERFI BY CERFI

INSTITUTIONAL RESEARCH AND URBAN RESEARCH

Recherche institutionnelle et recherches urbaine is a text written by Félix Guattari and Anne Querrien in 1970 after their first meeting with the head of the *Urban Mission*, Michel Conan. This was the first proposal submitted by CERFI with a view to obtaining research contracts from the Ministry of Equipment. Unlike the texts coming from FGRI or Deleuze and Guattari at this point, this text is fairly conventional in style. Frequent references to the ‘human sciences’ or ‘scientific thought’ were probably used to persuade the funding body. For CERFI, it was the first opportunity to articulate how the ideas of institutional analysis could be re-applied in the field of the programming of collective equipment. Focusing on the importance of having a practical engagement with the field of psychiatry, and the need to consider the perspectives of different state bodies, professionals and users engaged with each equipment, Guattari and Querrien carefully build up the need for a third-party discourse, able to translate and articulate the different partners. They define research here as the act itself of transforming the real, implying that the calculation of demands has to take into account the shifting impacts of its own actions, and in that way, that the role of the researcher, *qua* the subject group that emerges through the process of institutional programming, should be akin to the interventional role of the analyst.

Félix Guattari and Anne Querrien (circa 1970), “*Recherche institutionnelle et recherches urbaine*”, unpublished typescript translated by Sophie Eager, reviewed by Anne Querrien.

The research carried out so far by CERFI on social equipment, in psychiatry, pedagogy, and cultural practice, has led to the elaboration of specific methodological rules. For each of its research projects, CERFI has brought together a group of practitioners concerned with the distinct lack of existing equipment in their respective sectors. For example, the research concerning Urban Psychiatric Hospitals of up to 100 beds, published in the special issue of the journal *Recherches*, “Architecture, Programming and Psychiatry”, was carried out in this way. All these practitioners, from various fields of research - architecture, medicine, psychology, education, economics - wanted to find means of integrating into the new equipment the innovations driven by their own concern to constantly improve their respective practices.

The most important of these means quickly emerged to be the institutionalisation of a new social role which can articulate the specific findings of these diverse disciplines, translate the interpellations of one into the language of another, and bring together in a coherent whole the actors whose interventions are otherwise contrasted against each other and viewed with a mutual lack of understanding. In defining itself as a centre for research, CERFI assumes this role of articulating the specific vectors of innovation for each discipline. Its aim is to ensure that the production of knowledge in a given sector can, within the network of all stakeholders involved in a problem, establish conditions for the verification of their findings, the means of testing these findings, and contribute to the overall development of theory.

CERFI's research activity is therefore essentially monographic as well as practical. At its very least, its task will be to translate the experience acquired by one particular practitioner or group of practitioners into a language that makes it accessible to practitioners from other disciplines and to those working in administration. Reading the urban research programme proposed by the Ministry of Equipment suggests, to researchers in CERFI, a set of experiments that could provide source material for research monographs, which can then be

confronted with the results obtained on the same themes by professional researchers working in the traditional way.

The points from the programme that could form the basis for these research monographs are as follows:

- The impact of transport as a social spectacle on the integration of city-dwellers in the city
- The creation and evolution of the city's roles and vocation
- The accommodation of city dwellers in rural areas
- The behaviour and representations of marginal groups.

On each of these points, a monographic work could focus on several experiments designed and carried out with the participation of CER-FI members, from which recommendations could then be drawn for further action by the various stakeholders concerned.

Administration-sponsored research should result in 'recommendations' or concrete actions in order to allow for the immediate application of knowledge produced in the course of the research.

Research findings are made available to others by means of a discourse for which it is important to precisely describe the nature of the speaker and the receiver. Research within universities, as Pierre Bourdieu argues in *Métier de Sociologue*¹, is addressed to the group of researchers within the same discipline, and not to those in administration. Given that it is the administration that decides what research is funded, there is a risk that a more convenient course of action will be taken because it is familiar, but with adverse consequences for the users and institutions concerned. Psychiatrists who limit themselves

¹ Translator's note: Pierre Bourdieu, Jean-Claude Chamboredon et Jean-Claude Passeron, *Métier de sociologue*, Paris, Mouton, 1967.

to purely theoretical research, rather than work practically to break down the walls of the asylum, actually reinforce the dominance of the asylum system, and are unaware of the 'reality' of psychiatry that constitutes the object of their research.

Our methodological demand, which consists in expressing all research in terms of an act of transforming the real, an act of creation, is the same as that of contemporary rationalism: knowledge of the object results from its material transformation. This insight from Bachelard is demonstrated through particle accelerators and nuclear power stations, as well as all the other instruments of experimentation used in the natural sciences. Developments in modern medicine, especially the work of Freud, demonstrate that the situation is the same in the human sciences. Research in the human sciences has sought from the outset to achieve a degree of professionalism identical to that attained by the natural sciences, thus ignoring the need to put its work to the test.

The social action that transforms reality observed by the researcher in the human sciences is willingly left out of the scope of his professional concerns, whereas the physicist himself operates the particle accelerator that transforms the reality he observes. Research in the human sciences therefore runs the risk of spreading in many different directions, which are certainly interesting in principle, but which do not meet the conditions for a rigorous methodological approach.

Given that the administration is an important actor in the social system, its actions must be integrated into the production of knowledge in the human sciences, without itself becoming subordinate to them. A multiplicity of different actors is also involved in the transformation of society, or on a smaller scale, in the creation of specific equipment. Research will be necessary in order to articulate all these actors and the administration among them, and to produce a new, original, and meaningful synthesis of the development level achieved by each

actor in their particular formulation of the problem in question. Creating the conditions for the production of this synthesis is the role we assign to our research.

When elaborating a programme of research, it is therefore important that we understand the level of development reached in the administration's reflection on its own actions; that we analyse the directions in which it wishes to pursue this action or to initiate it for the first time; and that we understand how these same parameters apply for all the institutions included in the administration's scope. This delimits a specific area of research: that in which the administration's action is of sufficient scope to raise the question of its orientation and renewal, and meets that of institutions with a defined collective will.

When the Ministry of Equipment is in charge of administration, research will focus on the collective equipment for which there are institutions and interested parties wishing to transform the material state of a specific field, whether madness, primary schools, young offender institutions, as well as a few specific cases of municipal and regional development. Confronting the research with the problems of particular equipment to be built or precise recommendations to be made is the first condition of its rigour and of its possible culmination in theoretical elaboration. The preliminary draft research programme does not guarantee the fulfilment of this methodological demand. The analysis of past experiences, for example on the point entitled 'the relationship between social equipment, the institutions that produce them and the type of demand they generate among users', which appears to belong to the field of research we have outlined above, does not seem to be intended to tackle directly the problem of the transformation of the relationship between supply and demand for equipment, whether it be the overall level of definition of this relationship, that of planning, or its formation in a specific case, the construction of a school or a hospital, the development of a psychiatric sector, or the construction of a youth centre or cultural centre.

In each specific case, the requirements for equipment are articulated in a specific way according to the history of the site, the relationships between the social groups that characterise it, the forms of professional practice that have developed there, and so on.

There are two questions in the report to which we already have a partial response. The first asks: 'to what extent is social equipment a compromise between social demand expressed in a more or less explicit fashion and an offer formulated in terms of divisible and institutionalised needs?'; and the second: 'to what extent can an offer made in this way (or to be made in this way) have a decisive effect on the expectations of city-dwellers; that is, to what extent can such demand be impacted by supply?' While these questions can be asked, the phenomena with which they are concerned are impossible to imagine because the effects they produce are essentially of an unconscious nature. To say that demand has an impact on supply only takes into account the rationalised expression of social behaviour. At this level, the social demand of 'users' calls for the extension of the suburban habitat that was initially favoured by all the public legislation. However, at the same time as many people are dedicating all their energy to the development of this type of habitat, delinquency, and crime are evidence of the existence of other types of affective investment.

Even if the expressed demand justifies the supply because it can find no alternative forms of expression, 'irrational' phenomena remind us that the reworking of subjectivity in society is not as simple as 'response to demand'.

If a psychiatrist finds that he has more patients than beds in his ward and that every day he is turning away new admissions, he will tend to ask for the expansion of the service through an increased number of beds, thus expressing a 'social demand' for an increase in the number of mentally ill people, directly contravening his aims as a therapist.

The researcher's object of intervention is to formulate the discourse that articulates these various logics, gives them a hold on each other, and makes each one a lever in the transformation of the other. It is equivalent to the interventional role of the analyst, who enables the subject to speak by building on the apparently dissociated statements made by the analysand.

The creation of this third-party discourse which drives the construction of new equipment, novel in its social integration, its programme, and its architecture, forms a group, subject of this institutional creation, of all the different partners who had previously been enclosed either in the discourse of technique or in the rules of the instituted.

This third-party discourse, that is, the institutional programming of the planned equipment, is the product of this research that is not only interdisciplinary, but also an intervention in each of the vectors that are constitutive of the action, and a way of articulating these vectors.

The way we formulate the problem of the 'relationship between social equipment, the institutions that produce them and the type of demand they generate among users' is therefore quite different. When the administration produces recommendations relating to one or another kind of equipment – the construction of a new town, the reorganisation of a local district, the construction of specific equipment – they must organise a consultation between all parties involved. Allowing them to criticise each other, however absurd it may seem, makes way for novel ideas, creates a break with the usual institutional logic, and enables the creation of a new institutional machine through which all existing equipment can be questioned anew. Thus, social subjectivity is given expression at the institutional level and the problem of matching demand and supply is abolished. Wanting to solve such a problem denies, as does the institutional rigidity denounced above, the historicity in which every institution participates.

It is to the restitution of such historicity, to a kind of institutional genealogy, that the research effort should instead contribute, producing for each action, each construction, a different model, even in its repetition, of the basic institution. It is in the development of these ever more complex instruments of research and action that scientific thought advances.

THE INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMMER AS AN ANALYSER OF SOCIAL LIBIDO

This is Félix Guattari's contribution to issue 17 of *Recherches*, which summarises and discusses CERFI's involvement in the programming of mental health facilities in the new towns. Guattari reflects on the decision to get involved in the new towns, on the ideas of institutional programming and institutional promotion, and on the arc of collective thought that began with the FGERI debates published in *Recherches 06* and led to the work on the new towns. Unlike the CERFI team who in their report on Évry refused to propose a programme, Guattari was adept of starting with an embryonic equipment, in line with the planning teams' idea of an integrated social centre. The point for Guattari was how to put in place institutional programming processes – continuous and local – that would allow this first intervention to grow and transform itself together with the new towns, potentially evolving from a centralised to a dispersed distribution of equipment. The development of the programme entailed an analysis of social libido, with the aim of liberating it and finding a common trajectory for those involved who saw themselves as 'collectively emerging on the way'. At the core of this proposal was Guattari's original proposal developed in 1970: the need of a 'social analyser' – a multidisciplinary team that should include the local population and various professional bodies – so as to better take into account the progressive development of the new towns and their shifting social demands.

Guattari, Félix, "Le programmeur institutionnel et l'analyseur de la libido sociale". *Recherches 17, History of the psychiatric sector or the impossible sector?* pp. 430–438 (1974). Translation by the authors.

Guattari²: The idea of an institutional promoter arose from an event – and, for me, an event is synonymous with a phenomenon of rupture, an irruption of desire – as a result of the meeting between such striking figures as Daumézon and Bonnafé, psychiatrists who had participated to one extent or another in the institutional psychotherapy movement or who had distanced themselves from ministerial conceptions in the field of mental hygiene, members of the missions for the development of new towns, and members of the CERFI. Admittedly, this was a small event, but in terms of information theory, it was an opportunity for the CERFI to open up a new channel of communication between hitherto separate circles. The 1967 issue of *Recherches* on programming and psychiatry had paved the way: here, too, currents of all kinds were able to express themselves, at a time when people were beginning to realise the absurdity of the government's orientations (in particular the idea of saturating a certain number of departments with hospital beds and this fabulous project of industrialising the construction of psychiatric facilities). Our idea at the time was that we could create a collective desire that could influence the direction of the field by bringing together people as diverse as programmers³ (like Ferrand and Roubier), people from the ministry, and psychiatrists involved in the various currents of mental health.

The CERFI then tried to start again with child psychiatry, but nothing came of it. Then, May 1968 happened, and the heart was no longer in it. It was only much later that we revived research meetings in the very specific field of new towns. It seemed to us, not without illusions, that we could bring into play a certain number of parameters that

2 2 July 1974.

3 Translator's note: A programmer (French programmiste) is typically an architect, planner or urban designer, who is hired to develop a detailed brief (programme) for an architectural design, such as a collective equipment like a hospital or a school.

were blocked elsewhere. In fact, we greatly overestimated the possibility of implementing real innovations in these so-called new towns.

From then on, there was a certain lack of punch. First of all, there was a lack of punch on the part of the participants from psychiatry: there were only a small number of them; only those directly concerned bothered (in any case, nothing like what had happened in 1967). The people from the planning missions came, but the difference in their concerns was quite obvious; their ambitions were much more modest than those of our late friend Ferrand and Roubier: what interested them most were short-term solutions rather than real innovations.

To unblock this situation, in my opinion, CERFI should have set itself two conditions:

- Firstly, to lobby the *Commission Nationale des Maladies Mentales* to set up a kind of working group on new towns. This was possible, but it would have cost a lot of money; we would have had to see Paumelle, Ayme, Leibovici, etc.; we would have had to write articles in *Information Psychiatrique*, hold meetings at the CEMEA, etc. We didn't do that. Perhaps it was also because of May 1968: in fact, since that period, I think we've been less convinced of the usefulness of intervening in this field, and we're almost ashamed of appearing to be interested.
- Secondly, it would have been necessary to address the specific concerns of the people we were dealing with. We would have had to anticipate their problems, particularly in the field of programming.

It was in this spirit that I proposed that we study a system of alternative norms: the only way, in my view, to break with systems of norms in absolute terms (for example, norms in terms of beds, surface areas, etc.) would have been to put forward what I called a system of differential norms. I drew attention to the dangers of Bonnafé's proposals, his theory of empty square metres, and I found myself quite isolated at the time. My idea was that, first and foremost, we should

have defined an object in common with the technicians of the new towns, that we should have shown them that our mental health policy concerns could be expressed in their language, not in terms of classic standards, but in terms of differential norms, likely to lead to continuous, evolving and local programming. This meant that, from one stage to the next, there would be the problem of handing over to groups of institutional management. To put it simply, technocratic programming proposes a plan that is fixed once and for all, whereas continuous and local programming, which is the very idea of institutional programming, would insist on the ever possible and necessary intervention of collective interlocutors on the initial frameworks, and that this could be foreseen from the outset. Otherwise, 'users' would always appear to be 'troublemakers' who have no reason to be listened to and who it would be better, even, to try to neutralise.

The search for differential norms therefore implies that, in addition to demographic, economic, and other parameters, institutional parameters must also be taken into account in the programming process; it implies that, from the outset of the process, attention must be paid to bringing together, training and animating collective interlocutors, interlocutors in their own right. At the outset, it simply proposes projects from which these interlocutors will take over an ongoing programme, but a relay in the very life of their profession and their institution. We don't say in advance, for example, 'how many day hospitals, dispensaries, foyers, or supported workshops will be needed'; we ask the embryonic teams what they envisage as a starting point, once they are effectively established in the real social fabric. We try to calculate the least improbable developments, constantly recalculating.

A programme should not be a simple description, a simple diagram, external to those who will integrate it. In my opinion, programming is self-management, and self-management is programming. Or else there will be no programming and no self-management. What needs

to be managed is a programme, local and ongoing, always evolving, and organised on an increasingly large scale. It is along the way that programming can become more rigorous, as and when we 'see ourselves' collectively, as and when a social trajectory takes shape.

I imagined that we could have said: in such and such an area of a new town, you have calculated that there will be 20,000 inhabitants in such and such a time. We therefore need to plan embryonic equipment right now, in terms of surface area, funding, subsidies and the training of a given team. We can imagine a minimum topology for group relations starting with a small unit. But we know that at some point – which is relatively easy to calculate – we will no longer be able to make do with an initial integrated centre, for example. We will have to break up and disperse the surface areas and equipment. The problem of dispensaries, workshops and foyers will arise over time, depending on the demands of the team. The team will be in charge of decentralisation. But this in no way implies that we should renounce specialisation, coordination or even centralisation of other equipment. For example, in the area of childhood, we will definitely give up the absurd idea of a sectorisation corresponding to three adult sectors of 60,000 inhabitants. Instead, we will start from differential criteria, from differentiation thresholds; we will know that, from the threshold of 20,000 inhabitants, something needs to be planned for the children's sector. Then, and successively, without waiting for 200,000 inhabitants – where we're supposed to programme 100 child psychiatric beds, according to current norms – we'll develop a certain number of more important equipment. We will be setting up more coherent structures.

Decentralisation is not a policy in itself. It can be correlated at a certain stage with specialisation and centralisation. My idea was that it might be possible to calculate such a process, but only if we could base it on a social analyser, based on the real ground. In my opinion, it is possible to be in favour of maximum decentralisation and non-

-bureaucratic centralisation at the same time. If, for example, a new town reaches 300,000 or 500,000 inhabitants, it will be possible to set up a specialised school for educators, a division to study the language of schizophrenics, and so on. But we obviously can't envisage this at the level of each neighbourhood! Furthermore, such projects cannot be implemented unless they correspond to a specific social demand.

Eventually, a team of institutional programmers will have to initiate such a request, and will have to contribute to setting up the interlocutor to whom it will have to turn (in this case, a mental health promoter). The role of programming is then to identify different thresholds, to set in motion concerted actions to free up budgets, for example to create a training school that meets this or that demand for personnel, or to create a research centre that is desired by this or that group of people who do not quite know how to go about promoting it. At the same time, the idea of differential norms implies the idea of the development of local political power along the lines of decentralised self-management, on which more centralised democratic planning can be based at a later date.

Apparently, they're now telling us about our mental hygiene promoter: "It was an original idea, but it didn't work. Now we have to find something else". In fact, it shouldn't be that way. You can't condemn an idea on the basis of a partial failure. At the birth of aviation, people tried all sorts of things that didn't work, and yet the aeroplane ended up working. But it took time, and above all it required considerable resources. The mental health promoter implies that the idea of an institutional promoter must first be accepted. We didn't have enough resources, in the field of mental health alone, to get such a system 'off the ground'. Hence the idea that it was important to experiment with a phenomenon of collective desire on a certain scale. For this to happen, other resources would have to be made available, and other specialised teams would have to be set up with real power of intervention.

An experiment of this kind – like the one I proposed at the Dieppe symposium⁴ – implies that administrative supervision, all administrative supervision, should be put in brackets. Action research of this kind also calls for the creation of a kind of new character, a kind of new vocation. You can't innovate, you can't experiment, in any field, if you don't change the laws that govern a system, and if you don't have a team of people who want to change the previous system.

Obviously, the aim is not to create a new breed of specialists, a new caste closed in on itself. On the contrary, it is about a team that is entirely open to the population and to the various professional specialities. It's about a team that has the vocation of establishing itself in the real social fabric, in complex urban situations, and that tries to catalyse collective decision-making processes. Who would be interested in such a project? Certainly not the DDASS⁵ or the *Inspecteurs d'Académie*, but people who are already aware of this kind of problem, essentially people who have experience in the field and whose ambition is not to cut themselves off from a real experimental field. Who could support such a project at the national level? I'd imagined that we could try to get the people at the *Commissariat au Plan* involved: they are in fact everywhere and nowhere at the same time, and are called upon to answer questions for which there are as yet no answers. But does a Plan still exist today? I thought we could have said to them: "Give up once and for all any idea of research, any idea of study in the urban field, as long as you do not give such teams the means to experiment in a real urban fabric, and these means are of two types: both financial and administrative and regulatory".

4 Organised in April 1974 in Dieppe by the Ministry of Infrastructure to review urban research in France. It provided an opportunity for meetings between officials from the Planning Commission, national and departmental infrastructure managers (DDE, GEP heads, etc.), and 'researchers'.

5 Translator's note: The DDASS - *Direction Départementale des Affaires Sanitaires et Sociales* (*Departmental Directorate for Health and Social Affairs*) was a French government agency responsible for health and social welfare services at a local level.

Such an experimental sector, research-action project, for example in a new town, should be handed over to the management of a team that would therefore be statutorily freed from existing supervisory bodies and would have financial resources at its disposal.

A multi-disciplinary team would thus be formed, by co-optation and by detachment from the various authorities that weigh on each of the specialists (detachment from the DDASS, the Inspectorate of Education, Youth and Sports, Justice, etc.). It would be organised according to its own norms, depending on the internal differentiation of its work and according to modes that are probably non-hierarchical. It would have its own budget, and could organise school equipment, community initiatives and perhaps even embryonic hospitals in its own way. It would strive to develop a whole community life in a neighbourhood, outside the usual framework and, of course, relying as much as possible on the local population and the social and professional groups concerned.

It would undoubtedly be inevitable that a sort of Supervisory Board should exist above it, in the eyes of the State. But it should go without saying that, in such an experiment, the widest possible derogations from administrative regulations would be authorised, and this at all levels, be it the State, administrations, municipalities, etc. Such a process should allow a kind of escalation of innovation. While we couldn't provoke a desire for a breakthrough on mental hygiene issues alone, we can imagine that if we succeeded in propelling such a model (encompassing not only mental hygiene, but also schooling, alienated childhood cultural activities, justice, etc.), we could trigger a kind of escalation of innovation. In any case, we can be sure that something would happen in the minds of the people concerned and that this would help to move things forward in the field of research.

With this in mind, we would need to combine the efforts of people who are currently scattered across all sorts of sectors. We would need

to co-opt and bring together specialists from a number of disciplines who have, without knowing it, a common understanding of these issues. People in the various ministries would have to work together to support such an initiative. This would not necessarily involve the highest levels of government, but a number of civil servants committed to the development of a real innovation policy. This is to some extent what happened, albeit on a very small scale, with this issue of *Recherches* on programming and psychiatry, from 1967.

This new type of collective figure, this new type of team, would therefore be motivated to undertake an ongoing intervention in the field of institutional programming. But it goes without saying that we cannot imagine that such a team could be spontaneously propelled, or that it could be born from a simple administrative circular. There needs to be some initial experience, some initial foundation on which ideas and functions can be built. A certain type of purpose needs to be brought to light. To take a comparison, before the war, the character of the psychologist corresponded strictly to nothing, or at least to nothing precise. Even after 1945, when I studied, there was a great deal of uncertainty about the profile and role of the psychologists, with the tests they performed and the mysterious way in which they acted. For a long time, we vacillated between different options. Then the psychologists freed themselves from their technicality and moved towards psychosociological intervention. But they continued to appear as outsiders, manipulators, in relation to social processes. And yet, now it seems that a number of things are becoming clearer.

I'm thinking in particular of these young school psychologists who are refusing to accept any kind of 'test' and who are setting up in schools and classrooms, talking to teachers, pupils and families ... in short, determining a whole trajectory, a whole new semiotisation in the field of education. It's something of this order that I have in mind with this proposal for a team specialising in institutional programming. It's a type of intervention that doesn't exist, of which we have

no representation as yet. Today, it even seems a little scandalous that such an approach could be proposed; it seems a little shameful to raise the possibility that a new type of figure could infiltrate the social fabric, intervene with teams of town planners and architects, take an interest in the promotion of institutions, liaise between ministries, with the Prefecture, between youth groups, family associations, trade unions, parties, groupuscules and so on. You'd think this would be some kind of cop. But remember, the psychologist was also initially seen as a kind of cop. But once on site, it's not at all obvious that this type of team would necessarily work in the direction of reinforcing the repressive structures.

It seems to me that such experimentation should only be considered from the outset in open urban situations, where it is not yet clear what needs to be done, what needs to be set up. From then on, the figure whose profile we are outlining would be less likely to be manipulated by municipalities or the Prefecture, as situations would be much less crystallised. He or she would perhaps be less tied to a tradition, to long-established institutions, trade unions and works councils that are perhaps more or less sclerotic. The profile of such a team could only emerge through fairly lengthy experimentation. How would it manage to read a social situation in its economic dimensions, in its spatial and urbanistic projections, while remaining in touch with the phenomena of social libido, at the level of an entire neighbourhood or of various specific groups, by intervening on the cultural, political and other levels? I'm thinking, for example, of the problems posed by drugs, and the interventions at all levels that this implies.

At the Cour-Cheverny clinic, we had an experience of this kind with the 'cultural seasons', which had involved us in a range of activities spanning the whole department, and where it was no longer clear where mental hygiene began and ended, or what the role of cultural associations, trade unions, political parties, youth movements, local councils and even the Departmental Archives was, where exhibitions

had been organised. From this perspective, the problem of institutional programming would be posed in quite different terms from those we had envisaged up to now.

We would no longer expect – with a certain spontaneist naivety – that such programming could come into being *sui generis*, simply by bringing together, for example, a social worker, a willing psychiatrist, an architect, a teacher, a parents' representative, and so on. On the contrary, it would be patient, full-time work for a whole team whose job would be to capture the traces and signs of what might emerge as social libido at a given moment. It would be a matter of putting things together, analysing the failures, taking up its interventions in different relations of power, bringing into play all sorts of levels: the population, the administration, the financial, political and cultural powers, etc. Let's say it's a kind of highly differentiated institutional engineering, involving the generation of a specific semiotisation.

The important thing here is not to find a common language, a common denominator; it's not a question of 'getting along' with the representatives of the DDASS, the Ministry of Public Works, the user groups, etc. It's a question of identifying a particular semiotic, in other words, a specific way of reading that enables a certain number of people to see things that no one before them had seen. Our institutional programmer – who, once again, is not an individual, but a collective arrangement of people, resources, instruments and language – needs to acquire a specific vision that will enable him or her to uncover and identify factors of social libido that, until now, have escaped social understanding. Admittedly, this level was sometimes glimpsed, but always in specific areas and never in a coherent vision or sustained project. So, it's not a question of proposing ready-made models – for example, a community alternative – but of trying to grasp on what basis, from what starting point, a process of innovation can be catalysed that may initially exist only in a microscopic state, a state of trace, of hint.

Eventually, it is conceivable that such a practice could lead to the creation of a new profession, a specialisation as complicated as that of architect, town planner, psycho-pharmacologist, etc. The training of such teams requires the constitution of a capital of information, of experiences, and also a certain legitimisation, a certain recognition, by the social body, of its particular role which will enable it to confront a judge as well as a policeman, a mayor, or a representative association. Doors should open for them, and if they don't, we should expect them to seek to have them opened by appealing to the press or even through collective action.

What is interesting, in my opinion, about Daumézon's idea of a mental health promoter is that it proposed, locally, a small opening of desire. It turned out to be insufficient in practice; it showed us a dead end in the current social and political context. Yet, it was a tiny spark of desire, which gives us something to think about, which gives us something to dream about and which, perhaps, tomorrow, will give us something to experiment with.

PSYCHIATRIC PLACE... BUT DE-PSYCHIATRISED

How to programme anti-psychiatry? is the first of two discussions by CERFI members involved in the New Towns group that we reproduce in this book. Here, Gaëtane Lamarche-Vadel and Françoise Lévy, in charge of Sector 1 in Marne-la-Vallée, discuss the difficulties of programming mental health equipment... At the start of their work, they quickly focused on the piazza being planned for the new centre of Noisy-le-Grand, proposing the inclusion of a psychiatric information and drop-in centre. Instead of being allocated in a residential area, as was the norm in the sector, CERFI considered that mental health should have a visible presence in the town centre, together with work, leisure and consumption facilities. Unfortunately, the constraints of town planning schedules meant that there was no time to set up a design group. By publishing this discussion, which was part of the group's own account of its work, we aim to demonstrate the centrality of self-analytical reflection to CERFI's work. The discussion was originally published in French in *Recherches* 17, in line with the group's practice of publishing its own reflections. The dialogues note CERFI's difficulties in working with its institutional counterparts – especially when these still held segregationist approaches to psychiatric services and mental health. At the same time, while CERFI members were not interested in the conventional programming approach, they lacked a clear strategy for convincing their partners to engage in a different project.

Françoise Lévy and Gaëtane Larmarche-Vadel, 'How to programme anti-psychiatry?' *Recherches* 17 *Histoire de la psychiatrie de secteur ou le secteur impossible?*, March 1975, Excerpts: pp. 391–395; 400–406. Translated by the authors.

A Psychiatric Place ... but De-psychiatrised

Françoise: Our idea for an information and drop-in centre⁶ at the Piazza came from a discussion about the various ways people came to the mental health clinic at Noisy-le-Grand. In the way it was conceived, and in the choice of location, the Piazza centre was intended to be accessible to anyone who wanted to come there outside the usual psychiatric circuits.

Gaëtane: It's not just a question of circuits. As soon as we talk about a mental health centre, we enter the chain of institutions. How do you transform a mental health centre in such a way that people come to it without being sent or led there in any way, and without getting caught up in the whole circuit of psychiatric institutions? It seemed difficult. If people had to go there of their own accord, they were driven by a certain social representation they had of themselves, and that's what the dispensary of mental hygiene⁷ corresponds to. We wanted to facilitate access to psychiatry, and at the same time free people from psychiatry. This centre is at the very heart of our basic contradiction; our position was both critical of mental hygiene and psychiatric equipment, and at the same time pro-active in the field of equipment itself, since we were programmers. We never got out of this contradiction.

Françoise: And yet this problem wasn't just in our heads, it was being faced by teams in the very field of mental health. When we dreamt

⁶ Translator's note: The original term is "centre d'information et d'accueil". A more direct translation would be 'information and welcome centre'.

⁷ Translator's note: The terms *dispensaire d'hygiène mentale* (mental health dispensaries) and *centre de santé mentale* (mental health centres) appear to be used interchangeably. This may be due to the fact that it was around this time that 'mental hygiene dispensaries' were renamed 'mental health centres', which were to be changed to 'mental health services' in a 1995 decree. We have kept both terms.

of an information centre where people would have free access, it was so that the *bonne femmes*⁸ who work in a supermarket or in an office could, instead of their usual sandwich and coffee, come to this centre.

Gaëtane: We worked within a logic of “regulation of affects”! The fact that *bonnes femmes* could come to the centre to talk about their problems when they were fed up meant that the centre became an outlet, a safety valve. It was good for them, but it was also good for the supermarket! And it even stabilised them in the supermarket!

Françoise: I imagined the number of men and women who would be working in the Piazza, where there would be thousands of square metres of shops and thousands of square metres of offices, with an hour’s break when it was time to eat... My fantasy was that these *bonnes femmes* burdened with problems, thrown into a new town they didn’t know, would spend that hour in a cafeteria run by people from the drop-in centre, where they could just walk in without intermediation and meet people who would listen to them, give them information, and so on.

Gaëtane: They might as well go to a cultural centre where the staff are more indifferent. I wouldn’t go to a psychiatric hospital at lunchtime to have fun!

Françoise: It wasn’t a psychiatric hospital, but an information and drop-in centre! At first it wasn’t a treatment centre but an information centre on mental health ...

Gaëtane: We asked ourselves: if we were depressed, what would we do when we passed this mental health centre, would we go in?

⁸ Translator’s note: ‘Une bonne femme’ was the familiar French expression of woman or wife. It is used with irony. We have retained the French word and placed it in italics.

Françoise: We said to ourselves that we wouldn't go in!

Gaëtane: But we did everything we could to get women in! It's completely crazy! I was perpetually in this contradiction of having to plan something, so to do it as well as possible, as nicely as possible, while at the same time constantly criticising psychiatry.

Françoise: On the one hand, we thought of psychiatry as something to do with the cops and keeping records: as our meetings progressed, we became more and more aware of the stranglehold psychiatry has on people. Mannoni⁹ told us very well how, from a very young age, children are put on file, filed away for their whole lives. There's an incredible bureaucratisation of mental health. We were very sensitive to that. On the other hand, we were well aware of a number of things, including investigations in the major newspapers: more and more employees were having nervous breakdowns and had no means of support - we wanted to make it easier to get help.

It's true that it was an open contradiction that we were never able to resolve. All the fantasies we had at the beginning about 'not a treatment centre, but an information and a drop-in centre', were an attempt to ensure that the nervous breakdowns of *bonnes femmes* or men would find a place of expression that was as free of policing as possible. That's what we had in mind, and that explains all the things we came up with: the painting exhibitions, the cinema, the cafeteria, the spatial layout of the entrance doors, etc. The centre in the Piazza went from being a drop-in and information centre to a sort of system for organising relationships to deal with multiple problems. We moved towards developing a wide range of networks to help

⁹ Maud Mannoni was a French psychoanalyst and a member of the FGERI. See, *Recherches*, 'Enfance aliénée I, Enfance aliénée ou société aliénante?' (*Recherches* 7, 1967) and 'Enfance aliénée II, L'enfant, la psychose et l'institution' (*Recherches* 8, 1968) bringing together the proceedings of two days conference *Journées de l'enfance aliénée* organised by Maud Mannoni.

people find their way around and find out for themselves who to ask the questions that mattered to them. Hence the development of the second stage of the project: liaising with the planning office, with the lawyer who worked at the Abbey to find out about his practice in a dispensary and about Dutch law boutiques, and with the national employment agency. I think there was a very clear change of direction at a certain point. First there was a very light-weight, very self-managed, very innovative psychiatric project, using all the modern facilities (cinema, library, restaurant, reception, rest). Then we moved on to a junction-type place that was supposed to welcome people who came with a request for therapy, but also people with multiple problems that the psychiatric team would be able to refer to other services.

Gaëtane: No, you're distorting things, the project had a different scope! We criticised ourselves for the referral system used by all the social services. Our idea was a lot more interesting than setting up specialists next to each other, with a counter for each one, to which the centre's clients would be successively referred. What we wanted was not to separate problems but, on the contrary, for problems of divorce, unwanted pregnancy or contraception to be discussed with the other specialists and the other users concerned. There was a lot of emphasis on the 'collective': this was precisely to avoid problems being dealt with individually and in closed rooms. The other advantage of this collective treatment was to some extent to politicise psychological problems in the sense of making it possible to have a grip on reality, and to invent and create ways of solving the problems posed: women's groups, clubs, etc. We diversified the ways in which we listened by bringing together a multi-disciplinary team, and by placing individual problems in their social context. We could initiate discussions and consider non-medical solutions. It was like coming off Valium.

Françoise: You were more in favour of these collective solutions than I was, and I also insisted on places of isolation. There are times when you're forced to be anonymous when what you want (or need, even if

you don't want it) is something collective; but at the same time there's so much pressure from the institution that you always have to preserve the possibility of being alone and anonymous.

Gaëtane: When the centre was first set up, the psychiatrists objected that it had nothing to do with 'psy' and that the m2 for the dispensary could probably not be used for such a centre, which was closer to a social centre than a place for care or prevention. The doctors pulled out of the project.

Françoise: It was at this point that we felt it was necessary to restore a specific place for psychiatry in relation to planning and to employment. This was the third stage.

Gaëtane: When we told the psychiatrists that psychiatry had a profit-making and consumer function too, they were furious and cried foul: psychiatry wasn't a commodity but something very specific! ... For the children's sector, they planned workshops where the psychiatrist and nurses would have to be present (because there really are kids with real problems), but without declaring themselves as such. This was the 'de-psychiatricising' trend, with the idea of 'spinning off' people, because if they don't come of their own accord, it's because psychiatry scares them. For us, there was no question of trapping people in this way. We said: this will be a psychiatric institution, a collective of carers and cared for; there will be people paid for positions. And since we were very keen on the idea of being able to discuss everyday problems that do not necessarily require psychiatric intervention and medication, but simply complete information, we solved the problem by saying: there will be psychiatric nurses, and if there is no permanent post for a lawyer or for the planning department, there will have to be a collective budget to be able to call in outside people for so many sessions if necessary, to be invited for such and such a period; in this way we avoided the back and forth from one counter to another that existed before. And, in fact, when it came to programming, we real-

ised that this budget trick could not be included in the programme brief and that, once programmed, the centre would become an ordinary psychiatric institution.

(...)

Madness? Never heard of it

Françoise: We were really passionate about this thing. Today, it's difficult to recapture that passion.

Gaëtane: Are you referring to our discussions about retail psychiatry and the SPK?¹⁰ There was indeed a passionate side; but passion and ideology go hand in hand! I think that somewhere we came up against the problem of madness; we wanted to do away with madness. Remember what the psychiatrist from Ville-Evrard said: we doctors want to treat madness, not delinquency; they send us all kinds of deviants to the hospitals.

Françoise: You and I, no doubt at different levels, had something to do with madness. We were not programmers. Among them we represented the 'left' and I perhaps even more than you. Many of our concerns revolve around the field opened up by anti-psychiatry. There is a discourse that says 'madness doesn't exist', and another (SPK or not) that says 'self-management by the mad'. We've tried to purify and define this irreducible core of madness, starting from the assumption that madness doesn't exist.

¹⁰ Translator's note: SPK stands for 'Sozialistisches Patientenkollektiv', which translates as 'Socialist Patients' Collective'. Founded at the University Clinic in Heidelberg, Germany, in 1970, the SPK wrote the 1972 manifesto *Turn Illness into a Weapon*. See 'Le SPK Collectif Socialiste de Patients' in *Recherches 11*, pp. 151-157.

Gaëtane: It's true that we worked on the modalities of refusal. But to say that madness is produced by institutions is a pipe dream. Even if we say 'madness doesn't exist', we've nevertheless taken its existence as a starting point. It makes me think of crèches: it's not by talking about the kids that we'll change anything, but by talking about the fantasies that parents, aunties or psychologists have about the kids: the pleasure that aunties have in changing, feeding the kids, their relationship with the children's secretions... But the child is the great absentee, or the great unknown.

Françoise: The institution of the crèche only exists because there are children: but perhaps it's impossible to think about children directly, without going through the institution of the crèche. On the other hand, that's not true of madness, at least not since the SPK. The SPK is precisely the irruption of a voice from the place of madness. The SPK is as if babies were saying: "We too have things to say about crèches, we can talk about them, we can change them"! Institutional psychotherapy says that it's the whole institution that needs to be treated, not individual patients. We didn't have the same past as the people at CERFI, and we were closer to another current: anti-psychiatry. We wanted to take up this cause again, to oppose the dominant ideology, to move from the mad as object to the mad as subject. For me, the difficulty was therefore to identify the irreducible in each of us, which always escapes needs, which cannot be reduced to the institutional modelling (when we say: needs are produced by the institution). Since, moreover, we are certainly not talking about natural needs, what is this irreducible, and how is it produced? In any case, we wanted to tackle the problem of madness. But why? No doubt for personal reasons.

You have to be blind to be a programmer

Gaëtane: I wonder if for us programmers, talking about madness doesn't become completely imaginary. Isn't the trap of programming to speak in people's place? In this case, in the place of 'mad people'? Programming has to follow a completely different approach to that of the team working in the ground: the latter is in a position to really question madness, insofar as it has a daily relationship with madness, it works with it, or even on it. I remember, for example, the problem of mothers in hospitals. We dreamt of a sort of psychiatric hotel where children could stay with their mothers in hospital – a sort of open crèche inside the hospital. This seemed to us to be much better than home hospitalisation, which doesn't get people out of their problems. We'd been led to this dream by a meeting with a social worker from Neuilly-sur-Marne; she'd told us a lot about mothers who'd been in hospital for a fortnight and who, when they got out, found themselves with the children, the housework, the shopping – in short, all the problems that usually led to a new admission to hospital. While the mother was in hospital, the children were taken into care, when she returned, they returned; when she left, the children were placed with a new family. So, the way the mother was treated was causing problems for the children. Mentioning all these problems makes me think that, to programme an institution, you have to be completely blind, not see anything, or not know what's going on. If you start to get involved in life, the job of programmer is no longer possible, because all these problems won't be solved by a single square metre of anything!

Françoise: But the role of programming is to bring out these kinds of problems: the problems of kids being carried around, of mothers who have to go into hospital because they can't stand the washing-up, the husband, the kids, the metro-work-sleep routine. Is it the job of an organisation like CERFI to make people like our partners in the new town, who don't want to know anything about it, understand that it exists, or is it to do what everyone else does – not deal with it?

Gaëtane: Knowing how institutions work (hierarchisation, regulation, rejection, confining staff to certain roles), isn't being a programmer to leave a minimum of room for manoeuvre in the institutions so that the kind of things we've heard can be listened to?

Françoise: I think it was on the day of the visit by B. ..., a psychiatrist at Ville Evrard, that the drop-in and information centre fell out of my desire. There was an old guy in blue who came to pee every 35 seconds, obviously to draw attention to himself and to get something going around his exposed cock. I said to myself that if a guy like B., who is young and active, doesn't get into this kind of trouble, it means that he's got the measure of his abilities and that he can't get into these problems, but it also means that nobody can. You can't, from the position of programmer, go in there, be an eye, an ear and at the same time say that everything is an insurmountable mountain. The guy opposite B., he only had that existence ... He didn't give a damn about the technical arguments: that the department was too busy, that B. had management duties at the hospital, that he was thinking about the sector. It seemed to me that B. had made a habitual contract with madness. I had the impression that there were problems that the institutional form would not solve. The desires I had for the centre were shattered during that visit. I became physically aware of the limits of what we could do. The psychological salvation was to say to myself that the only cool experiments would be SPK-type experiments, provided they didn't fall into the most boring militancy. After that I felt a bit like stepping aside, because what are we programmers doing here? That day was very hard. Everything that's reformist is fine, everything that's less policing ... but there are moments when you become aware of something irreducible.

The 'proletarian line'

Françoise: Faced with the public planning institution¹¹, which was constantly trying to cover up the fact that Noisy-Est would be the poor part of the city, one of our first reactions was to say: we're going to do something as nice for them as we'd done for the Piazza. We then found ourselves faced with a new contradiction posed by Mme de Chambrun, the PMI inspector for Seine-Saint-Denis, who warned against the risk of 'over-coding' the working-class population of Noisy-Est by installing psychiatric equipment there.

Gaëtane: That was one of the key points that triggered a whole series of visits, what about psychiatry with the proletarians? It was this, for example, that guided our discussions with the mayor of Neuilly-sur-Marne.

Françoise: When, in the 'proletarian line', we met the notables in between – the mayor of Neuilly, the mayor of Noisy, the people from Saecoma, etc. – we realised that, according to them, where there were the most mental health problems, there were the most social problems. For them, the map of madness overlapped with the map of the poorest people. From there we made a series of interviews, the aim of which was either to find the links between mental pathology and social pathology, or, on the contrary, to make sure that we didn't say that a delinquent was mad.

Gaëtane: I don't think we can continue to use this social pathology/mental pathology opposition. First, the merging of the 'pathological' with the social is an effect of medical imperialism. Secondly, we know

11 Translator's note: The original term is *Établissements Publics d'Aménagement*. These are the public organisations responsible for planning each new town. In this case, the EPA Marne.

that psychiatric hospitals, from their very birth, have been full of the destitute, vagrants, idlers... in other words, nomadism was bypassed as soon as the nomads were fixed, enclosed within walls. Afterwards, by turning the tables, it's easy to say that all these people locked up are sick, because they're in psychiatric institutions. The trick is done, the end has been mistaken for the cause, social 'pathology' has become mental pathology. We might ask ourselves what the social reasons are that the largest number of people with a mental illness are to be found in the most deprived areas. Whenever cause and effect relationships are established between mental pathology and social pathology, we forget that psychiatric facilities have continued to fill their beds with the marginalized, the 'good for nothing', the fallen, the social rejects. The result, for these people who have been through the psychiatric system, is that they are labelled 'mad'; it's inevitable and irreversible. Going to an asylum makes you 'mad'! And when you're 'mad', you have a privileged home for life. It's even funny that in legal texts, asylum can become the emergency home for people who no longer have a family: asylum replaces the civil home and, in this case, the family home.

We saw a mad world!

Gaëtane: I think what really bound us together was the attempt to put some sort of affective, meaningful element into the programming: we injected a bit of madness back into the programme.

Françoise: If the next stage of our work is the genealogy of Ville Evrard, it's a bit along those lines: restoring a dead body. It still has to do with living matter, and not the strategy of institutional networks of power. That explains the conflict that broke out between Hervé and I.

Gaëtane: At Évry, Hervé and Lion were driven by the desire to promote CERFI and to find out how the hospital, the DDASS, etc. worked. They had interests in common with doctors who wanted to promote

mental health. In contrast, we were both working on something completely different.

Françoise: Lion and Hervé had in mind to connect with the network of notables and the existing institutional network. We didn't try to fit into existing networks, or to 'place' CERFI within them. We looked for networks that worked, but not the notables. I understand Hervé and Lion's plan: if you want to keep an institution going, it's better to be recognised in institutional networks. If it's about something else, bringing CERFI to life on another level, then I don't think we made a mistake.

Gaëtane: We saw a lot of people: the mental health teams from the 16th sector in La Queue en Brie, the chief doctors of the 2nd and 4th sectors and their teams, user representatives in Noisy, the mayor of Neuilly-sur-Marne, the director of the Seine-St-Denis Department for Children with Special Needs, and the Youth and Sports Department. We visited day hospitals in Paris and almost got involved with the director of the Jourdan day hospital in meetings about psychotic and delinquent children.

Françoise: We didn't know how far we could extend our network of contacts: remember the huge meeting that took place at I...: all the representatives from *Enfance inadaptée* were there, from *Aide sociale à l'Enfance*, from the GAPP, etc.; this meeting was a turning point in the search for new relationships.

We stopped because, from the point of view of the CERFI 'body', it became an endless task. Did we make a mistake, or were we right? I don't know, but in any case, it's a big difference from the Évry group, which worked with a very small number of psychiatric specialists, whereas we've managed to build up a significant number of relationships that we could have developed further... We were afraid that we wouldn't meet the deadlines for the new town, but perhaps this is just a technical rationalisation that hides a fundamental problem. On the

other hand, the Évry team stopped us in our tracks: we shouldn't be working like this.

Gaëtane: Among all these people, we couldn't find anyone with whom we could work to continue the study. We saw people who were interested, but either we didn't have the time to continue developing and deepening the exchanges, or we made a mistake in selecting the people with whom we felt it was important to work. In retrospect, these relationships seem to me to have been ephemeral and somewhat futile. Not much came out of them – people were aware, perhaps interested in what we were doing, but they weren't involved. It was as if we had been looking for ways to involve everyone – individuals and institutions – in mental illness, and to enable them to deal with it. In the preliminary studies, this led to theoretical flights of fancy about mental illness, its treatment, asylums and madness (the sector doctrine, psychiatric localisation, psychiatry and commercialisation).

But perhaps there was another reason: because we hadn't been able to get people really involved in the working groups, and hadn't been able to develop an effective mental health policy, we were obliged, to fill the void, to give free rein to our personal (and academic) theorisations, which had nothing to do with the study we were asked to carry out. There was a discrepancy between the practical effects we were asked to achieve – setting up a network, programming facilities – and our drift into mental illness. In practical terms, we both did the work, but our contacts vanished into thin air. Our attempts to get non-psychiatric institutions interested in the problem were poorly carried out because we didn't have a strategy. You can get anyone interested in anything. You can get anyone interested in anything. Engaging and getting people involved in an institutional production requires more rigour and authority in the undertaking. As far as criticism was concerned, it was all right, but we fell short of what was needed to propose something practical, to really promote institutions.

Françoise: In the field, we weren't at all metaphysical! We found out about people's practices and problems. We listened. The result of listening was that we got involved in a lot of new issues. We opened up many new avenues, but we didn't have the time to go all the way, given the time we had. The work we embarked on was to be carried out over a very long period of time: if this had been the case, ideas and people would have emerged. For example, we didn't know which doctors would be appointed to the new town: how could we set up an institutional promoter if we didn't know who was going to train them? It took an incredible amount of time for this team to emerge, coming from different backgrounds but in agreement politically and affectively. If there had been more than two of us, we might have succeeded; it was just too big a task. What's more, there are two ways of working. On the one hand, the Évry group: they avoided a whole host of problems by putting together a team with the existing specialists. And ours: a bit like Gruyère cheese, the best and most important part is in the holes. Experts who have been here for a long time don't see everything. We were in the holes of the Gruyère; they were in the whole. I almost have the impression that the Évry report could have been done without doctors; the meetings served little purpose other than to serve as a guarantee. The Évry group was very happy to have Mrs Demay on the ground because she had an innovative project for children. But is that how it should work? But is that how it should work? It meant putting ourselves in a position to count on the chance of finding, in the team we were dealing with, someone with an innovative project. As for the rest, they relied on the weight of CERFI's past to get things done. What's more interesting: that a project for a children's centre comes out of a discussion with Dr Demay, or that it ends up coming out of discussions with other people who are not specialists in paediatrics or medicine, but have a part of themselves invested in these orders of things? When I disagree or criticise, I'm not being polemical. What I mean is that there are real disagreements which, instead of being dealt with by conversations, have been solidified by hostility.

What matters: the programme-brief

Gaëtane: One of the negative aspects was the programme brief. At the end of the day: square metres. All that could be included in the programme brief were communal rooms and a few offices! In the end, all our contacts were reduced to surface areas. Even if the preliminary studies generate discussion, in the end, only the programme brief counts. For example, we had debated at length the issues of the running and management of the Piazza walk-in centre, and proposed a flat-rate budget calculated on the basis of an overall assessment of salaries and the cost of activities; this budget was the condition for the existence of a permanent, living space for staff and visitors. This type of operation, financed not on a fee-for-service basis, but on a flat-rate basis, and paid for by Social Security or the DDASS, is possible, as it has already been done in Paris. The new town could have lent its support to this project, but nothing about the proposed method of operation transpired in the programme brief; we were told that it was important not to mention it in the programme brief, even though it is the document with which the new town submits its application to the DDASS: the essential points must not be mentioned, otherwise insurmountable difficulties would arise! The people we spoke to were adamant that management problems would be dealt with later, but with whom? Which body?

CERFI TAKES STOCK

This excerpt from a discussion on 29 September 1974 between Ariane Cotlenko, Gaëtane Lamarche Vadel, François Fourquet, and Lion Murard sums up many of the limitations of the short-term contracts given to CERFI, as well as highlighting significant tensions and divisions within the group in its approach to developing programming work. Fourquet and Murard, who had played a dominant role in the first New Town (Évry), would eventually become less involved, as they were also involved in the Genealogy group, which developed a theoretical and historical overview of collective equipment. Although it was clear to CERFI that their participation was being instrumentalised, the group did not seem prepared to think through institutional analysis in a context where most of their partners did not want to participate in a collective process. The short duration of the contracts made it even more difficult to develop alternative strategies.

Ariane Cotlenko, Gaëtane Larmarche-Vadel, Lion Murard, and François Fourquet (by order of appearance in the text), 'Le CERFI fait ses comptes?' *Recherches 17 Histoire de la psychiatrie de secteur ou le secteur impossible?*, March 1975, Excerpts: pp. 447-458. Translation by the authors.

Ariane: There is a fundamental issue here: what kind of work has the new town offered us, and how have we responded to this offer? We could take Marne-la-Vallée as an example. For me, the final result of Marne, what will remain, is not at all our first reports, i.e. the pre-reports, but it is, in spite of everything, the programme brief, and therefore a certain use of the programme brief. When our work becomes instrumental, it's reduced to square metres, vague operating guidelines that are in danger of disappearing because we have little control over the elements, and we haven't passed the baton to anyone: which means that we have no control at all over the actual use. So, what's the point of having done all this preliminary work?

Should we continue programming?

Gaëtane: In Sector I of the Marne, we proposed a new institution for the new town, to be programmed and managed by the A ... team, and the new town is pulling us back into the *Centre de la vie enfantine* as already programmed in sector II! Once we've done one or two programme briefs, they ask us for a series! The request from Marne-la-Vallée and Melun-Sénart is much more restrictive than that from Évry in 1972: there was never any thought of developing a mental health policy; they want square metres, and at the end a programme brief so that the DDASS can finance the planned equipment. I don't think we could short-circuit this very specific request.

Lion: I think you're absolutely right. At Évry, there was no one who was in a position to read what we were saying; in other words, we had, to a certain extent, *carte blanche*, whereas at the New Town you had specific partners who knew what they wanted, and who were at a much more advanced stage in the programming.

Ariane: In Marne, it was clear, we were told very well: the justification for our report was to give the new town some leverage over the administrations. In Melun, it was even clearer: there had been con-

flicts between the new town, the national education authority and the town hall over previous school groups. They brought in a vaguely specialised research consultancy (us!) – but in the end they weren't so interested in us being skilled – what they wanted was a neutral platform from which to ask questions and negotiate. This became clear on the last day when they said to us: "We're very happy with you. It's not so much your report that interests us, but the fact that you've broken the deadlock in our dealings with the administrations". And it was true!

Gaëtane: What the new town is constantly asking us to do is to note down the ideas of the administrative partners, classify them and bring them out again. But in this dossier on mental hygiene in sector I of Marne-la-Vallée, which I did with Françoise, and which goes in all directions, we escaped a little from this role of passive scribe: first of all, at the start, we had no idea what programming was, and secondly, I think it pissed us off to no end. What saved us was our profound boredom, our lack of seriousness about programming. And I think that in that respect, Ariane, you're much more serious about your work than we were. But now, in the second contract that's currently being negotiated, that's what they're asking us to do: programme the 'psy' institutions one after the other. There's no question of it: we're certainly not going to make a children's centre ... well, I don't think so! It would bore us to death! The other side of the coin is that sometimes we're seen as not serious enough, not straightforward enough, far too theoretical.

Ariane: And yet, in Marne, one of our interlocutors within the Public Planning Institutions¹² went so far as to defend us to the Director of

12 Translator's note: Public Planning Institutions or *Établissements publics D'aménagement* were the organisations in charge of each new town. In this case, EPA Marne-la-Vallée.

EPamarne, saying: “the people they deal with on the ground are very happy with them; they may not be doing their job as programmers, but they’re obviously doing something because the people they deal with are very happy with them”. And it’s as if he’s saying to us this time: “We’re paying you to do programming. Do something else if you want”, but this “something else” has a certain value. Whereas we were happy with ourselves because we were programming!

Lion: It seems to me that you’re presenting an alternative that’s a bit too closed. You say: either you’re a programmer, you produce a programme brief, and then you’re caught out because you’re in the field of demand (that’s roughly the example of CERFI in Melun-Sénart). Or, we don’t respond to demand, provided that we satisfy our partners, generally by untangling the knots that have been woven between the new town and the authorities, or the local municipalities, or the local psychiatrists (this is, I think, what we did in Évry). But you’re forgetting one thing, and that’s that if we’re called in, it’s always implicitly to avoid meeting the demand: at Évry we were given carte blanche, but even at Marne, it was accepted that the contract was just a piece of paper, that we would of course have to give a technical presentation of our activities at the end of the day, but that’s not what we were paid for.

A collective that survives our intervention

Ariane: You have to differentiate between two levels. Either the programmers are technical experts who draw up programmes and use their technical skills to do so; or they are simply negotiators, in other words a neutral party who puts forward programme briefs on behalf of the new town to the authorities. But it’s all the same: whether you emphasise the technical consultancy side, or the meeting moderator side, it’s all the same, it’s always a matter of passing on the new town’s proposals. So, it’s not interesting. But there may be other things that suggest that we could have a different role, that we could be part of a chain that allows some really great things to happen, but it’s always

as if it's completely temporary. You have to see the limits of this kind of operation ...

In Melun-Sénart, we met a group of *bonnes femmes* who were a bit like us. They'd had husbands and children around the same time and had set up a housing cooperative, a collective thing for the kids, a sort of half-life community (meaning there were several couples in the same house, or couples and singles). They'd set up their cooperative in Melun-Sénart and wanted to do some pretty cool things; they said: "we're going to do a Mlac, we're going to do women's groups, we're going to do things for children, etc.".

It was the new town's programmer and animator who introduced us to them. We talked about children and said: "There's some free square metres in the social centre, if you ask for them, you could get them" And they did, with a house to go with it. At that point, something very interesting happened: we could have tried to use these women as partners for the childcare centre – even if it wasn't an institutional partner in the sense that the PMI is a partner, but in the sense of a lively and fun group.

But very quickly the conversation turned to this: "Do you really want to have square metres in the social centre? Because you'll be able to do things, but it can't be an Mlac! If you want to do abortions and women's meetings there, you're sure to have the PMI on your back very quickly. To do that, you'd need a very special situation: another mayor, local support, to be able to play the game of *equipment drift*". We basically told them: "Get out of here! If you want to have free square metres, you have to bear in mind that someone has to pay, and that in the end, that someone will make the law, whether it's the PMI or the Ministry of Education". The discussion continued, and one of the women ended up saying: "In the end, I don't know if we want to get involved in running a children's centre, because it's going to take all our strength". And that was that. When she said that, I completely agreed. Why throw these great girls into a job of running a facility where they'd have to fight with the Ministry of Education, with the PMI, with everyone else, for a limited result? If we'd been inside the

equipment ourselves, it wouldn't have been at all the same; but here, we were advertising it!

Gaëtane: To do anything meaningful, you'd have to have long-term contracts. But here, with one-year contracts, you see people for four months, you start to build a team, and then it's over! You don't even know what happens to the relationships you've made; you've just created some equipment, you've seen some nice people, etc., and when the contract is up, it's over: it's all very limited and not very motivating. There are ways around it, for example, in Marne-la-Vallée we are planning equipment for a possible team, ours, that would set up there: we are sure that if it works, it will work for ten years, so it's worth investing in it. But if you know that it's going to take four months no matter what, that you're going to shake everything up in the new town, in the psychiatry, and that after four months it's going to be over and you're going to pull out all your chips, then it really does take on a ridiculous, ephemeral character. We change situations and then we don't take responsibility for the effects of our interventions. The machine starts up again with nothing dynamic to support people and continue working with them. The feedback from our interventions is generally quite poor: when we leave, things don't always go well.

Ariane: I'd go even further. In Marne-la-Vallée we met a really nice woman who, after our intervention, offered to take over the management of a day clinic – in fact, to help run the children's centre. She said: "I'm interested in psychiatry, but if I do this, it's more to develop new relations with the children and to do other things". And yet ... Every time I'd come back from a conversation with her, I'd have this idea in my head: she really is a social worker; she's a great woman, political, intelligent, dynamic and all that; but somehow it just didn't stick. We could play the game without any ulterior motive: that was *her* game, in a certain relationship with the administration, the State, and on that ground, our positions are the same. But she's still a social worker, with all that that entails in terms of "serving people", "I'm

doing this *for the kids*". It's the same line as the administration: it's about improving the equipment, not 'drifting' away from it.

It's nicer equipment, but it's still equipment, it's the same thing. The women in the Melun-Sénart cooperative were on a completely different register. Somehow, they were out of the loop. It wasn't about service, they weren't social workers, it was their own thing: nice, well-dressed women who knew each other well and seemed to enjoy themselves... Well! That was different! And there, we didn't allow ourselves to get involved, we really didn't try. Whereas for the other woman, it was so much about the equipment itself that there was no problem. She's a very nice lady: there were strikes in her sector, she got involved, she sided with the strikers and so on. At the same time, her way of working is similar to ours. Because we are also part of the equipment system: in Marne-la-Vallée we were completely part of it! Maybe not when we submitted the preliminary report, but after that we started discussions with the supervisory authorities in the working group. They asked for changes and we worked with the architects, discussing square metres and spatial organisation. Until then, we might have thought we were somewhere else, but from then on, we were really the technical appendage of the public planning institutions!

Is the New Towns group subordinate to the New Towns?

Gaëtane: We were simply a small research bureau, we weren't able to change our way of relating to the new town: for example, was it possible to refuse to divide the psychiatric programme according to the division of the new town into sector I and sector II, and to propose innovations in mental health? To do that, we would have had to completely change our attitude towards the new town.

That's why we tried to restart the *Recherches*' meetings, to try to come up with a policy for mental health in new towns. But we couldn't do it: our own meetings (within the New Town group) always ended in failure. The group was a shambles. There was a problem here: we agreed to respond to the demands of the new town because we were

helpless, because we were weak, because we had no real strategy. So, we filled in the little box that the new town asked us to fill in. That's where the criticism comes from, that we only wrote the programme, that the programme was boring, etc. There was never any group politics, there were never any innovative ideas for Marne-la-Vallée, there was never any reflection on our relations with the new towns.

Lion: There was one given fact: the organigramme of the new city. From the outset, it was clear to our contact in Marne-la-Vallée that we would have to set up the entire mental health network for the new town, without taking into account the divisions of the new town (sectors I, II, III, etc.). The legal contract may have been formulated in terms of separate programme briefs, but the actual contract was clear: to develop a single mental health network for the new town. In reality, however, we had not one but two partners, corresponding to Sectors I and II of the new town; we encountered a real division of power and competences.

François: That's true, but the real problem was our own inertia and weakness. We weren't able to set up a coherent think-tank for the new town as a whole, linked to what we were doing in Évry. In fact, we sent Gaëtane and Françoise off to do their thing in Sector 1, left Ariane alone in Sector II, and that was that. The fundamental problem was the fragmentation of the New Towns Equipment Group, not that of the New Town!

Lion: But for a long time, we acted as if we really wanted to set up a mental health network in Marne. We thought in terms of the unity of the network. At a certain point, it all fell apart, so we did a balancing act by writing things like this (in the presentation of the pre-programme for area 5): "Since the mental health network doesn't exist, let's reverse the approach and start with the equipment already planned". And that's when we got stuck in the children's centre in Area 5. It was crucial: we completely dropped the ball on building the

network. I don't disagree that it was a failure on the part of the group, but I'm trying to say how that translated on the ground, in the programming process itself.

Gaëtane: But everything had already been set! Those were the days when Ariane would pull you by the sleeve and cry for someone from the Évry group to come and work with her. Even then, it was only for area 5 and not for the whole network of the new town! We were at our wits' end when it came to your research in Évry!¹³

Ariane: I agree with Gaëtane on what she says about the life of the group, but already on another level, there was complete disagreement between the people in the group on what they were doing. Personally, I don't explain Hervé and Lion's absence from Marne by the fact that it bothered them. For what was bothering them? Was it the group? I'm not even sure. It's too easy to say it was because the group wasn't working. Of course there was dysfunction in the group: we sent people from the group to the corner, but that's not important. What's

13 In a conversation with Françoise, Gaëtane also said: The work we did in Marne-la-Vallée was very different from the approach of the Évry group. The differences were due to a number of factors: the composition of the groups, the people we were dealing with, the nature of the contracts and the relationship with the New Towns. Although there was a equipment group for the new towns, once CERFI had several contracts with the new towns, there was no longer a working group but three duos, for Évry one (Hervé and Lion), for Marne-la-Vallée two (Françoise and Gaëtane for sector 1, Ariane and Franck for sector II). The pairs working in Marne had in common that they were beginners in programming and that they were 'new' or uninitiated in the politics of the CERFI in general and in the field of mental hygiene in particular (with the exception that Françoise shared part of her militant past with the members of the CERFI and that Ariane, who had no past, had worked for the CERFI for a year). The two from Évry benefited from their position as 'older' members of the CERFI, from their experience and knowledge. From the outset, the dismantling of the teams set in motion a process of control and dependency, of criticism on the one hand and retreat on the other. War was not declared between Évry and Marne-la-Vallée; it was implicit, freezing or poisoning all relations within the group (28 September 1974).

much more important is that, somewhere along the line, we said to ourselves: "This isn't our fight!" It was never expressed in words; it remained at the level of a feeling. Why didn't we return to the *Recherches* meetings? Why didn't we seek support at national level? Because somewhere along the line we felt that it wasn't our fight. The mental health network wasn't real, there was no real investment in it. We had to write something, so we kept the CERFI ideology at arm's length: "We're going to set up a mental health network and you'll see, my friends, if we haven't managed it yet, we'll take it up again in another way!" But it was already completely rigged, it was all in the superego.

François: Agreed. There was no real investment in psychiatry, not even on the fringes of psychiatry (the fantasy of the Évry therapeutic communities). But there's a problem: why should the life of a group be determined by its object? It doesn't have to! We could very well imagine – and this is the whole game of life – both a radical scepticism about psychiatry, in the sense that what we really want is no psychiatry at all, that is, a detachment from the object, and at the same time a kind of life or game of the group that makes us do things without believing in them, with detachment: A group capable of not being determined by its object, capable of identifying its own determinations, capable of initiatives, even initiatives of the type: since we can't really set up a pilot network for mental hygiene, let's do some kind of event, let's do a piecemeal experiment, let's hold research meetings, let's do something that will generate impulses either within CERFI or with our (marginal or not) contacts in the new towns. So, it's possible that our object was not interesting in itself, but that doesn't explain why the life of the group led Gaëtane and Françoise to get lost in sector I of the Marne, Françoise to leave under implausible circumstances and Ariane to get stuck in the famous 'box' imposed by the new town, only to be singled out in the CERFI. There is no causal link between these two levels.

Problems of power and orthodoxy in CERFI

Gaëtane: But at this level it's the CERFI you're talking about... When you read the Évry report, you feel a kind of weariness: in meetings with hospital directors, the DDASS, etc., the CERFI is there, but not allowed to speak. On the question of power in relations with CERFI's partners on the ground, there must have been a great disappointment. It shows in the report. How could you expect Hervé and Lion, who were over-invested in their position of power, who saw themselves relegated to a kind of neutrality in Évry, to want to go straight back to another new town without a break, without being able to draw any conclusions from their work in Évry, without being able to devise a strategy that would enable them to regain power? But that's where their investment had been. They had worked like crazy, day and night, they were nowhere to be seen, they had gone to the countryside to write, and suddenly they had to lead a new group, even though they had been very disappointed with the way things had gone in Évry?

You're completely questioning CERFI when you talk about the determination of contracts: in all contracts, it's power, it's recognition that has to be won every time. That's what CERFI lives for. At the moment, we're so dependent on the contracts that come our way that we don't have any ideas other than those generated by the contracts. We're dependent on the production of ideas, and we're also economically dependent - with the current economic crisis, salaries have to be cut, people have to be let go. So, the group life is really taking a beating! We're just surviving! We only think in terms of scarcity. That's a huge problem at the moment: we have to redefine ourselves in relation to the 'institutional', we have to redefine ourselves in relation to all the grids that are just imposed by contracts: we're no longer able to be dynamic, active, to think outside the box. Not everyone is bored, some people have ideas, but we talk about them in the corners, it's impossible to talk about them at CERFI. Félix and Deleuze produce things that are more or less included in the contracts, but there is never any theoretical discussion about the works that are produced.

In the tender for the Ferme du Buisson in Marne-la-Vallée, where it could have been very interesting to propose experimental teams, we only managed to do medical things. Our past. The institutional and the medical. I don't think we came up with anything. It's said everywhere that there's a kind of fatigue, that people want to do something other than contracts (which are not as good as they used to be). It seems that people want to start doing things that we've never done before. We can't produce the event that triggers the energy in everyone's pocket. We'd like to, but it's just not happening.

Lion: We're becoming a bit mechanistic and simple-minded by attributing to Hervé's and my disinvestment (which I think is true) a role of original fault, of failure at the outset. You can turn the question around: it could just as well have been that another group emerged at that point. But it didn't.

Ariane: Why didn't we form another group? But that was out of the question! Not for a second! There was a fantastic puritanism in the Equipment group, and not just a power thing. What we were doing in Marne-la-Vallée or Melun-Sénart was wrong. We came up against this idea of "I represent (... I don't know what...) orthodoxy", which absolutely prevented us from speaking in a collective name. If we spoke in that name, we were usurpers, and deviant usurpers at that. More than that: usurpers on a different path, using the collective tricks of the CERFI for risky and disgusting purposes. So, it wasn't just a question of power games, but something unspoken and even more fundamental, which was that what we were doing wasn't right. You could write a history of the Marne and Melun-Sénart on this subject. Fantastic. It's not very interesting, but still: it was a machine-gun affair. They're waiting for you at the crossroads. And we're always waiting for you. By any means necessary. Fabulous stuff. I had the impression that everything was on the line, arguments of all kinds (but it's not interesting, it's unproductive). There was never really a chance to speak without partiality. Never. And that's the case for all the people

who are not in the dominant spheres of CERFI. If someone says: "We need to talk about this at the meeting on Tuesday", someone will immediately say: "You know very well that we can't talk at the meeting on Tuesday"¹⁴

Gaëtane: It's a bit like a theatre, with theatre rules; everyone has their place and we're a bit behind the scenes. But when we talk about the dominant spheres, we make it out to be something homogeneous, whereas I think that people don't really agree on their position of dominance; they themselves have problems, they themselves don't do

14 Here's what Françoise and Gaëtane said in another discussion, echoing Ariane's comments. Françoise: There are initiation rites in CERFI. There are few institutions or societies that don't have such rites, but why have the initiation rites taken such forms at CERFI and not elsewhere? I find it difficult to understand X's position... He conducted the initiation rites with a maximum of rejection. That's why I left. I remember that at the first meeting of the equipment group, there was an equal relationship between me and him because, although I didn't know anything about psychiatric planning or Évry, I knew a little about town planning: I could read maps, I'd been involved in drawing up a development plan for a new town, the terms were familiar to me. Why did it go wrong? I don't know why. It had to do with skills, my obsessions (you can never know enough) and the different levels of interest between us. I took the initiative to leave, but I think it was he who expressed the desire to stop working with me. Things were a little different for you at first. When you arrived at CERFI, there was an attitude of rejection on everyone's part; I didn't like the way the rite was carried out with regard to you, especially as you had no guarantee of length of service or salary. I wonder why we worked together at all: maybe it was because they made life difficult for you, and I didn't like that very much. Then we were always criticised for working alone: but nobody ever came to work with us! So why all this criticism? Gaëtane: It's true that we were criticised for working alone, and the same criticism was levelled at Ariane and Franck for Sector II of the Marne-la-Vallée and for Melun-Sénart... It's strange: when you work alone, you're always judged by the quality of your report. About our report from September 1973, X... said that it was at the level of a high school diploma, or that it resembled a master's degree in philosophy. Ariane and Franck were accused of being technicians. But when there are many of us, when we look like a group, we can produce a shitty report: it doesn't matter; the group is judged on its existence as a group, on how it works, on its life... (28 September 1974).

what they want to do, they themselves find that situations are stuck. We mustn't take a pessimistic view of things, saying "there are no new forces" and so on. There are people who have a lot of energy in reserve and who are stuck in the dominant structure. They don't completely agree with the dominant position they have.

Ariane: X... doesn't leave any room for himself, so I don't see why he should leave one for me! You have to see: Félix intervenes, we change completely! Really, you can say white after saying black and vice versa in the space of ten minutes. Why would anyone outside the founding group accept that he could say something? There's no reason for it. It's orthodoxy, a completely over-motivated, moralistic thing.

Lion: What you're saying is a bit like the great melodrama etc.!

Ariane: But, Lion, we're not in the same position at all!

STATE RESEARCHERS?

This is a collective discussion that took place after the French state announced the termination of research by contract in the social sciences. After that, state funding for research could only be granted to those with a formal academic affiliation, either as part of the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS) or a university. CERFI's independence and existence as a collective were threatened. This debate involves many of CERFI's members and brings to the fore a diversity of positions as well as internal disagreements about what CERFI was and what its ambitions were. Although the 'professionalisation of research' could be seen by some as a positive step with benefits for researchers in terms of solving precariousness, there was general agreement that it would threaten their ability to involve non-professionals (non-academics) in research, and that externally imposed administrative hierarchies would threaten their libidinal approach to research. It is pointed out, however, that the threat posed by this move is less serious than what some believe is already underway through the group self-repression into which CERFI appears to be falling.

Anne Querrien, Michel Rostain, Claude Harmelle, Gérard Grass, Patrick Zylberman, Lion Murard, Olivier Quérouil, François Fourquet, Claude Rouot, "Chercheurs fonctionnaires?" *Recherches* 23, *L'enseignement. L'école primaire*, June, 1976, pp. 3-20. Translation by Joey Hornsby, reviewed by Susana Caló.

The same question – in research laboratories, in trade unions, in the corridors of government, in the papers – will researchers be brought into the fold of the State? There are rumours, there are grand claims. Until now, at CERFI, which might be described as a research laboratory, we have kept our distance; we have little desire to become functionaries of the state! Then, as the rumours grew louder, and offers of employment more concrete (and being, moreover, not unappealing), we discussed the matter amongst ourselves. Faced with these administrative propositions, it was necessary to talk about what mattered to us: the CERFI network, precarity, adventure, ‘experimentation’, or nothing at all...

The snippets of conversation that can be found in these pink pages¹⁵ are only the starting point for the conversation: whether, in research in the human sciences or elsewhere, to have still a little more, or less, of the State. This is not simply a problem for the researcher...

Anne: To begin with a decisive point, I’d like to emphasise that this issue of ‘fonctionnarisation’¹⁶ is the product of a conjunction between those currently in power and the communists that lead the researcher trade unions. If for those currently in power it’s a question both of budgetary reductions, and potentially the repression of certain intellectual currents, for the communists it’s about making research subordinate to the sector where since 1968 they have wielded power: the University. And since this seems very reasonable – for research

15 Translator’s note: This is a reference to the ‘Pink Pages’ section of *Recherches*, which was conceived as being devoted to, among other things, the collective life of CERFI and its internal organisational problems.

16 Translator’s note: *Fonctionnarisation* refers to the move to make researchers functionaries of the state (civil servants) and integrate them into the French civil service (*Fonction publique française*). In the absence of a direct translation of the term, we’ve translated ‘fonctionnarisation’ as the transformation of researchers into state functionaries, or as the organisation or management of research by the state when this was the primary intention. *Chercheur fonctionnaire* (as in the title) has been translated as state researcher.

to be in the university, the place supposed to have a monopoly on the transmission and production of science and culture – they leave that argument as winners. So, for them, as it stands, it is no longer a matter of obstructing the situation. Because beyond a few marginal groups, like ours, who is currently conducting social science research without first being affiliated to the University?

Michel: There are two distinct questions. The first is that of what's actually happening. Why, and how, all at the same time, are laboratories, research organisations, those who fund researchers, trade unions, etc., why and how are all of these together now agitating in favour of the permanent 'integration' of all researchers to the status of state functionary? That's the first question. The second, is – on this point – why and how this type of state functionary perspective doesn't really stick, as I see it, for the curious collective that is CERFI.

Anne: One of Félix's arguments is that our non-researcher friends will no longer be able to research with us. But can they really do so within the current structure of CERFI? If that's our principal argument, it's more a sign of the need to invent new structures, than of the importance of preserving the current contractual situation, which in fact has plenty of limits.

Claude H.: I'd also get the sack as a state researcher.

Anne: Not at all: you're on the list of "personnel paid from research funds pre-31 December 1975".

Michel: Imagine if that weren't the case.

Anne: But it is. Let's use real examples. Whose position is really threatened by this process of incorporation into the state?

Michel: That of CERFI as a collective entity. We'll come back to that. But even on the level of individuals or of sub-groups, look, for example, at the CERFI music group. Me, I'm known as a researcher, not as an amateur musician. But the others in the music group, they're known as professional musicians, not as researchers. And yet I would insist that high quality music research is only conducted insofar as it comes from musical teams of researchers, if I can put it like that, in other words if musicians become researchers for a time, and with researchers for that matter, and researchers become musicians. That's nothing so revolutionary. It could even be a clever technocratic position: that we should have practitioners who do research, and not just professional researchers. The same goes for health, crèches, etc. That's not anti-researcher *poujadisme*¹⁷, it's rather a reaction against the limiting constitution of researchers as state functionaries.

Anne: For us, really, it's about utilising research as an 'organic intellectual', to speak like the communists; it's about the innovative work, the transformation, the practical research, in the field and in action, taking place in every domain that interests us: social action, education, music, childhood, whatever – work that is led by practitioners.

Michel: Practices that are also the remit of those who have no category at all, who are unclassifiable...

Anne: What makes CERFI original is that it works with people who are not part of the research community. But we encounter enormous difficulties in doing so, in remunerating these colleagues properly. The leeway we had to do so is in danger of disappearing.

¹⁷ Translator's note: *Poujadisme* is a populist movement that emerged in France at the beginning of the 1950s, named after Pierre Poujade (1920–2003). It denotes support for revolt and protest, hostility to state taxation, and protection of the small man and small business. The term is more broadly used to denote a demagogic stance favouring small business, opposing economic and social change and anti-parliamentary discourse.

Michel: An example: in 1974, a year when there was plenty of work and cash around, there were nearly eighty people in receipt of CERFI money, which is to say probably around a hundred people who participated in our work in one way or another, or even who, having not participated very closely, still found themselves intimately brought into the network, which is to say that the dynamic of our work led to that result. It's not that we were rich, not at all, I don't know who calculated at the time that we in fact had enough money to employ 20 people full-time. But we made the work and the money circulate otherwise than they would in state-run structures. This is what would become difficult, it seems, in the new age that's being heralded, as it would be prohibited to compensate people without formal experience in research.

Claude H.: It's not so much that prohibition is the problem... it's the fact that it's a question of State logic. And that, as far as we're concerned, what we're aiming for, in some way, is the disintegration of the State.

Gérard G.: In the circuitry of state-monitored Education, they're trying to bypass the statutes of public service, as there are so many people who, once they have become functionaries of the State, become completely rotten and sterile. So, one has to wait until they retire, or one must find a way out, redeploy them, which the statutes of public service do not make easy. It's a problem for fluidity.

Anne: Yes, but there are also the contract workers, the masses of people in the public service who are contract workers, including some who are our partners in research. Though it's not always satisfactory. The hierarchy keeps them if it's happy with them, if not, it fires them, and they have no recourse.

Gérard G.: Using contract workers is a solution for the State, not for the contract workers.

Anne: Look, the contract workers are free, they're free agents, they can resign, take unemployment benefits, whilst for government employees, their resignation has to be accepted...Personally, in a way, I'm for maximum privatisation...

Claude H.: Isn't all of that a false dichotomy?

Michel: One mustn't throw around analyses that are too general, or not general enough. Let's talk about research and about CERFI. About the precariousness of research, in the sense not only that you never have a secure future as a researcher (one must always be looking for opportunities), but also that you are never really guaranteed to be in a position to do your work correctly. To bring this under state control would be to create the template for a being who would be forever able to do 'research' in human sciences in several areas. Let there be individuals who, at the end of their careers, would see that they had always been researchers. Let there be, in certain areas, time, years, needed to develop, advance and produce the field of research. But let it all be programmed in advance! ... Or if not, one could follow the university model: those with the most diplomas are those most well suited to the university. It's as simple as that. In CERFI there are probably people capable of adapting themselves to state norms of research. That's not 'wrong'. CERFI has probably used these very capacities. But not in order to shape itself forever as a research laboratory; we might be at any moment more with that programme, or not, we might prefer to do something else. And in truth, we've changed a lot, even in the few years between 1971 and 1976!

Anne: I also get the impression that those backing research in government administration, after an exploratory period of seeking people out, giving them fairly free rein in order to observe them better, now want to restrict those they have selected to a territory that they control.

Patrick: Yes, but we mustn't forget that the state organisation of research is also a university-isation, which is to say that the labs will be linked to universities, or something like that. University presidents have made a statement of intent in saying that it was a scandal for research to completely escape the remit of the university, which is true for the moment. People harnessed all their lives to one task, or to one speciality, that's the university. "Oh, you were a health researcher..."!

Claude H.: In the DGRST¹⁸ there's an incentive clause to work with young academics.

Anne: This current incentive clause will become obligatory, I think. You won't be able to have a research contract unless you contribute to the development of young researchers, and you won't have the right to develop young researchers unless you are a university professor, or in any case have a university professor as the scientific supervisor of your research. It's truly the institutionalisation of the senior civil servant class. All of this is also because of the unions' demands; poor doctoral students, they're dying of hunger, that's why they haven't finished their theses, they have to make a living somehow, so we must give them 2000 francs a month and make them work in research to justify this allowance. I don't think that necessarily means that they'll get good training; they'll be used for the tasks that bore the senior researchers - fieldwork, transcription, etc. A very effective way to produce additional hierarchy within fields of research.

This is exactly what seems most important to me, about the way CERFI works: the absence of a real hierarchy, even if some people are nominally more responsible, better paid, etc. In fact, we redistribute, we're flexible. It's moreover this capacity for flexibility, which

¹⁸ Translator's note: DGRST – *Délégation Générale à la Recherche Scientifique et Technologique* (The General Delegation for Scientific and Technological Research) was a governmental institution set up in 1961 with the aim of improving the organisation of scientific research.

we have always had, that makes me not so fearful of the integration into the state.

If certain amongst us, within a structure, are paid 6000 francs a month, they'll be able to contribute the difference between these 6000 francs and what they currently receive less tax to the CERFI fund. Fundamentally it's the fact that none of us earns more than between 3000 and 4000 francs a month that allows us on contract to finance our non-researcher friends and colleagues. Undoubtedly, it's more difficult to put money back into the pot individually after having received a salary, rather than this money being collectively deducted at source as it is now, but it seems possible to me.

We must also note that the politics of public administration is not identical everywhere. At the same time as we're talking about individual integration, the DGRST is proposing programmes of action to teams engaged for a five-year period, with, true, the limiting clause prohibiting full time payment of those who weren't yet researchers on 31 December 1975. There are administrations that don't follow the same rules; Liane is completely free to manage her contract with the CAF¹⁹ as she sees fit.

Michel: Yes, but perhaps in five years that won't be the case anymore. I have a lot of faith in the pervasiveness of administrative logic. One layer of management, and then another...

Anne: And another thing, don't we face the same problem collectively as do individual researchers? Aren't we looking for a sort of financial guarantee from the few administrative teams with which we have relationships, since after all it's so tiring to keep pitching what we do, to diversify our sources of funding; and aren't we also falling into

¹⁹ Translator's note: *Caisse nationale d'Allocations familiales* (Family Allocations Office) was the government office that organised benefits for families and carers.

a certain dependency? Can we avoid doing so if we're always dipping into the same pockets? In order to function, we need a minimum level of turnover that implies this diversity, otherwise sooner or later we'll have to compromise with our financial backers. There aren't just public finances, we could also go after private investment.

Michel: I'd prefer that we talk above all about our way of working. You're right to say that it's necessary to look for funding but if the process of becoming State functionaries is underway in a few years, it will affect all the backers. And in fact, we've never succeeded in dipping our toe into the private sector.

Claude R.: The CERFI Anne's talking about is that of years past.

Michel: On the contrary, it's more that of the years to come.

Claude: We're thinking too exclusively, in this discussion, from the perspective of research, and of our financial backers' perspectives on research; while what's at stake is the question of how we would like to work, what we would refuse to do, to endure, how we would try, a little, to subvert things...You said just now we get 3000 francs for ourselves, the other 3000 are for our colleagues; that was true last year but is less so now, because the other 3000 francs is the cost of the Fontenay house, of the Tuesday round tables, of the journal, of our strange taste for machines...There is a CERFI that's changed over a year, that changes all the time. *Recherches*, for example, doesn't just involve our friends, it's a journal above all, it's books...

Anne: Written by whom?

Claude R.: By everyone.

Anne: Not by everyone; by our friends.

Michel: We're finally getting to the important point. The journal *Recherches*, under a structure of state management, would no longer exist. Because the journal runs at too much of a loss (30,000 francs a year!).

Anne: We could absolutely make it exist some other way, if we put our minds to it.

Claude R.: ... there is a certain kind of *collective* work, where I wonder if it can exist under this new model...

Anne: Well, there I would really like us to speak plainly. What collective work takes place here, really? Of course there are interconnections across texts, across whatever, there's the frequenting of the same place where one wanders, one arrives, one leaves one's papers lying around, one reads those of others, one eats, one sees who comes and goes. All of that, this space, obviously we must maintain it, and see at what price it's possible. But collective work as such doesn't really exist, at least not on our research contracts. At a push there are pairs that come to work together, like Lion and Patrick. But often one writes alone, though of course while benefiting from the atmosphere here. Sometimes one delivers a contract with a series of texts stuck together - I don't call that collective work.

Michel: You're doing psychosociology, and you're not even doing it correctly!

Anne: What CERFI gives me could just as well be given by a voluntary association that would ask for a significant personal contribution, and I would give it.

Lion: I think that there are two distinct things, 'becoming a researcher', and our collective capacity to occupy a theoretical field, to develop an appropriate problematic. And paradoxically, it's when we are the

least behaving as 'researchers' that our impact in the field of research itself seems to me to have been the strongest. Let's look back, to 1971, to CERFI then – a great undifferentiated magma; I'm not unaware of the idiosyncrasies of that time, and notably the huge sterilisation, the immense wastes of energy, of time, etc. At least the proliferation itself of objects, fashion, video. etc., prevented us from taking ourselves for researchers. Even if we were acting as researchers, the place of research properly speaking was circumscribed, demarcated... and bitterly fought over. Add to that the relative undifferentiation of pieces of work attributed to one person or another – it's by chance, or more for the sake of the configuration of the group, that I put myself to work on collective equipment, and absolutely not for reasons of what I desired or from a personal 'will' – so much so that it was, I believe, as if there were guardrails blocking any fall back into a research career, into an identification as a researcher. And yet it's from this withdrawal, this refusal that we drew a power of negotiation, a collective capacity to impose our own themes for research – it was the time of 'genealogy',²⁰ for example – to fight on our own terrain rather than on that of the various public research organisations or committees that financed us.

Today, in the moment of polycentrism, of a CERFI divided into one, two, three CERFIs, with a common space and a journal, *Recherches*, as an organ of expression for a common thread, but otherwise autonomous, I notice first of all the reduction of our activities – apart from the music group – of our writing, and above all a kind of 'sociologisation' of this writing. No doubt it's a phase, a question of willed transition, but what worries me is that the move to make research a function of the state threatens us less in itself than in the fact that it accentuates and prolongs something that is already there, which is our own repression, our own absorption as sub-units by this or that public research committee, which now imposes its own programmes, its own themes on us, whereas it was different when we presented

20 No. 13 and 17 of *Recherches*.

something as a common front. Wrongly or rightly, I don't believe that the most serious threat is that of the promotion of "researchers" in CERFI, with everything this term implies on the level of social status, of self-image etc., but to stick to the field of research, it's the threat of a loss of our collective capacity to go on the offensive, to make an impact etc. We have rid ourselves of the myths of collective writing; at least the bits of research that are done here and there, that are scattered, they speak to each other; there were until now echoes, links, and in the end what came out would correspond more or less to a common current, would emerge from a network; and this was because we had no hesitation in thinking we were the dogs bollocks, in starting ambitious projects, in bluffing – but bluffing, it's above all bluffing yourself, forcing yourself to aim high. To speak more plainly, I find it somewhat of a shame to see, for example, François getting stuck on national accounting, Claude on road accidents, Olivier on sport, etc. How can we bring research of scope and stature back to life from such subjects?

Claude H.: What you're saying isn't totally true; for example, in the consultations for plan VII²¹, on accidents and transport, we really defined a field of research that suited us.

Michel: Lion's analysis resembles Anne's just now: very static, and limited in its interpretation. First of all, what's this moralising about collective work? There are people in CERFI who work in groups – sometimes important groups – and people who work alone or in pairs. One is no better or worse than the other. One wouldn't have said that two years ago, it's true. But we were still very militant then, very evangelical. We wanted the image of the 'collective'. Sure, there are those who work alone, or in pairs. But that's also an image. We must

²¹ Translator's note: The seventh plan (1976–80) was a governmental plan for economic development and growth in France, produced by the CGP – *Le Commissariat général du Plan de modernisation et d'équipement* (The General Commission for Modernisation and Equipment).

look closely at the connections, material and otherwise, that they maintain with the rest of the network. And then there are different patterns, different flows. One configuration will dominate for a time, for a few months; and then it changes. There's an alarm bell for me, and that's when I get the impression that we are clinging on to an old pattern. Over one year, all of CERFI's configurations, and I really mean all of them, have been reworked. What will things look like next year? There is enough precarity in the air – material, erotic, etc., to be sure that they won't look the same. And if things were too much the same, simply a bit older, no doubt that would be a real bore. Too much of a bore – instead of morality, life: I'll live like so, otherwise I'll live otherwise...

I'll say a few words on the music group's 'research'. It's a kind of CERFI all by itself, in the sense that in a way there's an entanglement (an inextricable one), a jumble of different levels: first of all, a musical level. That's a central object, of work and of pleasure. Then there is a theoretical level: research on the history of musical institutions, and on the musical profession. There's then, moreover, the question of management (of money, of venues, of instruments, etc.) And beyond that, lines of convergence, networks of musicians passing through, networks of friendship, love affairs. And attempts at musical creation. It's not that they always work. On the contrary, I believe that it's much more difficult to make music than to work in human sciences. You can't half-arise it. There's no place, long-term, for 'bad vibes'. And so, on the musical level, to say that it's a struggle is an understatement. But the theoretical work, its management and the management of money and material things, these are big and important matters. So, one can't be triumphalist, but for two years, there have been loads of great things in circulation, and loads of people (who would not, I think, have been able to circulate in the heavily centralised structure of CERFI in 1973, for example).

This group, its crowd, its common spaces, etc., that's a possible option, a provisory one. Alongside that, in CERFI there are groups that only consist at the moment, for example, of two researchers in a library.

Is that a bad thing? You'd have to be truly fanatical to say so now. Besides, what does it mean 'to work alone'? Are they so alone as all that? Do you know where it starts and where it ends? For example, would I be "alone" in running CERFI, on the pretext that so and so or such and such was missing? I know when I whine about this solitude: it's when I get stuck. I believe that collective work is much more subtle than these images of groups imply. Obviously, it implies openings, the opposite kind of opportunities than those of the statutes of public service.

Anne: If we no longer have the negotiating power Lion spoke of, it's because we haven't followed the programme that we ourselves put forward. We've fallen well short.

Michel: As soon as you start to negotiate you have it. I'm pitching again at the moment, so I know it well. People say to me: what you're talking about is exciting.

Anne: The music group is new relative to what we're talking about, and in this field the 'discourse of CERFI' is new. But elsewhere people are starting to not believe us when we say, as we did at the beginning of *Genealogy*: there are so many innovative groups hiding in our back-rooms, who will emerge if we only give them the means. In terms of experimentation, in Marne-la-Vallée as at CERFI it is clear, practically speaking, that we only have individuals deployed on each specific problem. In research that means we have people who read books at home or in a library, and then produce plausible chains of synthesis: a genealogy. And one feels, or at least I feel, so guilty for not adhering to the official ideology – collective work, work with practitioners, etc. – that one has the impression of doing something heroic or sacrificial when – again for me in the case of the report on the school – one does what one has wanted to do for 10 years. On the other hand, finding myself alone writing the report on Marne-la-Vallée, or on 'quality of life in marginal groups, international audio-visual inquiry'; a group eros would be indispensable to complete it. I haven't found it.

Michel: Lion was also dying to write. Fourquet was delighted... but some of our talk was taken at face value, and one can see now that we didn't live up to it.

Anne: And because of this our partners, when they see one sole person write a report intended as a collective work, they start to say to us: at the end of the day, you're no different than the others. In fact, they're mistaken, because we could never write what we write if we weren't plugged into a whole range of networks beyond research, that couldn't care less about what we call research, hence our disappointment: it's impossible to pull them towards us, one must approach the matter differently.

The dynamic of our loss of negotiating power comes from the so-called failure of Marne-la-Vallée, even though I, taking into account the possible follow-ups with Plan, DGRST, the journal *Parallèles*, etc., consider it more a success. But CERFI, strictly speaking, is completely absent from this success, if it's just that a range of things have proliferated around it.

Michel: Are these proliferations CERFI's 'accidents'? Aren't they exactly what we were expecting? And then... One believes one was going to study architecture, and one finds oneself making music and cinema... It's rather funny, isn't it? Moreover, architecture isn't excluded; Hervé is on it at the moment. And even where CERFI seems the most 'homogenous', with its emergent initial project in the sanitary and social sector, it's the 'proliferations' that seem the most interesting to me. Proliferations means structures, outgrowths, and configurations that are strange and unexpected. There are all sorts of group sectors of CERFI's work that can proliferate in an extraordinary fashion. That might equally not happen. But what's certain is that a whole heap of mutual constraints has disappeared from the interior of CERFI. And that people are adjusting spaces (collectively, as we said) to do what they want to do, rather than having to adjust who knows what in line with the collective of former years. Thus music, but the crèches just as well...

Anne: But when one has a real fundamental problem, like Liane did with the crèches, or like I did with the school, I believe one will handle it anyway, against all odds, in no matter what structure.

Gérard G.: The research we're doing is research that's fundamentally connected to the State. We interact with the State; we're interested in the problematic of the State. Are we interested in the State as researchers? Or we're interested in the state in the name of undoing the state - I think it's that...

Michel: ...the genealogy of systems of normalisation...

Gérard: The CERFI machine, the one we've put in place, is not a machine ready to be subjected to the State. That's why the turning of researchers into state functionaries would be to tread the opposite path to that we propose. It would totally shut down everything we have tried to do to evade the State grid.

Anne: Aren't we letting ourselves get totally taken in by a false image of working for the state? We don't have the slightest idea what its outcomes will be.

Gérard: Yes, I'll tell you: it's not just the guarantee of employment, it's much more insidious than that, it's a very precise system to prevent you from thinking.

Anne: Ok, but the guarantee of employment, I'm not so sure. That jobs are created does not mean that those who are at the top will have tenure. But the libido isn't only determined by the amount of cash you get and the way you get it - it's also a question of possible encounters, and for me it's that above all, whatever the origin of the living I make.

Michel: Well, there you're making some very clever savings. It seems to me that if I get 6000 francs from my employer it's not certain that I can control and take care of my own situation.

Anne: Clearly you can't do it unless a collective base like CERFI exists. That's also how we got by at the beginning, one would work elsewhere to make a living and CERFI was for the libido.

Claude H.: But CERFI won't exist anymore. With its collective expenses (office space, *Recherches*, etc.). It'll suck out 50% of our contracts if social costs are included. It's a huge amount of money.

Michel: Giving money that you receive individually from an employer is not the same thing as contributing as a group to CERFI, on a contract tendered using CERFI capital. And then, it's insanely precarious. The employer can demand more. When I was a journalist while working at CERFI, I was unproductive at the latter, bored out of my mind in general and I did nothing but burn money.

Anne: So, for you, civil service consists in making people stupid and sad?

Michel: I'm not saying that all state functionaries are stupid and sad, etc. That's yet more moralising. I'm saying that a bit more of the State, around us, within us, it's a bit more atomisation, more seriality... CERFI is pursuing the opposite direction in my opinion: a bit less of the State. I'd like this machine to be operational. Well, except for that of course, if I'm stuck, or even by desire, I might end up having to work in an administration, and even doing it well. But be sure that I'm marked as if by an illness: minimizing the State as much as possible = minimizing seriality, hierarchy, mundanity, bullshit as much as possible. CERFI or otherwise; it's not patriotism being engaged here, it's a question of networks and ways of being.... In a public administration it's more complicated, admit it...

Anne: Sure, if you're completely subjugated to it. But what would stop you from working in your lab and belonging to CERFI all at the same time, if the CERFI is maintained in spite of everything, as I propose, with a management system that takes account of peoples' very different statuses, which is not currently the case. Here we're hardly talking to anyone but those already working on a contract, and the approach to others rest leaves something to be desired. It's our own capacity for mobility that's implicated: if we're offered a shot within public administration, where else or elsewhere, were we capable of doing it? To be able to do so, we need to feel supported by this collective reference that is CERFI. And now this is already creating a problem. It's not a question of status. If this support existed now, it would still be possible for it to do so in a partially voluntary association, within which participants would have very different statuses. Ultimately, it's an entire network that must function like CERFI, and not like the current administrative committee, which the perspective of being made a functionary has effectively reduced to nothing.

Gérard: The state organisation of research will make the conditions of possibility for what you propose disappear. These conditions of possibility, amongst others include this base of research, this administrative committee. If they disappear, you'll really have nothing behind you anymore.

Michel: Gérard, you're moralising again; it's not bad to become a researcher, it's just one of those possibilities we've given ourselves.

Gérard: It would be completely removed... you wouldn't have an exterior force, what we used to call a structure of reference, you can't organise yourself, it completely shatters a network of organisation.

Anne: For me, CERFI is above all a reference group for an ensemble of very different practices, and not a homogenous social practice, iden-

tical, uniform, of clever researchers. And yet at the moment I find that it's limited entirely to clever researchers, to CERFI men, who deal with all contracts in pretty much the same way.

Michel: I don't think Claude's way of working has anything in common with that of François, nor with mine...

Anne: Individuals have different relationships with work, with writing, with theory when you look at it from the inside, from here, but the relationship with the *socius* is pretty much the same, is willed to be the same, as this discussion shows.

Olivier: What it is, is that seemingly, there's something that's worn out; the credo in which we buried ourselves, after 1968, which played upon a certain number of State positions looking to open a leftist door. All of that is worn out. So, the whole problem is of not being in a defensive position, of not being kept to the vacuole we used to make use of. The issue is exactly that of inventing other vacuoles...It's a bit complicated because what you're proposing, Anne, makes me think of freemasonry, parallel networks of people in different places. In the end, it doesn't matter which ones...

Anne: That's exactly what I think. The freemasons have had, moreover, a considerable social impact. Practically all the laws of the Third Republic were reviewed by them first of all.

François: I'd like to know if you hear the same thing in the reactions of other researchers, in particular those in urban research. Are they on board with the transformation into state functionaries out of will, out of resignation...?

Anne: The majority are in university labs, all at loggerheads with their bosses. They're only after one thing, to individually remove themselves from the structure they're in, in order to have peace of

mind in the structure that X or Y is offering them, to make their current contract situation with them permanent.

Michel: They don't have the advantages of working for the state and they have the inconveniences of it. Boring yourself to death without security of employment...

François: Do the researchers' unions accept to fight on enemy ground, i.e., from within the decision to become state functionaries?

Michel: Whose ground is that?

Anne: As a structure, the CSU²² has to some extent the same problems as us. It's a cooperative of people with very different qualifications. But there are many among them linked to the PS and bound by the trade union issue.

Michel: We're very much on the fringe.

Patrick: At the same time, you're forgetting something. I don't see a shared situation between CERFI and other laboratories... CERFI is also the *Recherches* journal, and a whole problematic, a kind of relationship of intellectual and political forces, and it's on this that people place their bets with CERFI, not on peoples' individual abilities, and that makes a position that's not marginal, but original compared with the others...

Claude H.: Right! The position of collaboration.

22 Translator's note: CSU was an associative research laboratory such as the CERFI.

Patrick: ...and that's from there we have to take our position in relation to the transformation of researchers into state functionaries For my part, I believe that CERFI is a certain number of intellectual and political projects, a problematic, it's *Recherches* insofar as it brings all of these together - but it's not individual abilities, it can't be that and if we ever get stuck in that terrain, it's the end of everything...We wouldn't even be able to maintain the journal anymore. The important thing is to keep *Recherches* going effectively, even if it's to make so and so or such and such integrate with the state.

Claude R.: I have researcher friends who do very well in getting contracts and who yet really want to do collective work exactly because even in the optimum conditions where they manage to get along well with Cordes²³... or I don't know what - they find, in the end, that it's pretty exciting and would be a lot more fun to do something that looks a bit like CERFI, and I think everyone has had that in mind since the beginning of the discussion.

Gérard: The research we're doing, it's involved in the State, what interests me the most is attacking the problematic of the State - not as a researcher, all in all it's a bizarre game - but being interested in the State to deconstruct it.

Anne: In fact, all in all, it's not our problem. We don't ask ourselves political questions like other researchers do. For us it's a question of keeping *Recherches* going by any means, and maintaining a collective space. If the old ways don't work anyway, we need to invent new ones, that's all there is to it. And such a position renders obsolete all politics pursued against us, because it sets itself up straightforwardly to annul the

23 Translator's note: CORDES - Comité d'organisation des recherches appliquées sur le développement économique et social (Committee for the organisation of applied research on economic and social development).

effects of the latter. It seems to me that in its current phase, CERFI is having a second wind regarding this articulation between research and micro-politics which has always been its project, because all sorts among us have invented original ways of approaching the problem, in different fields, whilst at the beginning we did our best to follow what Félix could breathe life into, we lectured ourselves all the time.

So, this story of transforming researchers into state functionaries, we mustn't take it too seriously. It's very incidental in relation to what we're doing. The networks we talk about as existing in advance of research, they are on the contrary in the process of being constructed through research: music, crèche, school, etc., and they won't stop being constructed because we change our professional status, because each of the problems we've chosen is too important to us. It's a bit as if all of a sudden one encountered a stop sign on a road one had been following. But it's at a crossroads, and one only needs to make a detour to continue on one's way. Taking all of that into account I continue to say to myself that if Tartempion offers to integrate me individually somewhere in a job that will leave me free time, all while paying me well, and that is provisionally interesting, I'll say yes.

Michel: Once again, individually, there's nothing wrong with that. I agree one thousand per cent that you, that I... above all if we need to cope. The question is a different one: if we have something to say - precisely before being obliged to cope - it's something else. The thing is, what interests us is having enormous room for manœuvre to publish recognised theoretical research and fundamental research like "Trois milliards de pervers"; you can't have one without the other. Being able to compensate, at the same time, well known researchers and those who aren't known at all. Idem. So, if the administration decides to designate amongst us the five or six that seem, I say, recognised or recognisable, and if we decide to demand to all be integrated, we'll be a bit out of the game.

Anne: That's no doubt true in the immediate term. But very quickly, when you work in the administration, you carve out new possibilities for yourself, holidays, little systems that allow you to give work to friends. The problem is creating a strong link with one's work. The only thing that interests me for CERFI, it's that we can finance the buildings, the food, the sheep, who knows what, the heaps of things that aren't salaries. *Recherches*, the house...

Claude H.: An issue to address right away, is that the regulation gets tighter and stronger more and more immediately. The contracts included in the DGRST's new job postings are more and more restrictive, and more and more one risks getting stuck.

Patrick: That's a global thing and it's inevitable; it seems logical to me from the perspective of the State to want to make controls more and more effective. Where are the administrations one deals with coming from? That matters as well, perhaps we can understand one another.

François: Their position also depends on ours!

Patrick: That's why I'm asking the question, because I had that impression. There could be a game to play there that doesn't only depend on the position of the general public administration.

François: This 'game' could be a really big deal. An administration can scheme with the administration, but that depends also on the intensity with which *we* want to play. We'll be less dependent on the administration to the extent that we find people to scheme with it and with whom we get less pissed off as regards the control, etc. The minister of the Cooperation, for example, had created an association, according to the 1901 law, to use public money and agree contracts outside of the rigid and narrow rules of public accounting controls. We're screwed if we accept the *fait accompli* straight away, if we die on the hill of integration. We could wage a great campaign, at the

minimum a text in which one would affirm that the move to turn researchers into functionaries of the State, it's all things considered the complete sterilisation of research in social sciences and that, in every way, we will continue to exist as we do, as CERFI, independent, whatever happens. That's the least we have to say!

Michel: To those who offer us, under the allure of an increase in security and I don't know what rationale, in fact who are offering us an increase of the State, we must say that what we want, it's less and less of the State. Including within CERFI, organisational reforms always go in this direction, to reduce the State, lighten it as much as possible. And that's not easy. And if we add ourselves to it...

François: I think it's dangerous to try and describe the way CERFI functions for the outside world. It's vulgar. We believe we're speaking objectively about power relationships, funding mechanisms, etc., and in reality, we're bound to be led to present a positive image of CERFI: "Look how different we are, how ahead of the game we are, now you know why we don't want to be integrated into the state, we don't want to be put on the same level as everyone else!" We can always explain why we're against nationalising research. We want to be on the private side, which almost implies having taken an 'ideological' position regarding the premise of a society of public service. This being the case, it's impossible to explain that we don't want to be a capitalist firm producing surplus-value, that would do research solely to make money, because we'd be obliged to give moral justifications, or we'd give the impression of defending ourselves against an objection like: "So you refuse to take part in public service to make yourselves rich as per the capitalist way?"

Claude H.: But money is also a code, like hierarchy and bureaucracy. You seem to be saying that it allows...

François: That's true, but it makes other things possible. It's a code of

power, but not as unified and homogenous as the code of the State. Historically, it's proven for me that the State sterilises almost everything it touches, as, moreover, does capitalism, but there is a little more room for manœuvre, which is extremely difficult to find within an apparatus of the State.

Michel: It's this apparatus that we're seeing from everywhere, in the demands as in the everyday details of research. This apparatus, it's the production of norms, of hierarchy, of surveillance systems...

François: and state libido, exactly!

Michel: One needs a sense of humour to say that - it's not a political line; it's a line of flight to use a fashionable phrase. If we can't take it anymore, we'll do something else.

François: It's not a problem of income sources... I don't know a single example of someone who, working both at CERFI and elsewhere, has been able to cope long term. Anne at INFA²⁴, Liane at the CNRS²⁵, Michel at his newspaper, all felt more or less exhausted and ended up no longer being able to tolerate the constraints of their official job. They had to cut it off completely. It's because it's not just an issue of money, or sources of income: it's a thing of the libido that's at stake. Libido in the day-to-day organisation of work. I'm starting to think that the problem perhaps isn't, as I stated just now, that of a public/

24 Translator's note: INFA was a French public administrative institution operating from 1963 to 1972 under the authority of the Minister of National Education and attached to the Higher Education Department. The institute's remit was to conduct educational research into adult training and to provide training in the principles and methods of adult training for members of the teaching profession and managers in the various economic sectors responsible for adult training.

25 Translator's note: CNRS - *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (French National Centre for Scientific Research).

private binary, but a problem of power. What it's about for us is less not being nationalised than not depending, at any price, on another centre of power for decisions about funding distribution and about the problems of our daily lives. If we were being offered not integration with the state, but integration with SEMA, or a private firm of the same type, we'd have exactly the same problem. It all comes back to the claim that first of all *research does not exist as an intellectual domain*. There are no theoretical forces, there are only libidinal forces, which is to say that the capacity for invention, or on the contrary for sterilisation, depends very closely, is very closely intertwined with phenomena of power...

Anne: ... and with erotic phenomena...

François: ...and thirdly, we're asking to choose for ourselves the entity that finances us, negotiating this between powers, and not between individuals and an apparatus. We want to form and maintain this minimal element of power that CERFI represents, whether that's in relation to the administration, to SEMA or whatever private capitalist partner. For us, that's the condition of any possible research: to exist collectively as an embryo of power within which we conduct our little erotic affairs, we sort out the money, we live materially and intellectually as we understand it: it's nobody else's business. It's only this interior freedom and these exterior connections, unexpected and unthinkable in a private or public administration of which we would be the employees, that allows us to 'do research'. Research, after all, it's never anything but the production of written texts which are only a compromise between what we experience and what's intelligible to the outside world. What we've written has been well received, it's even in vogue, it gets plundered sometimes but not very often and above all, our written production established itself immediately in the dominant language. That made people happy, great, but nationalising CERFI would result in killing the material source, the source of eros and of powers, for this written production. All written research

depends on its libidinal source. To be a state functionary is a particular kind of libido; and generally, a state researcher can only produce things that are compatible with the State libido, on the terms of universal organisation, generalisation, of the well-being of the population managed by the State. It would be necessary to affirm clearly and publicly that, for us, *there is no public research possible from within the constraints of administrative hierarchy*.

Anne: But we then need to define what we understand by research. Is it the type of research we envisage that's impossible in a direct relationship of dependence with the State? because it's precisely about thinking about the State's transformations, or rather about the decline of the State, and acting microscopically on these transformations, on the ground, with people engaged on that ground? But for the majority of researchers, linked to political parties that want to conquer the State, the function of research isn't the same: an objective report, ideally statistical, on who knows what, collective equipment for example, can be just as informative for the Communist Party as it can for the current administration. And such a report becomes even better the more time one has to do it, the more one benefits from job security. That's the libido of the average researcher.

We must be as explicit as possible. At the moment, CERFI is perceived as a lab that has original ideas, but that can't have the same problems as others. We must detail our ways of working, of life, and shatter the image made of us as the disciples of the ideas of the masters'; Guattari, Deleuze, Foucault. We must not, furthermore, mask the fact that often CERFI is a pain, and we should try to explain why. The process is as specific as that for the moment. In *Recherches'* re-publication of the school report, what difference is there from a classic editorial process? A much quicker turnaround, but the same completely individual relationship to your œuvre; to turn it into a collective work is impossible, or requires the application of a relentless will.

François: Your fantasy of collective work, is that of a whole pack of people who would come and swarm around your vast carcass to discuss your texts. But that's never what happens in reality. Your text will resonate somewhere, or not, in any case never in the way you're expecting, always by channels that are underground, unexpected, unknown and unofficial. But it's not certain that it'll happen. So, there's no point in demanding a collective discussion: because what fantasy do you want other than one of which you're at the centre? It's true of all of us.

Anne: When you talk like that about my fantasy, my first response is to defend myself by saying: "It's not mine, sir, it's the official fantasy of CERFI". My second response is to say to myself: so they want to send me for re-education so that I don't have bad fantasies anymore. My third and final response is to continue to affirm that I would like to work otherwise and that I'm always waiting for the conditions to do so.

Olivier: It's maybe not a bad thing if the official fantasy of CERFI wears out.

Anne: Yes, as an official fantasy, but I want to maintain it as my own, and not in the image of a sow suckling her little piglets that François gives of it, the image according to which it has worked up until now and which is not what I'm looking for. It seems to me that we're currently in the process of inventing something else, and that's what needs defining.

François: We'll always give a false image; we'll be obliged to behave as if we believed in research and in truth.

Anne: Well I don't believe in them, it's not a problem of faith, but I yearn for research, for transformations of any type of practice, from the peeling of potatoes to the running of the State, and the innovation of these transformations through intellectual work that does not by

any means have to be the work of someone specialised, that actually cannot be the work of someone specialised. Research is not possible, has nothing to do with truth, with the real, unless it is intimately intertwined with practice and organically linked to it.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

THE RIGHT TO RESEARCH MANIFESTO

The ‘right to research’ was first published in 1975 in *Le Monde* under the title “Faut-il fonctionnariser la recherche en sciences sociales”, signed by Lion Murard and Michel Rostain. The same text then appeared under the title “Le Droit à la Recherche” in *Revue Recherches* n.30 *Les untorelli*, Bologne, published in November 1977, and signed as ‘the CERFI team’. We have kept the second title because we think it contains more of the strength of its intentions. The manifesto speaks out against what it sees as the threat of a generalised bureaucratisation of research that turns researchers into functionaries of the state. It also opposes the integration and unification, under the aegis of professional research, of ‘that which by nature belongs to the diverse and the multiple’, and the elevation of the figure of the professional researcher to the position of exclusive holder of knowledge. Its main concern was with the importance of guaranteeing the conditions of existence for ‘non-professionalised research’ and for those who were usually treated as objects of research to become subjects of research; thus, the question of the ‘right to research’. Putting an end to the financial autonomy of groups would end the possibility of self-management and experimentation with a variety of forms of work, research, and styles needed for social research. Moreover, the professionalization of research would come with a focus on the (professional) researcher as an individual to the detriment of research collectives. Particularly striking in the manifesto is the importance given to the possibility for the autonomous management of funds and its interdependence with the flows of knowledge, modes of research and people management which should be fluid and in relation to the needs of the research (rather than subordinated to a major institutional mode, in this case, the model of the university institution with its hierarchy).

Lion Murard and Michel Rostain, “Faut-il fonctionnariser la recherche en sciences sociales” published in the newspaper *Le Monde* on 27 July 1977. Translated by Patrick ffrench and Susana Caló, reviewed by Anne Querrien.

Driven by a relatively open contractual policy, research in the social sciences has in recent years been partly pulled out of the inertia of the University and the CNRS. Enabled by certain governmental initiatives, the Sixth Plan and particularly that for Equipment, public research has been opened up to groups, associations and individuals who until now were outside the domain of research.²⁶ Thus emerged a hybrid species, researchers without formal status, a heterogeneous but numerous people, while teams with a precarious life but with often interesting scientific results have multiplied outside the classical channels.

This institutional diffusion is no longer in place today, in this day and age of the generalised bureaucratisation of research, which turns researchers into functionaries of the State. By inviting researchers without formal status to fit the mould of public service, or else no longer benefit from state credits, to enter into the fold of the parent company (the CNRS), the decisions of the closed Council on 28 February 1975 go far beyond mere 'standardisation'.

Because it amputates social research from a whole series of reflections and new experiences, because it reduces it entirely to organisations which are notoriously deficient in this field (the University, the CNRS), and especially because it elevates the figure of the state researcher to the position of exclusive holder of knowledge and truth, this putting to death of the contractual policy seems to us to involve research as a whole, and to call for a fundamental reflection.

We would like to express here our reluctance concerning the process that has been initiated. Questionable in principle, the generalised nationalisation of research seems to border on the absurd in the field of social sciences. How can one not be concerned when, in such a unique

26 Translators' note: The Sixth Plan was a policy for economic and industrial development put in place by the French government from 1971 to 1975; it included a plan for 'equipment'.

domain, where scientific wealth and innovations in the social field are largely a function of the richness of connections with the most diverse practices, with experiments and innovations in the social field, and where an absolute 'right to research', it seems to us, should prevail, a policy radically opposed to this has been brutally adopted; we say *opposed* because it integrates and unifies, under the aegis of the CNRS that which, by nature, pertains to the diverse and to the multiple! Not only because of the Malthusian character of this policy²⁷, but more significantly because of the ignorance of this specificity that it embodies, the recent decisions seem to us to carry the risk of complete sterilisation.

The Logic of the State

We are under pressure today to apply to the CNRS, otherwise we will disappear.

To this, we oppose a more fundamental question: what modes and contents of research do we actually want in the human and social sciences? Although we tend to consider null and void any proposal made on behalf of the corporation of 'researchers' (how can this be delimited? for example, are they not 'researchers', the educators of children, the psychiatric nurses, in short, those social workers with whom we rub shoulders?) we can clearly see the reasons that have led the researchers' unions to fight for integration at all costs, in the name of job security – thus anticipating the logic of the State. But while it is perfectly natural that, empirically, in specific cases, some people will consider the CNRS as the best structure within which to host researchers, it seems fundamentally questionable to propose that this structure is suitable for all researchers in the human sciences, and for all research.

²⁷ Only those who were already present in the field of research before 31 December 1975 were able to be integrated in the CNRS.

Neither the fields of research nor the researchers themselves constitute a homogeneous body: the ‘community’ of researchers – whose constitutively *externalised* unity is exclusively conferred by the State – harbours extremely disparate forms of work and organisation, even if the university model appears to prevail. This disparity is essential: in our view there is no such thing as purely intellectual and theoretical research; the ideas of researchers do not come exclusively from their specific intelligence, but from their ‘grafting’, from their more or less close connection to the social forces with which they enter into resonance. This variety of historical affiliations is correlated with the variety of organisational forms of research groups; each group has its own style, its ideology, its rituals, its forms of power and its material life – a variety hitherto made possible by the financial autonomy, however precarious, of these working collectives.

The opportunities for research while the Sixth Plan was in place were enabled specifically by the decentralisation of funding sources: the Plan for Equipment, for example, was able to support work which was not immediately utilitarian or which did not fit with the criteria of such and such a university discipline. Our fear is that this diversity, and the possibilities it represents for non-academic research, will be destroyed once and for all by the move to turn researchers into functionaries of the State. While, at an organic level, research is the work of groups and the work of institutional sub-groups connected with many different social forces, what is now proposed is an integration solely at the level of the individual.

While for us this group work is rarely a purely intellectual collaboration but always a multiplicity of relations, what is proposed now is the isolating of the researcher, individually subordinated to the university hierarchy, condemned to struggle alone in the defence of the scientific value of their work, to advance their place in the hierarchical salary scale of public service positions and to succeed in a career which is somewhat aleatory. While the life of a group of researchers depends on

the variety and the originality of the relations of power and of friendship that govern it, what we are confronted with instead is the uniform model of the university institution, whose disadvantages have been so often pointed out: intellectual elitism, inertia, the hierarchy of roles. Ultimately, in contrast to the extraordinary opening up that was represented by the possibility of paying non-researchers – that is, those people who through their experience are the first to be able to speak with any authenticity about such and such a social sector, or those people who due to a lack of diploma or experience in research have no chance of being integrated into the CNRS – what we are presented with now is the formation of a caste, closed in on itself by virtue of the law of numbers, a veritable corporation, a nonsensical closed-door policy worthy of the most Malthusian of decisions in the history of power.

But the most serious aspect of this seems to lie in what Claude Lefort, in his analysis of the fantastic struggle of Soviet bureaucracy against the very virtuality and future possibilities of social relations, has called the decomposition of the social, the disaggregation of social relations. In the transformation of researchers into State functionaries we read nothing other than the existential dissolution of collectives, or more exactly the reduction of the milieus of life to only one of the elements that compose them, the productive capacity of their members. The consequence of reducing the thousands of parameters of a group to a single standard, in folding the complex and versatile play of friendship, love and hate back onto the single measure of work, in gauging each person by the yardstick of their apparent productivity, in extracting individual researchers from a milieu of life, in the sense of biological milieu or cultural environment, rather than place or office of study, the consequence of all of this is the obliteration and disaggregation of the collective.

Need we remind ourselves of a few principles, those according to which we constituted ourselves? The productive capacity of a collective is linked precisely to the richness of the relations which it comprises and

to the density of the emotions that traverse it. When we make a claim for control of income and expenditure, or for self-management, this is not a classical claim for 'independence'; if we make this a fundamental starting point it is in the name of a theoretical standpoint which says that the flows of money cannot be disassociated from the flows of love or of knowledge. The notion of the State researcher as a lifelong vocation, and as master and doorkeeper of a given fraction of the scientific field, is profoundly problematic for us. Instead of this ethos of the eternal researcher, whose career follows a straight line, and who masters a determined domain of knowledge, we prefer to imagine a minor, ephemeral and transitory research practice. To be clear, we refuse for our part to accept as common currency the divisions affecting the social and technical distribution of intellectual work.

It is true that our perspectives arise largely from a reflection on the State. Having lived through the burgeoning of the worker's movement, and then its crisis in the Stalinist era, we have learnt that, left to its own devices, the State can only reproduce and extend itself as the State. We have learnt that the people who create bureaucracy are not monsters thirsty for domination, but people who struggle for justice, people who in face of injustice, inequality and exploitation can imagine no other solution than the infinite expansion of public service and the levelling of inequalities by the infinite expansion of collective equipment.

This mechanism is exactly what is happening now in the sub-sector of research funded by public funds. The response to inequality is to draw this small world into the large house of the CNRS and close the door so as to limit the personnel. Moreover, it is not certain that this orientation is in line with the interests of the State itself. Will it be able, as it thinks it can, to transform and democratise the CNRS? Will it not soon be obliged to create a new public service to compete with the University and CNRS, which will prove themselves too rigid? Such examples are legion in the history of French administration.

Vassals and Servants

It so happens that at CERFI, for the most part, we are not married. This is not a doctrine of our network, it can change; it is rather a fact that has been woven over 10 years of working together. Single, separated, divorced, with or without children, often couples... We are not married and we have no formal status, and curiously we have the feeling that these factors are connected. A stage in the sequence of our common history, articulated in relation to many different variables (being of the post-war generation, May 1968, the crisis of the international communist movement, the structural immobility of the CNRS, etc.), led us to produce the current, and provisional, configuration of CERFI. That is to say, in particular, to try to open up different existential paths than those that seemed ordained for us, left-wing intellectuals that we are, namely modern marriage on the one hand, and the administrative or private framework on the other.

This project existed at the very origins of the CERFI and of our review *Recherches*, born from the conjunction of a double political and psychoanalytical current. May 1968 had discredited the previous modes of internal functioning of political organisations, democratic centralism, etc.; it had rendered intolerable the double separation between professional and militant life on the one hand, and professional and private life on the other. It is also a generational problem. When you are no longer a student, when you are not a proletarian and you no longer think about going to live in the Cévennes²⁸, is there nothing left to do but to choose between absolute marginality and an executive profession, even if it is that of the professional revolutionary?

²⁸ Translators' note: The Cévennes are mountains in the central south of France, where a number of militants moved after the defeat of the '68 movement. They set up communities and attempted integration into rural life.

We wanted to experiment with a kind of urban community and that is why we entered into research contracts with the State. Far from running away from money or bureaucracy, we wanted to go straight into it, to engage directly with the problems of power and internal sclerosis, using the money we earned as an instrument and also as a reality principle that connected us to the real mechanisms of capitalist society: we called it “a group analytical enterprise”.

And in fact, we are well aware, without any possible doubt, that if we have been able to come up with ideas of our own, it is in our group life that they were rooted and nourished. But if there is group life, there is necessarily a common space, a common house, common rhythms and above all common money that we can manage independently. There are also conflicts of power that we have dealt with in our own way, very strong emotional constellations, others less strong, but these we have organized through encounters and co-optations.

We absolutely claim this specificity; it is one of the basic conditions under which we could imagine working on behalf of the State. And this is not only an intellectual particularity, it is first of all a material and financial particularity, a ‘privilege’ in the sense of the privilege of the Free Cities of the Middle Ages, a strategic base, which is indeed 90% state-funded, but not totally subject to the state.

To take another historical image, we are willing to do research for the state, but as vassals, not as functionaries, not as individual servants. In the historical lineage of vassalage this would mean that we would fulfil the contracts we want to make with the State, but in return we collectively receive the equivalent of a fief, a mass of money in this case, which we manage as we deem appropriate. Of course, everyone knows that we have to give the state a detailed account of how we have used our money and that the state imposes strict control. But however small our margin of freedom may be, we insist on it.

The reason is that the management of human, material, financial, and scientific flows enables the constant modification of the configuration of the CERFI, both in its internal arrangements and inter-relations, and in its relations with the outside world. This is how we do research in the human sciences, but also how some of us are constantly thinking of creating or creating social structures of one kind or another: an anti-psychiatric dispensary of mental hygiene, a children's hostel, a publishing house, a video film with drug addicts, a centre for lyrical training, novels, a musical theatre, a women's group. This is possible thanks to the collective management of our funds and forces. If the accounting rules do not allow us to divert funds, we divert our forces! But who could deny the benefits of such investments on our research itself?

In our case, therefore, there is no need to subscribe to the image of the researcher or the group of researchers according to a linear trajectory, or a masterfully dominated scientific field. We certainly believe we have demonstrated our capacity in this field. But to this we must add our other projects or activities, often the foundations of our theoretical research, everything that is not financed as research, and which is nevertheless essential. At one point, two years ago, we put forward the utopian idea of settling collectively in a new town (Marne-la-Vallée), and working together, but also of living and putting into play a whole network of social facilities, activities and diverse social experiences (medicine, psychiatry, childhood, theatre, video, music, school). The administrative challenge of doing this was significant and there were also many obstacles: 50 or 100 of us setting off on such an adventure was not straightforward. The project dragged on and then failed. But perhaps the example is telling: could a CNRS team, as such, even envisage embarking on such a project? In the same way, we were recently prompted to create a Centre for Lyric Training within the CERFI within the dynamics of our research on musical equipment; for this, we had to find a working base, a material and energetic base.

We propose that none of this can be put into play within a perspective that carefully separates the hierarchical outlines of persons and roles on the one hand, and the fluxes of money and desire, on the other. Our collective working potential plays across extremely material relationships: those pertaining to management, internal negotiations, the occupation of space, unexpected or intentional proliferation, the diversion or channelling of energies and conflicts. We are very far from a transparent vision of minds and hearts, the clear circulation of concepts in the heaven of ideas. It goes without saying that we hardly succeed in all of our endeavours; projects fail (there is a right to make mistakes!), others change, subject to a thousand micro-events which are the very factor which allows for collective management and an openness to the unexpected. Acknowledging a certain internal precariousness, we know well that its specific form CERFI will one day cease to exist; this would be inadmissible in the context of an administration.

Social Research and Practices

Ultimately, the question can be put in this way: in the arena of scientific research, is the administration interested in the existence of networks in the style of CERFI, or even of more precarious or unusual groups? This question evidently goes beyond the limits of CERFI itself and poses the question of the right to research in the social sciences. Is it not possible to imagine and to encourage the existence of multiple autonomous centres (collectives, associations, foundations, institutional departments, varied groupings etc.) which, for a given time, renewable in due course through mutual agreement, would be engaged in social research and experimentation not on the basis of the status of the researcher, but on the basis of their real social existence (a medico-social team, a group united by affinities and aims, social workers, the unemployed etc)? It is not a question of creating new researchers – future functionaries – but of multiplying the sites, opportunities and foundations of research in social sciences. It is not simply about funding social activities and initiatives but of encouraging

the articulation of social production and theoretical research. Neither is it about denying purely theoretical research outside the CNRS but rather of supporting associative and self-managed structures united around one or several theoretical or socially productive objectives.

One can imagine many sectors of social activity which could, through surveys, monographs, theoretical reflections, or research-in-action, accomplish something that no researcher could realise solely by virtue of their status, and which would nevertheless be a decisive step in the development of the human sciences: a union group focused on a strike or a problem in the direction of production or the management of a business, etc.; a medico-social team on its practice and what it is engaged with; a group of journalists on the question of information, a team of actors on the theatre and its social function, a group of teachers, novelists, school-friends, prison officers, civil servants... For some groups, this would be done in the very course of their activity, for others it would be through delegating two or three of their members to this task, for others still this would be the main activity for a defined period, and finally for others it might allow them not only to undertake research but also enable the creation of new activities through the co-opting of new forces supported by the research funds. In the present situation, and in concrete ways, the research management administration could release funds and enable support structures which would work in a similar direction. Will it want to? Such a policy of encouraging polymorphous, 'polycentric' research, collective work and social experimentation, is admittedly poles apart from the current recentralisation strategy of the University and the CNRS. Breaking with this monolithic model would imply, for the incumbent managers as well as for the Union of the Left, a renewed reflection on the function of the State: should it encourage the multiplication of numerous and varied initiatives, or continue to organise its own proliferation? It is in this sense that this apparently minor question about research in social sciences has an exemplary value.

INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS AND VIDEO

This is one of the few texts written and published by Club Imago and is one of the few surviving documents from their experimentation with video. Apart from oral testimonies, there are hardly any physical traces of their video work. Club Imago's approach was to use the camera as an analytical tool, focusing more on the process than on the film itself. This could mean teaching patients to use the camera and allowing them to film their surroundings. It could also mean creating inter-institutional cineclubs and facilitating the institutional exchange of recorded footage, or projecting it at their original institutions to catalyse certain 'feedback' or 'chain' effects. The approach to analysis proposed here contrasts with the organisation of discussions and production of reports that characterised CERFI's approach to programming in Bouaké or in the new towns. This text speaks to the potential of exploring other forms of analysis that are less focused on the role of the institutional programmer, but rather on the use of devices, tools or media, that can catalyse a shift in perspectives, shed light on the institutional unconscious, and allow for a reorganisation of power relations beyond the more common discursive means. As such, the text speaks to the idea of analysis everywhere, by whatever means – as an aesthetic practice.

Club Imago do CERFI, "Analyse Institutionnelle et video", *Recherches 15 – La coopération en pratique*, June, 1974, pp. 136–140. Translated by the authors.

What can video bring to institutional analysis? We mustn't fall into the spontaneist myth that video as such allows us to express ourselves more 'deeply'. All those who have gone in this direction have failed.

In fact, if you don't have the desire to express yourself, you can't express yourself with a video any more than you can with a pen or a box of paints.

We can see, for example, that children, before they fall into school or Oedipal repression, express themselves in all sorts of ways, even if they don't have the means to do so. But once they reach a certain point, no matter how many new ways we offer them, they stop expressing themselves.

So, it's not really a problem of new means of expression, it's a problem of desire.

And yet, the very nature of the means of expression brought into play by video could be an important factor in an analysis of the social unconscious.

Institutional analysis too often consists of reports, presentations and summaries. Video, on the other hand, deals with material that is alien to the object; we use what it gives us to extract verbal sequences, sequences of images, institutional sequences, to make a montage that remains marked by our own particular way of seeing things. We're not dealing with a pen-camera; we're dealing with our own writing, our own analysis, our own montage, with our materials and possibly with ourselves.

The aim is not to interpret, but to shed light on what is given.

In an institution, the unconscious dimensions will not be brought to light by a simple sociological report, by the very fact that the writing is done by an external subject who, armed with his knowledge, will sort the elements according to his own categories and organise them according to his own system of references. Unlike a written report, our task will always be to try to follow the elements and sequences that seem incomprehensible to us.

We are not trying to understand, but to express what we do not understand. We don't try to explain it in order to understand it better,

but to find out if it is a determining element, an a-signifying element, a *machinic* index. And when we finally realise that this incomprehensible element responds to a law, to a rule, and that it can be explained, then it becomes something that excludes itself from the specific field of institutional analysis.

Let's take the example of a child in an institution who behaves in a strange way, banging pots and pans in the kitchen. There are two possibilities:

— Either it's an explainable reaction in his relationship with a cook, a monitor, the management, etc., and this leads to a psycho-sociological analysis,

— or we realise that nothing can account for this reaction. It then becomes a problem of the economy of desire, a problem of singularity, which has to be accepted as such. And that's what interests us, what takes us much further down a much more interesting path.

Our purpose, then, is to describe, to try to grasp, not significant redundancies, but non-significant chains. – This is very different from Freudianism, which takes incomprehensible elements such as slips of the tongue, dreams, symptoms, etc., and tries to find a rationality for them. For us it's not a question of interpreting them, of fitting them into a grid of understanding, it's a question of following them in their trajectory, in their implications. People are free to understand them as they wish, but that's where our work ends.

Two conceptions of the unconscious emerge here:

— That of an unconscious 'from within', which opens up to the incomprehensible, only to close in on comprehensible structures (the Oedipus complex and all sorts of complexes and pre-established ideas concerning people, the family, laws and fixed identities);

— that of an unconscious 'outside' that follows actual actions and direct consequences. The child's action in the kitchen has visible consequences. People complain, intervene.

This implies a certain mode of libidinal functioning that can be followed in other circuits, with friends, etc. What interests us then is the consequence of this gesture and its relationship to the institution.

It's not a question of trying to understand, but of looking for the way it works, the effect of the gesture on an external whole.

So, there are two unconscious. An unconscious of interpretation, which is supposed to be in the head, in the recesses of the brain, in the past, in the memories, and an unconscious that is that of institutional analysis as we represent it, which looks for signifying elements. There is no longer an *a priori* unconscious. We make the unconscious, we build it, it's all around us, in the whole field of connections of desire.

A child banging on pots and pans doesn't depend on mum and dad, and even if it does, it doesn't really matter; what matters is that other children will come along and bang on pots and pans too, and that's going to create a whole chain of events. The unconscious is outside, turned towards the future, not inside, turned towards the past.

We can already see that to bring this unconscious to light, we need a certain type of means of expression. If there is only speech and writing, then by force of circumstance we have no access to an unconscious that is trapped within the coordinates of comprehension, i.e., within what words can mean, the meaning they have in the dictionary, the family code, the professional code, the moral code and so on.

In this direction, the unconscious can only bend to the means of expression. This is what happens on a couch, or with a verbal technique; the unconscious becomes personal, interpretative, comprehensive... If we use a means of expression such as image, we may be able to follow the unconscious in its real realm, without mutilating it.

With video, we actually have two means of expression that work in conjunction with each other:

— a means which is the institution and which is far from perfect. But it's not just about words: there are gestures, money, food, transport, sunlight, draughts, slamming doors. With material like this, we can follow the trajectory of an unconscious phenomenon beyond speech and writing. This is not to say that speech and writing have nothing to do with this trajectory, but they simply join up with all the other flows.

— a second medium is the video cassette recorder. On condition that we follow what we don't understand, what doesn't fit into the comprehensible representation, the important thing about the video recorder is that it combines richer expressive elements than those of writing, different expressive matters which are sound, image, the possibility of adding written mentions, systems of montage, etc. (Cf. C. Metz's analysis of the particular features of each *expressive matter*, in Hjelmslev's sense). Another primordial element is that of the whole system of things, such as hierarchy, bureaucracy, existing castes, power relations between age groups, genders, feedback that is established by immediately showing people what they have just done or said.

With such feedback effects, people who have just expressed themselves have access to these unconscious elements. This is a considerable enrichment in that the replayed film immediately sends back to the persons concerned an image that leads either to a worsening of the errors, or to an emotional reaction, or to a change, etc. The intervention is then no longer an interpretive intervention, but an exacerbation of the a-signifying points.

In this way, a nervous gesture, a sigh, a look, a smile, is given value in a presentation that can trigger chain reactions.

What becomes important with the video recorder is not the technical equipment, but the way it is used in the given institution, the montage, the feedback effects, and so on. What constitutes a particular form of writing is the way in which a filmic structure is realised and the social arrangement [*assemblage*] it alters.

Institutional analysis is not a purely external listening, a neutral system, as psychoanalytic analysis would like to be. It is an analysis that takes sides, that takes the stage, that participates in a micropolitics of desire. The moment we refuse to remain within the framework of redundant and significant systems of desire, we immediately participate in the flow of desires, we call into question one of the professional categories...

Let's take the example of a superior who dismisses an employee because his contract has not been fulfilled (late work or something

else). In a witness-free written or spoken exchange, everything is clear and unambiguous. But if the scene is filmed, everything changes: we see the employee's face, the sadistic pleasure of the bureaucrat, and it's no longer a simple problem of contract.

Write on a piece of paper, sign a letter – does this neutralise the libido? But when you introduce a look, the threat of feedback, things can no longer happen in the same way.

It's no longer about a standardised relationship, but about a whole libidinal practice that takes place behind each sequence.

It's no longer a question of a standardised relationship, but of a whole libidinal practice that takes place behind each sequence.

The institutional practice of video should make it possible to bring to light these elements that usually remain in the background, but which constitute the basic material of the microfascism of desire, regardless of the fact that the intervention may bear on the foundations of local laws and the relations of forces on which these institutions are based.

This bibliography is compiled from François Fourquet's *Notre bibliographie collective* (our collective bibliography) in *L'accumulation du pouvoir ou le désir d'État. Synthèse des recherches du Cerfi de 1970 à 1981, Recherches 46*.

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Salaire B.

15/10/73

on . je demande B pour exister et
C pour travailler .

on je demande B pour travailler et
C pour mourir .

il n'existe pas { ? en droit
on il existe {

à l'existence du Cerfi .

—
la voie du financier : nous avons
rendu le travail de 15 personnes .
Nous en payons 30 . Combien peut-
être payée chaque personne réelle, sachant
que chaque personne fictive devrait être
payée 3 000 francs / mais (en moyenne),
et que une personne fictive = deux
personnes réelles , sans compter les
adjacences - vacataires -

—
De la nécessité d'écrire les contrats
(pour remplir les caisses) :

Hypothèse : un contact n'a pas chance (mauvais) d'être renoué à temps que si deux personnes au moins sont mobilisées dessus. On propose donc pour les 3 mois à venir la grille de permanents suivante :

Généalogie - Histoire	2 permanents	Fourquet Lion
"	Sanité	2 permanents Rostain Gass.
"	Espace vert	0 "
"	Education	1 permanent 2 x 1/2 Préli Stowabéda
"	Famille	1 permanent 1/4 permanent Nicolo Nichelino
Code formation	2 permanents	Thiéry Anne
Gini & Sy	2 permanents	Luc Olivier
	1/2 permanent	Nicole Té
Cocots Crêches	1 permanent	Liane 1/4 de Nichelino?
Animation sociale	1 permanent 2 x 1/2 permanents	Claude Nichelino Gaëtane

Enfance . habitat 2. permanents Ariane
Jardin Jean Claude

Ville Nouvelle 1 permanent Hervé
½ permanent Gaëtan

Cinéma 1 permanent Paul
?

Recherche ½ permanent Anne Marie

La Boîte (chirurgie) Joutel .

Personnes transversales : Christian et
François Jardini, + Franck Novak

Soit 21 permanents : Lion, Fourquet,
Rostami, Brass, Georges, Nicole Béli,
Thierry, Anne, Luc, Olivier, Hélène, Claude
Rouault, Gaëtan, Ariane, Jean Claude Jardin,
Hervé, Paul, Janine, Christian, François Jardini,
Franck

6 demi permanents : Yves + Anne No
Sigrandzé, Nicole Jeant, Michel Fourquet,
Micheline, Anne Marie Anneoyer .

$$21 + 6 \times \frac{1}{2} = 24 .$$

reste un trou

N.B : les permanents inscrits sur
un contrat sont responsable de sa
réalisation dans le temps. Mais
Ils sont liés, bien sûr, de participer
à d'autres groupes, et y sont même
chaudement invités. ~~Le~~ Le
grille ici est artificielle mais nécessaire

N'être pas permanent ne
condamne pas à recevoir moins
de 1500 F / mois.

Etre permanent condamné à fuir.

De l'ancienne liste se sont désistés :
Hocquenghem, Béaupère, Vivien, Laurent,
Hélène Bellouin, Dominique Colas

Restent à voir : Christiane Faure', Françoise
Lévy.

les Gands Comptables
Inquisitifs.

CERFI's accounting schemes on salaries for transversal persons, permanent staff and semi-permanent staff. Considering that "the grid is artificial but necessary", CERFI asked themselves if "there is, or not, a right to exist at CERFI?"; and "how to pay the same salary to permanent or semi-permanent members, real and fictional?" The schemes date from 15, November 1973 and are signed by "The Great Inquisitive Accountants." CERFI Archives. Courtesy Anne Querrien.

A red thread connects the political thought of Deleuze and Guattari back to the analytic practice developed at institutions like the La Borde clinic: the idea that militant practice must involve an analysis of desire, of the unconscious libidinal relations that traverse both militants and the reality on which they seek to intervene. If one group tried to live out this principle, it was CERFI. To recover its history and work is to relaunch this proposition into our own time.

— RODRIGO NUNES. Philosopher, University of Essex, author of *Neither Vertical Nor Horizontal: A Theory of Political Organisation*.

This careful and thorough work revisits the radical experiments of institutional psychotherapy to ask a question that remains urgent today: what makes analysis possible? At once historical and theoretical, this book offers a critical vocabulary for rethinking psychoanalysis, politics, and organisation today. A vital contribution to contemporary psychoanalytic thought, this is a book that insists – against all odds – on the enduring power of collective desire.

— LIZAVETA VAN MUNSTEREN. Psychodynamic psychotherapist, author of *The Vicissitudes of Psychoanalysis in Soviet Russia, 1930-1980*.

Today's virulent return of normopathic subjectivities is a sign that fascism is ascendent again, now amplified by powerful technologies of semiotic entrainment. In this context, reactivating CERFI's commitment to make the libidinal workable in the context of organising, building, and liberating could not be more important and urgent.

— ADRIAN LAHOUD. Dean School of Architecture, Royal College of Art, London, author of *The Rights of Future Generations*.

The visionary experiment of CERFI once crossed French politics breaking up the borders of psychoanalysis, architecture, and militancy. It revived the lesson of institutional psychotherapy that the hospital is ill, not the patient. This book extends its legacy and political imagination to the present, to a time in which the rise of authoritarianism demands new strategies of organisation and intervention.

— MATTEO PASQUINELLI. Associate Professor at Ca' Foscari University in Venice, author of *The Eye of the Master: A Social History of Artificial Intelligence*.

The transformative history of 20th-century psychiatry is a collective history. However, the ways in which history is often written struggles to give voice to the collective, favouring the work of great men. This extraordinary book explores a collective form for the collective history of CERFI, where a profusion of voices, images and archives also document life.

— JOANA MASÓ. Professor of French literature at the University of Barcelona, author of *Tosquelles: Healing Institutions*.

1967

1968

1969

1970

directive Between the radical energies of the 1960s and the shifting terrains of the 1980s, a group in France quietly detonated the boundaries of politics, psychiatry, and collective life.

CERFI – the Centre for Institutional Study, Research, and Training – wasn't your typical think tank. Co-founded by Félix Guattari, it set out to bring the disruptive insights of institutional psychotherapy into the heart of militant and professional organizing. Their wager? That every collective needs a form of *analytic militancy*: a way to navigate the unconscious forces that shape power, desire, and resistance from within.

This was the birth of schizoanalysis outside of the clinical setting: a practice that shifts focus from the individual psyche to the collective assemblages that compose our lives. What are the deeper machinic drives shaping our actions? What forms of desire power our institutions? CERFI's work took these questions seriously, designing communal infrastructures, building popular research teams, and launching *Recherches*, a journal that amplified voices from revolutionary struggles, childcare centres, classrooms, psychiatric wards, and beyond.

Analysis Everywhere dives into the rich archive of CERFI's radical experiments: conceptual, editorial, and lived. It invites us to imagine a practice where the unconscious isn't repressed but mobilized. Where analysis isn't an afterthought but a vital tool for political transformation.

'Only Desire Can Read Desire,' wrote Félix Guattari, and this quote, which Caló and Pereira use as the title of their introduction, expresses the precious specificity of this book. Caló and Pereira's desire to revive the passionate adventure of CERFI testifies to the fact that this adventure has become contemporary again, something like a resurgence, the reappearance of what had been eradicated and which is returning, transformed but alive.

• ISABELLE STENGERS. Philosopher, author of *In Catastrophic Times: Resisting the Coming Barbarism*.

Very important work has been done by Susana Caló and Godofredo Pereira on the historical and visual reconstruction of a cultural experiment whose practical and theoretical effects have not yet been fully evaluated.

• FRANCO 'BIFO' BERARDI. Philosopher and media theorist, founder of Radio Alice, author of *Quit Everything: Interpreting Depression*.

ISBN 978-1-57026-398-7
90000
9 781570 283987

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