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Powerful teaching, the paradox of empowerment and the powers of Foucault. An interview with Professor Stephen Brookfield

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Abstract

This interview follows up on a previous interview with Stephen Brookfield in the *Journal of Applied Learning & Teaching* (Brookfield et al., 2019). It was conducted as part of an ongoing book project with the working title Teaching well that the authors are involved in. This interview may be seen as a teaser for the book that is planned to be published in 2023. It constitutes an extended version of one out of 13 planned chapters and focuses on how power shows up in higher education classrooms.

Classrooms are never power-free zones. Every learning environment contains student-to-student and student-to-teacher power dynamics. We discuss various influences on Stephen Brookfield's conceptual understanding of power, especially Michel Foucault's concepts of sovereign, disciplinary and bio-power and their applicability to education. In this context, we explore similarities between prisons and schools, the metaphor of the panopticon, and the continued relevance of bio-power during the current pandemic. The democratic practice of discussion groups is questioned (despite Stephen Brookfield's personal preference of that modality) and the lecture is reinstated as one of several useful modalities. We then arrive at Brookfield's concept of powerful teaching & learning and how teachers can exercise their power in ethical, productive and responsible ways. The interview ends with Brookfield's advice on institutional criticism.

Since beginning his teaching career in 1970, Stephen Brookfield has worked in England, Canada, Australia, and the U.S., teaching in a variety of adult, community, organisational and higher education settings (the latter include Harvard University and Columbia University). In his endeavour to help adults learn to think critically about the dominant ideologies they have internalised, Professor Brookfield has written, co-written or edited 20 books on adult learning and teaching, critical thinking, discussion methods, critical theory and teaching race.

Jürgen Rudolph (J. R.): Classrooms are never power-free zones. Every learning environment contains student-to-student and student-to-teacher power dynamics. Although your concept of power is influenced by Michel Foucault, the unmasking of power has an honorable tradition in adult education that goes back to at least Eduard Lindeman (whose articles on adult education and social change you edited in *Learning democracy* (Brookfield, 1987)) to whom adult education was the "operating alternative for dominance, dictatorship and violence" and "the answer to blind prejudice and demagoguery" (Lindeman, 1987a, p. 77 and Lindeman, 1987b, p. 115, cited in Brookfield, 2005, p. 48).

Whereas for Lindeman and many others, power is something associated with the rich and mighty, "Foucault argued that in contemporary society power works in much more subtle ways than previously acknowledged" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 45). Foucault (1995) identified a shift from sovereign to disciplinary power with the rise of capitalism in the late 18th century. To quote you, disciplinary power is the "selfdiscipline exercised by subjects themselves who conduct their own self-censorship and self-surveillance at their own sites of life and practice" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 37). And: "Foucault would say that the external gaze that ensures that people are punctual, driven, and assiduously following the rules has been successfully 'interiorized': that is, it is now experienced as a constituent element of the personality" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 161). You point to both Gramsci and Foucault in persuasively showing that by practising selfdiscipline, self-surveillance and self-censorship, we collude in our own servitude (thereby rendering sovereign power less important: Brookfield, 2005). You also wrote: "Reading Foucault helps us understand how apparently liberatory practices can actually work subtly to perpetuate existing power relations" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 148). Could you please share your thinking about power, in light of your reception of Lindeman and Foucault?

Stephen Brookfield (S. B.): This might be a bit of a long answer. As I was thinking about this, I was really coming to a judgment that of all the kind of reflections I've done over the years on my practice, the reflection on power probably has been the most important because it's challenged some really paradigmatic assumptions that I used to have about adult education and that I was brought up in intellectually and culturally, at a time when I was doing my diploma in adult education and then my PhD in adult education. Challenging some of those assumptions that I learned during five years of graduate study in the field was very significant for me. But the last point that you mentioned in that question, where you quote me on how surprising it is to do something that you feel is in the tradition of broadly speaking, democratic and liberating education, and then discover that constitutes patriarchal education; you do something in class that you feel is inherently democratizing, and then you find out that in fact, some of the learners just experience it as a slightly revamped form of oppression or manipulation or coercion.

Finding out the things that I thought had no negative aspects to them, actually were experienced as quite constraining has really been important. So an example I've used a lot to illustrate this point is the circle. Ever since I began teaching

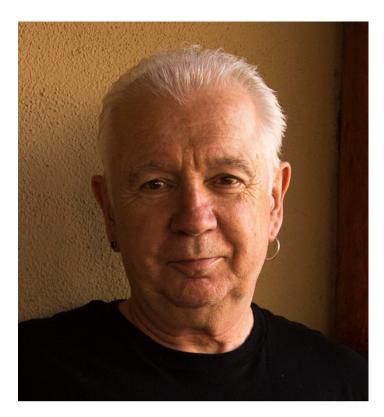


Figure 1: Stephen Brookfield. Source: (Brookfield, n.d.)

in September 1970, I would always get to the room early and move the chairs into a circle. This was in the grand tradition of adult education, and the Highlander Folk School and so on. I assumed that the circle was a form of seating, a physical learning environment, that would encourage collaboration and let people feel that I acknowledged they had experience and I respected what they brought to the event. I felt that somehow my being in a circle of learning removed my power from the room. I used to think all those things and that students would love the circle and would find it a very congenial learning environment.

Then I read in the '90s a book by Jennifer Gore called The struggle for pedagogies (1993) and she takes Foucault's work and breaks it down into a higher education context. I started, because of that book and some of my own experience, reexamining the circle and coming to realize that for many students who felt that there was something about them that marked them out as being different - the way they spoke, the way they looked, the way they dressed, the way they presented themselves - that for those students, the circle is actually a heightened form of surveillance. Because now everything they do is in full view of their peers as well as the instructor. Any mistakes that they make are again in full view of everyone. They have no time to decide whether or not the teacher is to be trusted, because the circle has the implicit understanding that everybody has to talk pretty quickly. So I read this whole other analysis of the circle, that was very helpful to me and it complicated my life. But most helpful things in your development as a teacher do often complicate your life, at least in the short term.

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So that part of Foucault's work that challenges some of the progressive, humanistic, traditional practices in teaching, that's been the stuff I've most enjoyed. In The power of critical theory (Brookfield, 2005), I look at things like the use of learning contracts as a teaching tool, and the recognition of prior life experiences and the way those are converted into credit within higher education - things that I was a strong advocate for. And then I read this other analysis that helped me realize that as Foucault says, there really is no practice, at least in a hierarchical environment, that can be considered power-free and that everything has a dimension of power attached to it. So understanding that has been enormously influential for me over the last 30 years of working. So that's just the preamble to my answer [laughs]. This is going to be a long answer. So you can go and take a nap and just leave the record [both laugh].

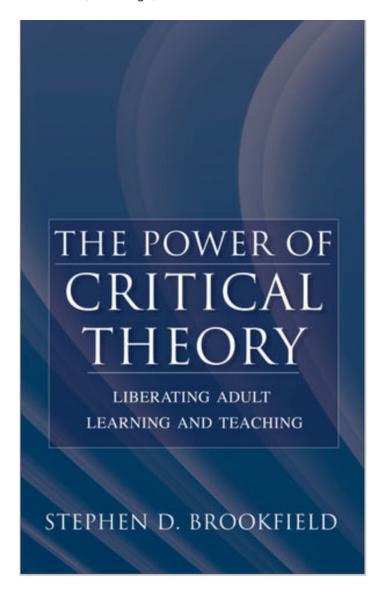


Figure 2: Book cover of *The power of critical theory*.

One of my guiding frameworks that I grew up with as an adult educator and then as someone moving into higher education, but trying to work in an adult educational way, was that the teacher as quickly as possible should get out of the way of learning, should move to the side, should be a resource. They should not be a director of learning, but a resource for learning. They should try and share their power

as much as possible or remove that power from the equation completely. And I use the example from Becoming a Critically Reflective Teacher (Brookfield, 2017) of the fly on the wall. That's how I saw my role really, as maybe asking a good question at the beginning of a class or hearing a question and saying: 'Okay, what do we think about that?' and then not saying anything for another 20 minutes. I wanted to be invisible. It was a way of working that came from community development and community adult education. Before entering higher education as a professor, I was running a Department of Community and Environmental Development in an adult education center. So I was very much of this idea that that's what a good educator does: you move to the side, you get out of the way. When you're called on and requested, you come in and help. But otherwise, you just let people run with whatever enthusiasms and passions that they have. And it was strongly influenced by Carl Rogers' (1983) humanistic psychology model of non-directive, supportive facilitation.

But reading Foucault has really been one of the major things that completely changed how I thought about power once I got into higher education. So now, instead of thinking that the teacher's job is to move to the side – and be invisible, something expressionless, silent – I understand that if you stay in the room, and even sometimes when you're not in the room, your presence is still a major factor in students' minds and has a major influence on how they go about their learning. And so even if you stay silent, students will read into that silence some kind of meaning. Perhaps they'll assume that your silence is implicit approval or that your silence signifies a degree of unhappiness because you're not contributing and encouraging and telling them how well they're doing and so on.

I've noticed particularly in multiracial groups the tendency of many white members to stay silent, out of a good intention not to dominate conversation, and to let people of color have the floor. But even that self-silencing that whites do in multiracial conversations is very problematic. Sometimes it's experienced in a completely different way from the way it's meant. So that if you stay silent as a white person when race becomes an issue in class, the students of color may feel that you have no interest, that your silence is an indication that you really don't want to get involved in this kind of conversation. They assume you're disconnected from it, that you don't think it's worth putting in any effort to share what you're thinking. So instead of silence being a helpful behavior in that situation, it is often perceived as an extension of white supremacy. If you are a white person and you don't speak on racial issues, you could be perceived to inhabit a learned framework of thinking: 'I'm white, therefore I have no race, therefore I have nothing to say and contribute to the conversation'. So that was the first big challenge that thinking about power has had for me, that understanding of the teacher as being someone who should get out of the way, get to the side, and let students self-directedly run the show.

The second theme that's really been challenged for me is empowerment. In the community development tradition that was strong in England where I did my graduate work in Adult Education in the 1970s, empowerment was a strong

idea. I internalized this idea that I can share my power, that I can encourage people to be more confident about participating, and have greater confidence in whatever they were saying with their voice. But then from Foucault and others I've realized, and it's an important insight for me, that empowerment can't be given, it can only be claimed. So I'll often say that you can't empower people, all you can do is remove some barriers that are maybe getting in the way of them claiming their own empowerment.

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Empowerment is an act of assertion and control that springs from a self-belief that people have, or a confidence in the rightness of their decisions or the rightness of their projects they want to pursue or the actions they are engaged in. And it's all often bound up with a collective impulse where a group of people realize together, we have the same things in common and in collaboration we have more power and more understanding and more support than as a single person or a single learner. So that was quite significant to me that really, you can't empower people. And I hear that verb a lot. 'I want to empower my students', 'I want to empower my learners', 'I want to empower my colleagues'. I think it's a misunderstanding. Because the most you can do is help create the conditions for that to happen by removing barriers. So you can say: 'All right, the curriculum that has been sent out is not cast in stone. So let's see if it needs to be revised to be more relevant or meaningful or helpful to you'. And you can say, 'this is what the college or the university requires for assessment. But let's see if we can introduce some other assessment formats that will help you develop different capabilities than only one form of assessment which is often written and textual'. I think that if you can remove some barriers, then you can create the conditions under which empowerment is more likely to take place. But it's not like you can directly go and empower people.

The third thing has to do with how teachers exercise their power. If you'd asked me when I began my career 'how are you exercising your power?' I would have regarded that as a silly question. Because I would say 'my responsibility is not to exercise power, my responsibility is to help students learn'. I had this, in Foucault's terms, notion of power as sovereign emanating from me, the teacher. I didn't like that topdown hierarchical model. I had all the critiques of banking education when I began in the '70s, influenced by Freire (1970). So I would say 'no, I'm not here to be powerful or to exercise power. I'm here to help learning'. But then, reading Foucault and also to be fair, reading Freire: at one point in his dialogue with Ira Shor, Freire says that all education is directive, it's just a case of how that direction is happening, and what the direction is, where you're intending to go (Freire & Shor, 1987). He starts to acknowledge teacher power. To me, that was helpful. And he got me, along with others, to think about something you've asked: What is an ethical, productive and responsible exercise of power? I've thought a lot about that over the years. And I'd say there are three indicators that that is happening, that you're using your power as a teacher or an educator in a supportive, ethical and responsible way.

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The first is that whatever you're doing is in service of learning. Power by a teacher is exercised responsibly, ethically and productively when it's somehow in service of student learning. And that means that sometimes you have to say to someone 'what you wish to do is not in your own best interests'. When I met with my dissertation advisor for the first time and he told me 'having this methodology to determine your findings, to use in your PhD research, doesn't make sense, you've got to change your methodology completely': that was an example of an exercise of responsible and ethical power, because he had judged based on his experience that I was caught in one particular way of looking at things, and that I needed to be introduced to an entirely different perspective and set of practices. I think when power is clearly exercised in support of learning, that will be the first condition that I would look for. But it's complicated.

The second condition of an ethical, productive, and responsible use of power is that the rationale behind it is constantly disclosed. So for every action that you take, you explain the reasons for it and why you feel it's in the best interest of your students' learning and how you're going to lead people in an activity. You'll often refer back to earlier examples of similar activities as one reason why you're doing it the way that you are and so on. So as you're making decisions and enacting them, you have constantly to talk those out and to disclose the rationale to make public the thinking behind your practice.

Then the third condition of that responsible, ethical exercise is that you provide constant opportunities for people to critique your power. There are different ways of getting anonymous commentary on practice from students like backchannels, Sli.do, and the Critical Incident Questionnaire (Brookfield, n.d.). So if you're doing that, your exercise of power will appear in those critiques, and if there is something that people are perceiving as arbitrary or haphazard or unfair or unclear, that will come out and then you can deal with it head on, and model a self-critique of about how you're exercising power.

Two final things I wanted to say: you had mentioned in your question student-to-student power dynamics. A lot of my thinking, and I guess that of others as well, has focused on the teacher use of power. Because we are teachers, we're naturally interested in how we think and what we do, but there is also, as you rightly acknowledge, this whole area of student-to-student power dynamics that needs to be kept in mind. I would say that if you're teaching well with an awareness of power, you are as concerned with student-to-student power dynamics as you are with teacher-to-student and student-to-teacher power dynamics.

Some of the things that I try and keep in mind around this issue are that any differences that exist outside the classroom in terms of status, prestige, habit, who gets listened to,

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who usually gets to talk first – all those differences will be immediately imported into the classroom setting. So they will be there, and they will play themselves out unless you do something to intervene. So for me, that's been very influential on my own practice. I've written two books about discussion protocols (Brookfield & Preskill, 2005; 2016): how to equalize participation, how to intervene to create conversational formats that hear from everybody, that allow a range of perspectives to be articulated early on, that don't allow people to dominate in a way that's perceived as being unfair or controlling. So all of those exercises are interventionist actions created by the teacher. I do them with certain ends in mind.

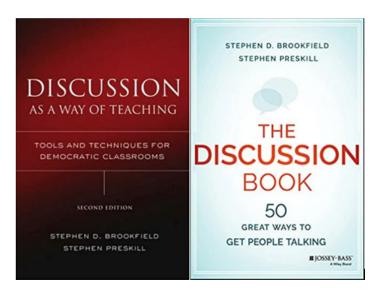


Figure 3: Book covers of *Discussion as a way of teaching* (Brookfield & Preskill, 2005) and *The discussion book* (Brookfield & Preskill, 2016).

In this context of student-to-student power dynamics, one basic principle of a lot of my classroom practices is to equalize participation as much as that is possible. And I realize you can't see this as completely neat and bounded. But I do design exercises to stop unjustified dominance by a minority of voices. And I constantly advocate using multiple instruction and modalities and assessment modalities for the same reason.

The final thing I would just say on this is that as a teacher I understand that power exists outside of my classroom. My classroom is not a self-contained universe unaffected by the kind of cultural or social or economic streams flowing in the outside world. The culture of my institution is going to be very important in terms of what freedom I feel to experiment as a teacher with innovative practices. I've taught in publicly-funded institutions in the United Kingdom and Canada, and then privately-funded institutions in the United States. While both of them operate under this kind of neo-capitalist, let's-

attract-consumers model, there is a difference in emphasis. In the United States, ever since I took my first job in 1982 here, I was made aware, working for private universities that you have to generate enough tuition revenue and income to justify your job. That reality places a great deal of pressure on me to bring as many people in as possible to a program that I'm working with, and sometimes I've made judgments about students' suitability for admission that really shouldn't have been made. I think I've been in a position where I've admitted students in a program to get the numbers up, because we need a certain number of students to keep the program alive. Everything that you do as an educator happens in a wider context.

That's why I feel that political adeptness or astuteness is an important part of a teacher's repertoire of skills. It doesn't matter how brilliant you are pedagogically, if you're unable to make a power map of the institution that you're in, if you're unable to develop alliances that work with people who will have your back when you're facing some pushback from students or from the administration, if you don't know how to adapt the mission language to describe what you're doing so that it's more acceptable and congenial to the powers that be – if you can't do those things you're always going to be at a disadvantage. Those are all micro-political skills that require an understanding of the power dynamics of the institution that you work in.

J. R.: Thank you so much for this fabulous answer! I also think that you can never ignore politics when it comes to education because it's intrinsically intertwined. It's naive to think that anything that happens in education is apolitical. I got a bit stuck into Foucault, so I hope you don't mind if I ask you some more questions in that vein. Foucault developed his concept of disciplinary power in the context of his historical analysis of the birth of the prison. It exhibits an attentive malevolence and is "a type of power which is constantly exercised by means of surveillance" (Foucault, 1980, p. 104, cited in Brookfield, 2005, p. 132). Foucault uses the term 'discipline' to designate a particular kind of power that operates directly on individual bodies. He conceptualises disciplinary power as to be present whenever there is a norm. Consequently, disciplinary power cannot only be seen in prisons, but also in other institutions - factories, families, hospitals, the military, psychiatric institutions, social service agencies and the state in general, and also in schools and adult education.

Foucault argues that from the 18th century onwards, individual bodies are perceived as machines and take centre stage. In order to increase economic productivity and reduce resistance, the goal is to discipline the body, optimize its capabilities, and maximize its productivity and docility (Foucault, 1995, 1990). Individuals are coerced into accepting standards for behavior that they believe constitute the norm and they come to act as if they are always under surveillance. They are subjected to a continual process of surveillance, examination, judgment, and correction, and transformed into docile bodies that are measured and ranked by their relationship to the norm (Foucault, 1995). Disciplinary power operates primarily by facilitating an individual's acceptance of the norm rather than through violent and confrontational force (sovereign power).

Disciplinary power is relational rather than personal: it circulates through hierarchical networks, where individuals are 'relays' for power that both passes through them and is applied to them (Foucault, 2003). "Disciplinary power is not divided between those who have it and those who do not, or between those who hold it and those who are subject to it. Instead, individuals who exercise disciplinary power are interchangeable" (Havis, 2014, p. 113). Disciplinary power can turn a man into a soldier and an undisciplined child into a well-behaved pupil. "[D]isciplinary coercion establishes in the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and an increased domination" (Foucault, 1995, p. 138). "As individuals are rewarded and promoted for their success at complying with the norm, they become increasingly invested in maintaining the norm and the disciplinary process by which they are judged and ranked" (Havis, 2014, p. 115).

You chillingly wrote that disciplinary power "turns lifelong learning into a lifelong nightmare of 'hierarchical surveillance, continuous registration, perpetual assessment and classification'" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 132; Foucault, 1995, cited in Brookfield, 2005, p. 132). In what ways do you think are schools and other educational institutions like prisons?



Figure 4: Lecture on the evils of alcoholism in the auditorium of Fresnes prison. Source: Foucault, 1995, Figure 8 (between pp. 169-170).

S. B.: The notion that they teach in a prison-like environment is one that most readers would hate to hold. No one wants to function like a prison guard, or occupy a leadership

position where they act like a prison warder. Over the years, the metaphor of prison is one of the most common metaphors that I hear from teachers I know who work in public schools. Teachers in high schools or elementary schools are constantly complaining about feeling controlled by a system, of being forced because of a testing deadline to write their curriculum in a particular way, and to focus only on developing skills that will make the school look good in light of pupils' attainment on educational achievement matrices. I think that many of us feel that we're working in a system that is tightly constrained and where our actions that we can take, the range of acceptable actions, how you can talk to people, those are controlled by the system. The ways in which people can display progress, growth, achievement, what counts as a good student, those are all determined by a norm of what bell hooks (1994) called the norm of "bourgeois decorum". So there is a lot of direct transferability. Of course, you would hope that schools would operate in a more benign way than some prisons with violent prison guards where they actually physically beat inmates. You would hope that there won't be a lot of direct attacks, student-to-student attacks or student-to-teacher attacks, but in the United States, we have this whole history of school shootings. It's usually an outsider who comes in, but sometimes it's the students themselves. And, the system is often criticized for not picking up the signs of student alienation and so on. I think the notion of sovereign power still has some play, although I understand the arguments for disciplinary power and I think that's a very helpful construct.

I think the notion of sovereign power still has some play, although I understand the arguments for disciplinary power.

I do know that the principal of a school or the president of an institution or a college or university or the dean of a particular school or department does have an awful lot of power in terms of setting a tone within an organization just as a warden has the power in terms of setting tone regarding how prisoners are going to be treated. The prison is set up on a schedule, on a system, that does not have the logic of inmates' well-being as its prime organizing idea. No, it has the idea of organizational effectiveness, of institutional, smooth running, a bureaucratic notion, and schools are just the same. In colleges and universities, you have departments, you have siloed elements of intellectual control, there is a mistrust of interdisciplinary teaching, there's a mistrust of team teaching, it seems too complicated and too costly. There's a lot of parallels between the systems.

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I disagree fundamentally with Althusser (2001), who sees teachers as dupes within schools that are run as tightly constrained, almost-penal systems. I don't know any teachers who are not aware of being constrained by systemic requirements. And then, just as with prisons, I think in colleges and universities and most organizations,

there are also these unofficial networks and channels of communication that develop where people find each other and brainstorm how to undermine or sabotage the system. They talk about how they can keep their creativity protected and challenge notions of what it means to be an efficient teacher using best practices. That whole best practices, efficiency or effectiveness model, I would say, is ultimately often built to serve the institution's needs rather than the students' needs, although it's always couched in helping students learn.

There are incredible numbers of similarities between how schools, colleges and universities function and the way that prisons function. I know from my own experiences as a school pupil, when summer came around, it felt like I was like being let out of prison. I was released from spending my days in what I felt were completely meaningless tasks that had nothing to do with the realities of life. So I don't think it's at all far-fetched to say even though most people would shudder at the idea that we work in a prison, I don't think it's far-fetched to say that there are many systemic similarities between how prisons function, and the way that higher education and schooling functions.

It's not far-fetched to say that there are many systemic similarities between how prisons function, and the way that higher education and schooling functions.

J. R.: My next question is regarding the panopticon. You've alluded to that when you were talking about the circle, but perhaps, we can still talk about it a bit more. As you know, originally Bentham's concept of the panopticon was an 'ideal prison' that featured a central tower with cells surrounding the tower in a backlit circle, an arrangement that allowed a central supervisor located in the tower to observe each and every one of the prisoners in their cells (Foucault, 1995; see Havis, 2014).

Foucault developed the concept of the panopticon further into a generalizable model of functioning that illustrates the effect of disciplinary technology in everyday life. In its various forms, the panoptic schema serves "to treat patients, to instruct schoolchildren, to confine the insane, [and] to supervise workers" (Foucault, 1995; see Havis, 2014). Due to the panopticon, prisoners/patients/schoolchildren/workers become complicit in their own domination: they behave as if they are constantly under surveillance and consequently conform their behavior to the norm. The result is the "automatic functioning of power" through "permanent surveillance" and without the immediate use of force (Foucault, 1995, p. 201; see Havis, 2014). The individuals ultimately discipline themselves, and their domination is not dependent on any other person. Foucault's discussion of the panopticon thus allows us to see more clearly how disciplinary power operates. In the 21st century, the chilling metaphor of the panopticon acquires additional meaning when considering the surveillance by governments of their citizens (e.g. the revelations by Edward Snowden or the way China uses AI and mobile apps) and also the 'surveillance capitalism' by Big Tech (especially Facebook and Alphabet) of

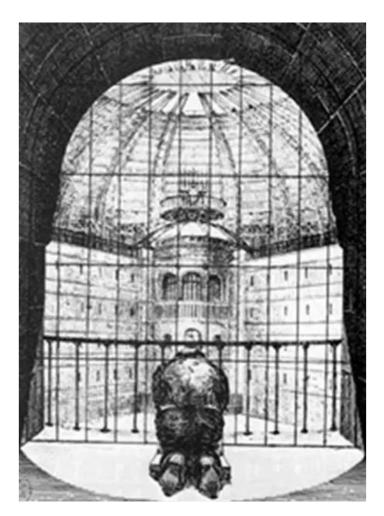


Figure 5: A prisoner kneeling at prayer before the central inspection tower. Source: Harou-Romain (1840), p. 250, cited in Foucault (1995), Figure 4 (between pp. 169-170).

its customers (Zuboff, 2019). What are your views regarding panoptic schemas in society and education? Do they also sound Orwellian to you or like we are in the Matrix (the 1999 movie)?

S. B.: My first response is thinking that despite their authoritarian elements and the way that social media surveils us so perfectly, that is just the reality today. It's not that I think of it as Orwellian or like the Matrix. Those examples are of a dystopian future that's waiting around the corner unless we wake up to what's going on. It's just the way the world is, it's the empirical reality in which we live right now. And it has been for quite a while. But I would say that in terms of the growth of the internet, that process of surveillance has just been intensified incredibly in recent years, both in the wider society, in the United States anyway, and also within schools.

As I was growing up as a teacher, there was a surveillance element embedded in a lot of the practices that were portrayed as being open, experimental and collaborative, like there were colleges where I taught younger adults, where there was an open classroom door policy. I also have been in degree-awarding institutions which have this policy, so you have to keep the classroom door open. The rationale for it always was that someone moving around the building might overhear something from a classroom and think 'wow, that's really interesting' and just hover outside and be

educated by the wisdom or insight that was being shared at the other side of the wall in the classroom.

Also, the classroom open door policy was designed to help teachers learn from each other. So as a colleague, you'd be walking by a colleague's classroom, you see them doing something or hear them doing something, and you just spend a few seconds observing them from the corridor, and you pick up an idea and think 'Oh, that's a great metaphor', or 'it's a wonderful way of explaining it' or 'what a terrific activity', and then you adopt it in your own practice. So the open classroom door policy was portrayed as a way of encouraging collaboration and the improvement of practice amongst teachers.

But I experienced it always as direct surveillance. And I hated the open door policy, and I would close my door in contravention of it because one of the ways I felt it was important for me to have the freedom to do some experimenting was to have some privacy over what I was doing as a teacher. I didn't want people to know all the time the kinds of things I was saying or the activities that we were doing in class.

The idea of open classrooms was very big in the 1960s and '70s when I was a teenager and then moving into adulthood: the idea that classes could be held almost like in some big public space. You often see this in the summer when in Minnesota, students are so fed up with being indoors, they persuade their teachers to go outside and go on the lawn in a college. You'll have different classes being taught in a kind of open environment so that people can overhear each other. I always resisted as a teacher going outdoors, although I wanted to be outdoors. I had the feeling that once my practice became public then I would feel more constrained, I felt like I would have to watch what I say, the expressions I use, the examples I adopt, the kinds of activities that we're doing in class, and so on.

So I do think that a lot of that surveillance technology has been present all my life, but in cyberspace, it is just intensified incredibly, and of course, the capacity of algorithms to identify what our preferences, choices and orientations are and the ads that feed straight to us. It's clear that we now all have digital identities and digital footprints, and there is a particular profile of our identity that's been constructed in cyberspace, and that is very influential. We may not be aware of it, but negotiating our life is being subtly programmed by these algorithms in terms of what new websites we're turned on to or made aware of. I'll often get books appearing in a little side panel on the screen that I have, or I'm a guitar player, I get ads for guitars. These are here based on my consumer profile, and they know the kinds of books I'm interested in and the kinds of guitars I'm interested in. Amazon is a perfect example of that.

This has been really clear in the pandemic as we have moved so much temporarily to a completely online form of learning. Zoom has been the predominant platform that has got a great deal of traction because of the pandemic. That feeling of being surveilled is constant in Zoom, because you're being surveilled by the camera and one of the ways that I tried to get by that early on, was having a policy that

you don't need to have your camera on when I'm giving any kind of presentation, feel free just to turn the camera off. But if you don't do things like that, then students now have to comply with what an attentive student looks like. So they have to keep looking at the screen. They can't lean back and close their eyes or lie on the floor as a way of processing information, all of which to me would be very helpful. I always close my eyes when I'm considering new ideas. And I'll often close my eyes when I'm responding to student questions, because the activity of thinking happens much better if I shut out visual stimuli. But now I can't do that and students can't do that, because it's not good Zoom etiquette. And then asynchronously, there is this constant and justifiable pressure to respond to previous postings, and that's how you show you're supporting your peers' learning and how you show you're also developing your own understanding by questions you raise of peers and feedback you give on their posts. But there are deadlines for those because it's unfair to keep somebody hanging around forever for reactions to their post. But, those deadlines are themselves a form of surveillance. And you can tell who has read, who has logged on for how long and so forth.

Even though we're spending a lot of time alone because of the Covid-19 virus, in some weird way, we are more publicly on view than we ever have been before because of our reliance on technology and the web. I'm constantly reminded of Marcuse's (1991) analysis of privacy, of the need for periods of privacy when you extract yourself out of surveillance mechanisms, and you find some corner of your life where you are truly alone. And he says that that moment of individual privacy or those possibilities for individual privacy are necessary for us to re-conceptualize how we want to re-enter the world. So he doesn't see privacy as a retreat from the world. He sees it also as the necessary precursor for some critical reflection that allows you then to reengage with the world. I think privacy is less and less available to us. So I turn off my camera, I have it covered when I'm not doing something like this, talking directly to someone. But there is still the sense I have now that I am more under public scrutiny than any other time in my life and I'm 73, so that's covered quite a span of time.

J. R.: These are very valuable observations that you've been making and thanks a lot for them! Just a guick comment on the camera during Zoom meetings. My students in Singapore, almost 100% usually don't turn on their cameras. I've thought about this quite a bit because it makes me unhappy, as a teacher, if I don't see my students because I feel disconnected. But at the same time, I appreciate all the reasons that you were giving earlier. Some of the students are not in conducive circumstances, they may also not want to show everybody how they live, how cramped their living conditions may be, how little privacy there may be, and so on. But during presentations, I still think it's quite a good practice -- although not everybody follows it - to turn on the cameras. Especially in the beginning of the pandemic, I felt like I was speaking into the void, it was a very disembodied, very alienated feel. Of course, after two years, I'm completely used to it, it's the 'new normal'. But I think a lot of people, me included, certainly look forward to going back to physical classrooms where we can see the students again.

In addition to disciplinary power, Foucault developed also a complementary concept of a technology of power: biopower. Whilst disciplinary power focuses on producing individualizing effects by manipulating individual bodies, biopower centers on large populations (rather than individual bodies). According to Foucault, biopower is generated through its dispositifs (apparatuses): sexuality, race, productivity, health, mortality, fertility etc. "[B]iopower is what fashions, monitors, surveys, controls, and secures populations in terms of a calculus of forces: health, hygiene, and vitality, but also infirmity, sickness, old age, vice, and degeneracy" (Mendieta, 2014b, pp. 46-47). 'Biopolitics' is Foucault's term for the intervention of political power into the processes of life. It produces and circulates through biopower and maximizes a population's "subjugation and exploitation with the least cost of expenditure of power" (Mendieta, 2014a, p. 39; see Foucault, 1990). Biopower cannot be reduced to the study of one particular institution. In addition to the usual suspects (schools, barracks, prisons, and hospitals), there are also the "agencies that monitor whom we marry, whether we are healthy, whether we have been vaccinated, everything that falls under the general umbrella of 'public health'" (Mendieta, 2014b, p. 47). With the body being a "biopolitical reality" and medicine "a biopolitical strategy" (Foucault, 2000, p. 137), Foucault also seems to be highly relevant in our present pandemic. What are your views of biopolitics and biopower during the current pandemic and how governments and educational institutions have responded?

S. B.: Over the last few decades, I guess since he died [in 1984], I've often thought to myself, 'man, I wish Foucault could see what's going on right now'. He died before the whole social media explosion, before the web was a mass phenomenon. And then I think of how COVID policies have been framed and disseminated. In a federal system like in the United States, each particular state – or as with Canada, each particular province – has a lot of authority over what goes on within its boundaries. Analyzing how mandates are decided upon, how directions as to what those mandates entail are disseminated over public media, the way in which urban myths grow up, and then are taken by another section of the media and rendered as legitimate medical science, like taking these crazy drugs to offset the effects of COVID and so on.

Then you think about how many of us, in colleges and universities, have had to deal with this. It's been very interesting for me to see how the mandate of needing to generate tuition revenue, that fundamental rationale that lies behind the neo-capitalistic mode of institutional functioning. We have to attract consumers and that so strongly undermines what we're doing in terms of educational policy. Because if you're a college that charges a lot of money in the United States, but you're not meeting for classes and students are all at home with their parents and are not interacting with each other, then the whole rationale for charging vast amounts of money for the 'college experience' is called into question. Therefore, colleges say, 'well, we've got to get students back as quickly as possible' so that parents will feel they're paying for something. They're paying for this idea that students are gathered together in a quest for truth and beauty and that character will grow because they're on a college campus

and so on and so forth.

The pressure to ignore medical science and to bring students back on campus is so strong that over and over again, at least in this country, we've seen colleges allowing people back on too soon, having a sudden outbreak and then having to reinforce a mandate of all instruction being occurring through Zoom or other online mechanisms. When I read Foucault, I read him as a critical theorist, and when I read his work on norms and on bio-power, the dissemination of supervision and so on, I keep coming back to the notion of dominant ideology and the way the dominant ideologies are learned and internalized and then how they frame daily practices within institutions. So when he's talking about bio-power, when he's talking about the mechanisms by which medical policies are instituted, I understand this within a critical theory frame of capitalism.

The pressure to ignore medical science and to bring students back on campus is so strong that over and over again, at least in this country, we've seen colleges allowing people back on too soon...

A modified form of capitalism is the underlying paradigm for the organization of higher education. 'We have to make a profit, we plow those profits back into further expansion'. 'We are a successful university in terms of building more and more buildings or how we widen the curricula that we offer - let's create a school of law, how about a school of public health, a school of entrepreneurship, etc. This is how we move up the league tables and establish a reputation'. I've been employed in various institutions that have said 'we want to elevate our public profile' and the way that you do that is usually by having a giant fundraising effort, building new buildings, hiring talent like for an English Premier League soccer team. So I always say 'you have to look for what dominant ideologies are in place, and how those different ones are supporting each other or kind of contesting each other', which sometimes also happens. But I think Foucault would have had a field day with COVID. It speaks so directly to his concerns, and also the concerns of anti-vaxxers are framed in terms of anti-surveillance. 'We do not want to be surveilled. We don't want all these records on us, it's our own choice'. So not taking a vaccine is seen as an active individual, powerful liberation. So yeah, I think his analysis works perfectly around COVID.

Foucault would have had a field day with COVID.

J. R.: So do I. I also would love to have seen Foucault live a much longer life so that he could have continued observing what is happening in the present. I have this very long quote from Foucault where he compares the lecture to the seminar. And perhaps surprisingly, he believes that the lecture is actually less fraught with power relations as opposed to the seminar. To quote Foucault:

"In France, the lecture system has been strongly criticized: the professor comes in, stays behind his desk for an hour,

says what he has to say, there's no possibility for student discussion. The reformists preferred the seminar system because their freedom is respected: the professor no longer imposes his ideas and the student has the right to speak... [B]ut don't you think that a professor who takes charge of students at the beginning of the year, makes them work in small groups, invites them to enter his own work shares with them his own problem and methods – don't you think that students coming out of this seminar will be even more twisted than if they had simply attended a series of lectures? Will they not tend to consider as acquired, natural, evident and absolutely true what is after all only the system, the code and the grid of the professor? Isn't there the risk that the professor feeds them with ideas much more insidiously? I don't wish to defend the lecture at all costs but I wonder whether it does not indeed have a kind of crude honesty, provided it states what it is: not the proclamation of a truth, but the tentative result of some work which has its hypotheses, methods and which therefore can appeal for criticism and objections: the student is free to uncover its blunders. Of course, seminars and work groups are necessary, but more so, I believe, for training in methods than the exercise of freedom. When I lecture..., I consider myself more like an artisan doing a certain piece of work and offering it for consumption than a master making his slaves work" (Foucault, cited in Simon, 1971, pp. 199-200).



Figure 6: Foucault lecturing at Berkeley in the early 1980s. Photograph by Randy Badier. Source: The deleuze seminars (1986).

We could interpret Foucault's quote as saying that a lecture "might neutralize power relations by rendering them more visible; whereas the ostensible freedom and reciprocity of the seminar may disguise power relations to the extent that students uncritically absorb what is only the informed opinion of the teacher" (Deacon, 2006, pp. 184-185). You have discussed how to exercise teacher power responsibly and ethically earlier. But perhaps you would like to comment on Foucault's quote?

S. B: Yeah, I love that quote. And he's saying 50 or more years ago what Freire said almost two decades later. Freire is often identified as the anti-lecturing representative in a critique of higher education. But in his book with Ira Shor (Freire & Shor, 1987), he talks about how lectures can be critically stimulating events, introducing new territory and productively troubling ideas to students. And he says, 'it's not that a lecture in and of itself is an example of banking

education and that discussion is an example of problemposing liberating education, because discussions themselves can be manipulated'. And as Foucault says, students can be twisted into moving in certain directions, without them even knowing that that's what is going on. So I really like that point. And I've always been opposed to seeing a lecture or a discussion as two opposites of a continuum, one an authoritarian, uninterrupted transmission of knowledge and the other a collaborative, critically and enlivening analysis of ideas. I don't think those two are an accurate bifurcation, because a small group discussion, as Deacon points out in his commentary, can be very manipulative.

In 1970, almost the same year that Foucault's quote came out, there was an article that had a big influence on me written in British adult education by a philosopher called Ralph Patterson. He introduced the notion of "counterfeit discussion" (Patterson, 1979) and I've held on to that for 50 years. Counterfeit discussion is discussion where people are talking in a group so it looks collaborative, open and free. But in fact, the discussion is being manipulated by the leader (or the teacher or instructor) to move towards a certain pre-defined end. So it's not really a discussion in the sense of being free and open-ended at all. It is a manipulated conversation that happens under the veneer of a supposedly democratic classroom activity. And I have been in so many counterfeit discussions over the years where I recognize that that's what's going on; we are being moved to a preordained conclusion and what is proposed to us as being free and open-ended is actually controlled within predefined parameters. There are certain areas in which we can't go because the leader will bring us back to what he or she determines is relevant in the discussion.

I agree completely with that critique. I personally prefer a discussion-based methodology, I'm drawn to that. But as an educator, I try and work in a pragmatic way, in the best sense of that word from the American philosophical tradition: pragmatism as the purposeful experimentation with experience. I'm open to lecturing, I'm open to using discussion, I'm open to silence, I'm open to speech, I'm open to text. I'm open to images and sounds. The judgment you make as a teacher is: what is the context in which you're in? Who are the students in all their different complexities that you're dealing with? What are the educational objectives that you're trying to achieve? Then out of an analysis of those three things - context, students, and objectives or purposes – you make instructional choices. So I'm happy to do anything if I feel it's in the service of student learning. And I do think that teaching well is almost by definition, multimodal, because there are always going to be shadings, nuances and subtleties in any situation in which you find yourself, you're always going to have to be switching things up, bringing in different methodologies. It's inherently responsive. You make the choices on what you're going to do at any particular time based on what you're finding out about the context and the students and how they're experiencing the learning in a particular direction that you're trying to take them.

Teaching well is almost by definition, multimodal.

- **J. R.**: I remember you referring to Ralph Patterson's counterfeit discussions. That's indeed a very powerful concept. What constitutes a powerful act of teaching, or a powerful example of learning?
- **S. B**.: I deal with this in a book called *Powerful techniques for teaching adults*. In chapter one, I start off by saying, 'What is an act of powerful teaching? And what is the kind of powerful learning that is induced by that? I do define powerful teaching as having four characteristics. The first is that an act of powerful teaching is one where you're deliberately taking account of the realities of power that exist, trying to understand power dynamics in the context in which you're working. I would say that, in my own career, all the time that I've spent designing protocols, classroom activities, discussion protocols to equalize student participation, that for me has been an act of powerful teaching, because it's deliberately informed by my understanding of power dynamics.

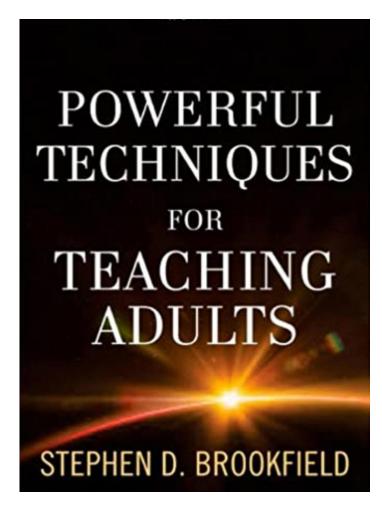


Figure 7: Book cover of Powerful technique for teaching in lifelong learning.

Secondly, I think an act of powerful teaching is one going back to empowerment, it's an act that supports learners in planning their own empowerment. That's partly the removal of institutional systemic barriers to allow them to have enough confidence and energy to really speak in their own voice and to push for what they want. But I think also you help people claim empowerment by building up their skill set, building up their knowledge in a way that they're getting access now to ideas and information that they can

use to transform their own lives and communities. So I do think there is some content around exercising your own agency, developing your own voice, developing your self-confidence, knowing how to build collective networks and collaborations. When you try and get students to grow and develop in those ways by helping them internalize those skills and dispositions, I think that is supporting them in a powerful way.

Thirdly, I think that any teaching that helps students become aware of power dynamics in the classroom and in the wider world is what I would call an act of powerful teaching. Every discipline has its own canon, its own epistemological grammar, its own norms, criteria for judging what is legitimate knowledge and how that knowledge is created. I think anytime you get students to understand that that is a constructed reality; that what is regarded as the kind of gold standard ways of doing research in a discipline, comes from somewhere and has been created to represent a certain intellectual history or a certain set of interests. Anytime you're doing that, you're teaching in a powerful way, because you're making students aware of how power operates in a wider context.

And then fourthly, a condition of powerful teaching is what Foucault was saying with the lecture in that [above] quote, it renders the teacher's power transparent. In other words, you are striving for full disclosure as to why you're doing what you're doing. You're making your rationales clear for the choices that you're enacting. You're very open and transparent about the reasons for your actions and choices. Part of that transparency is being open to critique via anonymous feedback, all the channels and CIQ (Critical Incident Questionnaire) and so on, that we've talked about many times in the past. So those were the four ways that I wanted just to say, I respond to that particular sub-question.

- **J. R**.: That's very helpful! In *Becoming a Critically Reflective Teacher*, you actually ask a lot of probing questions that we have reproduced in the following question. "How does the institution authorize positional power? When do students think teachers exercise their power in helpful and ethical ways?" We may have partially addressed that. "When do they judge teachers to be acting in arbitrary and unjustifiable ways? What happens when teachers attempt to 'give away' their power and work in a student-centered fashion?" (Brookfield, 2017, p. 27)
- **S. B**.: How does the institution authorize positional power? I guess that happens by the conferring of titles, by requiring that you call someone 'professor' and by students knowing that if push comes to shove, if there is a conflict between a student and an instructor, institutional power will always side with the instructor unless there is something in the student's position that threatens a wider institutional interest. But typically, the institution authorizes power by the system, constantly placing all decisions in the hands of institutional representatives, so there's very little chance for students to have any decision-making power: the grading, the choice of curricula, the conferring of the title of professor, the freedom to design assessment formats that students have to adhere to: those are all ways in which students are constantly reminded of who really has the power.

I wrote a paper, back in the 90s, with Ian Baptiste and its title contained a student's quote: 'Your so-called democracy is hypocritical because you can always fail us' (Baptiste & Brookfield, 1997). And that's the reality: students know that you as their teacher have the ultimate power to determine their fate. And so there's a constant reminder to them of how your authority has been conferred on you by the institution. When the students think that teachers exercise their power in helpful and ethical ways – I deal with this to some degree in *The skillful teacher* (Brookfield, 2015) and I keep coming back to that theme – some of the answers I hear from students are: 'it's fostering useful and productive learning', 'something that's really going to be helpful to me', or 'I think you're exercising your power in a great way, when you're modeling something for me'.

My work on critical thinking has been very influenced by students saying that the most helpful thing a teacher can do is model their own practice of critical thinking, and make sure to tell students that that's what is happening. So I think you use your power very helpfully for students when you model in that way. I think when you support students, you try and build up their self-confidence and say 'Come on, you can do this'. 'You may feel plagued by feelings of impostership, but here's the reasons why I think you're fully capable of writing this dissertation or passing this course'. Students speak very appreciatively of that behavior when they're looking back on their own autobiographies as learners. They appreciate it when teachers provide clarification and clear up confusion for students, or when they jump in to give a really good example. A teacher might say suddenly 'well, let's stop for a second. I've just found this online. Let me pull this up and show you this brief video'. And then the showing of the video helps communicate what it is that you've been trying to get across that students are confused by. Students will say often that this is a very helpful thing for teachers to do.

Also, lots of students have in Critical Incident Questionnaires over the years told me that 'when you stopped what we felt was an unfair exercise of power or an imbalance in participation', 'when you told somebody, I think we've heard enough from you', or 'No, I don't want you to speak right now because someone over here has been trying to get in', or 'when you point out the blatant inaccuracy of another student's comments' or 'when you don't let racist comments go unaddressed' – those are all things that they say is 'a good act of your power'. I read things from students saying 'I would have been disappointed in you if you hadn't intervened and done something at that point'.

When the students judge us to be acting in arbitrary and unjustifiable ways, when no rationale is being provided, when it seems like your decisions are just coming off the top of your head, being made in a haphazard and unplanned way, that often comes across as arbitrary. It might not be unplanned. But it seems that way to students if you don't really talk out loud the reasons for your actions in front of them, or if, when they ask for some help or clarification, you ignore those requests. If you are having students saying 'Hold on, can you go over this again?' Or 'can we revisit this requirement that you're asking us to complete in this course?' And you say 'No, we're done with that'. I think ignoring a request to address student concerns is seen as an

unjustifiable and an arbitrary way of working.

Another example is when you clearly play favorites in the classroom, and it becomes clear to a group that there are certain students you like, and you will give them the floor, and there are certain students that you dislike, and you're constantly trying to marginalize them. Students know, in my experience, that's what's going on. And that's another way when I think you'll seem to be operating in an arbitrary and unjustifiable way.

And what happens when teachers attempt to give away their power and work in a student-centered fashion? We've kind of dealt with some of that under the empowerment question. Sometimes when you try and move into that less structured, freer environment which depends more on students taking control of knowledge production that is sometimes fiercely resisted. Because (a) it goes against the institutional norms about how learning is supposed to happen that students have picked up and (b) it takes a lot more energy on their part, because now they have to become active agents making decisions and they feel that's your job, you should be doing that as this is what you get paid to do. 'Why are you asking us to be involved in creating a curriculum, you're the professor, you've got the expertise, you hold the doctorate, you can't expect me as a novice to be an equal co-designer of curriculum'. If students have been strongly socialized in a way of learning such as students from Confucian cultures who come to the United States used to following instructions and revering authority and are then suddenly told US higher education is all about collaboratively thinking critically, questioning authorities and the canon and so on; for those students this is very hard to make that transition and it takes a long time.

Judging when and how to encourage greater independence of thought and challenge to authority is so contextually dependent, primarily on how much the students know you. You can work in those ways if there has already been a relationship of trust and familiarity developed. But it's not a singular, monolithic response. Usually, I found when you do this, there are some students who love it. But there are also some students in the same group who really resist it. So it's not like you're dealing just with resistance or just with acceptance, the reactions are really all over the place. In terms of teaching well, you've got to keep researching the student experience, constantly monitoring what's going on, what's happening to them, explaining the steps of your process along the way. So that's the only thing I would add in terms of moving towards a more empowering stance.

- **J. R.**: Thank you! In his debate with Noam Chomsky, Foucault said "The real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the workings of institutions that appear to be both neutral and independent, to criticize and attack them in such a manner that the political violence that has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight against them" (cited in Chomsky & Foucault, 2015, p. 41). Could you please share some of your personal experiences in criticizing institutions?
- **S. B**.: I think when you do this, you shouldn't be naïve. You should understand that it will come with a cost more

often than not. As I think about ways that institutions have responded to me personally, or also when I think about colleagues who have publicly criticized institutions and held them to account, what's happened to them, there are certain very predictable things that go on. The institution has a lot of power to report and disseminate and frame your criticism, and they control often the means of information dissemination. So for example, if you as a faculty member are unable to send a mass email to everybody in your institution (which has happened to me), because the capacity to do that has been removed, then [laughs] you're immediately at a disadvantage because you can't get your criticism out or you can't address misrepresentations of your criticism. Because one thing that an institution will do will be to rewrite whatever history lies behind what you're criticizing.

I've been involved in situations where a public record about my particular work has been systemically changed by an institution, so it's literally rewriting history. Then another thing that they will do is try and gaslight you, and by gaslighting I refer to the 1944 Ingrid Bergman movie Gaslight, where you try and convince someone that your criticism is inherently irrational, that you're not seeing the world properly and therefore, it doesn't really have any validity because you're just imagining it. You're making things up. They will do what they can to invalidate the legitimacy of your question. They will try and keep you isolated and stop you disseminating your pushback. Again, this is channels of communication to colleagues. Because the longer they can isolate you and put doubts in your mind that in fact, you're seeing mythical things, you're not actually addressing real issues. That's one way, psychologically and individually, an institution can break you down and sap your morale.

A third typical thing I've seen happen is to remove people who speak out, who are in some position of influence as in-charge of a committee or a task force, not fire them, but remove them from a position of institutional influence. I've seen that happen a lot.

A fourth thing is to change the duties of the person doing the criticizing, so that they're now reassigned or overburdened with work that will sap them of any energy they have to make their critical agenda public. So I've seen a lot of that kind of work reassignment and experienced that myself over the years. So those are some typical responses that I've experienced and I've also seen other people experience, which is why I keep coming back to this importance of political education, that you need to learn how to become a political actor as a teacher, particularly if you're interested in power of challenging authority in any way. So you have to first of all know how to build alliances, draw this political power map of an institution, work out who you need to talk to and get behind you, work out who has a like-minded position on a particular issue and just informally ask them to go to coffee, and you build relationships and that building of alliances is a basic lesson in keeping yourself employed.

Secondly, the way that you use institutional language, the mission statement, the way you invoke and approve symbols is very important. Because if you hold people to account, and you frame it as how is what you're doing contributing to our mission, that's a much harder thing to wriggle out



Figure 8: Theatrical release poster for the movie *Gaslight*. Public domain. Source: Gaslight (2022).

of than just critique for the sake of critique. So you always frame it in terms of the mission. Or if you have a new idea that you think people are going to react against, tie it to 'I think, if we do this, or we consider this curriculum or make this change, it will help us realize what we say is our mission, to help us exemplify what we say we're even more'. So you always frame it in that way. I think that you build deviance credits, as Ira Shor called them, so you do things that build a reputation as an institutional loyalist. You serve on alumni committees, you help in fundraising, you cheerlead for the organization so that when the institution wants to gaslight you, it's harder because you have this history of doing publicly supportive things for the institution. So the deviance credits are nice to have in the bank, as it were. You have to be good at picking your fights. You have to know what is potentially winnable, distinguish between wars and battles and then specific skirmishes, because we only have so much energy. So you've got to kind of decide where am I going to use my energy because it's usually a draining thing. And you have to understand that you're not going to get sometimes as far as you would like.

I've seen these things work in helping people stay with critique longer than if they just go solo, or they don't attach at all to what the mission says it's about or they don't research

the history and realize that discussion around this happened five years ago. If you introduce a new issue, and you come across as 'this is the first time the institution has addressed this', but in fact, to those who were around, we talked about this five or ten years ago, you lose credibility. So you got to do your research and be politically smart as well as having all the command of curricular content that you need to have as a teacher. And also, the ability to work in a good pedagogical way, which we would define as teaching well. Aside from those things, you also need political acumen.

J. R.: That's very wise advice. Thank you very much!

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