PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF TEACHER SURVEILLANCE: A CASE STUDY OF AN INDEPENDENT SCHOOL

by

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH UNSWORTH-HUGHES

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Education
College of Social Sciences
University of Birmingham
October 2021

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ABSTRACT

My research looks at education in the context of today's 'surveillance society'. It aims to conceptualise flows of surveillance in the independent school context, and to establish their impacts. The positioning of the teacher has undergone a significant shift as a result of the increasing role of surveillance in our liquid-modern and increasingly consumer-driven society; the historically one-way process of the teacher surveilling the pupil has been replaced with a complex web, or assemblage, of surveillance, with the teacher of the centre of it, and surveilled by various stakeholders, such as parents, pupils, management, colleagues, and even intrapersonally.

This thesis outlines my case-study of one independent school in the South of England amid a move to a 'glass walls culture', and offers findings from twenty-three interviews undertaken with teachers, Heads of Departments, pupils, parents, and Senior Leadership members regarding their experiences of, and views on, the surveillance of the teacher. Using Page's (2017a) work on teacher surveillance as a valuable starting point, my research outlines more than thirty different ways that teachers are surveilled in schools, as demonstrated by my diagram 'the Surveillant 360', which outlines ways in which knowledge is accessed, generated and shared. The application of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorisation of desire lines shines a light on ways in which teachers are surveilled by different surveillant stakeholders, and how power relations are destabilised. The case is made that the surveillant assemblage is characterised by liquidity, multiplicity and exchangeability, and that there is a shift from surveillance undertaken by external stakeholders to more intrapersonal surveillance.

Ultimately, surveillance is shown to be neither positive nor negative in and of itself, yet it is the ways in which the surveillant knowledge is used, and individuals' perceptions of such, that is significant. The surveillance of the teacher can lead to feelings of validation, a sense of care and protection, and have developmental benefits. However, my findings also suggest that the surveillance of the teacher can result in suspicion, frustration, increased workload, and, perhaps, most concerning of all – an ontological insecurity and shift in focus of the teacher whereby they put the ways in which they are seen by others above the needs of their pupils. This study is significant not only in that it treads new ground by being located within the independent sector, but also because it is the most in-depth application of assemblage theory to surveillance in education to date, and it can be of great use to policy-makers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my huge gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Karl Kitching, for his invaluable support and assistance throughout the process of writing my thesis. I would also like to offer thanks to Dr. Kay Fuller for encouraging me to take educational research further. I consider myself very lucky to have had the opportunity to work with such inspirational and dedicated individuals.

My thanks also go to my case-study school and participants – staff, pupils and parents – for whose contributions I shall be eternally grateful.

Finally, thank you to my lovely family – Michael, John Byron and Charles – for their endless support and motivation… despite the background music of nursery-rhymes whilst I've been grappling with Foucault!

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION[1]

Research focus

My research explores the ways in which teachers are surveilled by a multitude of stakeholders within an independent school setting, and the consequential impacts of such on teachers, other stakeholders, and education. Within the 'school tradition' of the 'disciplinary gaze' (Raible and Irizarry, 2010, p.1197), surveillance has always been an integral component of education; traditionally, the pupil is under the surveillance of the teacher, and is disciplined for any infringement to the establishment's rules and expectations. Drawing upon Foucault's adaptation of Bentham's model for a prison (Foucault, 1977), the panopticon has commonly been used as a metaphor for surveillance in contemporary society (Bushnell, 2003), and this has been applied to the school establishment from the point of view of the pupil under scrutiny (Taylor, 2013). However, more recently, literature has begun to explore a marked complicating of power in surveillance dynamics in schools (Ball, 2003; Courtney, 2016; Page, 2017a, 2017b), with the suggestion that we have moved beyond the panoptic, into the 'post-panoptic' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000; Courtney, 2016). Recent thinking has displaced the traditional model of the teacher standing in surveillant authority to the pupil; the teacher is now both the subject and object of surveillance, and the guard-inmate or surveiller-surveilled hierarchy has shifted so that the traditional model of education's one-way process of surveillance no longer exists. As Page (2017b, p.2) points out, 'while teaching has always been about being watched, the surveillance of teachers is an altogether more recent activity' – it is this 'recent activity' that my research seeks to explore.

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[1] This chapter, along with Chapters 2, 3 and 4, draws upon work completed in my earlier EdD assignments.

Research aims and questions

My research has two key aims. Firstly, I seek to *conceptualise* systems of surveillance in the independent school, from the perspective of stakeholders, applying assemblage theory to this educational setting. What exactly is happening, and how do different 'flows' of surveillance interact and work together and/or against each other? What tensions, or pushes and pulls, exist? While Page (2017b) has already done some important work in this area, a) the extent to which it is based upon empirical evidence is limited, and b) the wider research is grounded in the state sector; there is limited research in this area in the independent (fee-paying) sector. I therefore use his work as a starting point to develop understanding of how assemblage theory can be applied to surveillance in a school setting; specifically, an independent school. My research looks at ways in which there is a multitude of different modes of surveillance and surveillant relationships which all function and interact in different ways. Hence, my first research question is:

In what ways are teachers perceived to be surveilled in the independent school?

Due to the limited length and scope of this thesis, the main body of this thesis intentionally spotlights those modes of surveillance which appear to have the most impact, while all modes of surveillance discussed in interviews are referenced in Appendix 4.

My second aim is to take a step further than Page (2017a; 2017b) has done, building on his work in order to look in more detail at the *impacts* of this surveillance upon the teachers. It has been argued that 'top-down' (Page, 2017a) surveillance in particular can lead to feelings of deprofessionalisation and can generate teacher-anxiety (Jeffrey and Woods, 1996), as well as cause teaching to become a performance, a fabrication (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000) or even a simulation (Page, 2017b); however, no empirical research has satisfactorily exposed

what the impacts of *this* might be. What ontological issues are generated as a result? How does this change the role, identity and function of the teacher? Furthermore, while there is a reasonable amount of research about the impacts of top-down surveillance, and some (albeit less) about the impacts of surveillance from parents, pupils, peers and the self, little empirical research draws all of these strands together and explores the impacts of surveillance through the lens of assemblage theory, which is what my work seeks to do. My second research question is therefore:

What are the impacts of the surveillance of teachers in this independent school context?

Research context

As part of not only educational studies but also surveillance studies, my wider research context is the UK's 'surveillance society' (Marx, 1985; Lyon, 2001a; Ball et al., 2006; Gilliom and Monahan, 2012). In a neoliberal context of performativity and competition, marketisation and privatisation work alongside a preoccupation with risk and securitisation – and from an increasing 'risk society' (Beck, 1992) comes increasing surveillance. As a result, surveillance is 'more pervasive' than ever before, 'people are more used to watching and being watched' (Ball et al., 2006, p.74), and 'the capture, tracing and processing of personal data' has become the norm (Lyon, 2007, p.118). Surveillance is now a 'central component of modern life' and part of our 'emerging cultures of control' (Lyon, 2007, p.12).

The educational sector is positioned within this wider surveillant context. According to the literature, teachers are surveilled in multitudinous ways, by various stakeholders; modes of surveillance are multiple and interact dynamically. Lesson observations conducted by both management and (to a lesser extent) peers are one of the most commonly discussed forms of

teacher monitoring (Wragg 1999; Marriott, 2001; O'Leary 2013a; Page, 2017a), but teachers are also watched by parents, through, for instance, parents' evenings (Hornby, 2000; Ingris, 2012) and reports (Power and Clark, 2000), as well as by pupils, for instance via 'student voice' surveys (McIntyre, 2005; Bragg. 2007; Morgan, 2009). Page (2017a) conceptualises the surveillance of teachers as an assemblage, and theorises how surveillance can be vertical, horizontal, and intrapersonal, and my research develops further understanding of the dynamic and fluid nature of surveillance through case-study.

Unlike other work in this field, my research takes place in a single UK independent (fee-paying) senior school. In part, this is because this is the sector within which I work, and therefore best know. However, by conducting my research in the independent sector, I am also answering Skerritt's (2020, p.21) call to research surveillance in 'different types of schools' and, in researching a fee-paying school, am able to focus more on the implications of education as a commodity, thus treading new ground within the surveillance studies field. By conducting my research in an independent school, I am also able to explore in more detail the simultaneous functioning of marketisation, privatisation and a preoccupation with risk. However, it must also be noted that despite independent schools being fee-paying, from a marketisation and securitisation perspective, the differences between state and independent schools are becoming less significant; this is discussed later this chapter.

There are currently around 2,366 independent schools in the UK, at which, in this past academic year, 569,332 pupils were educated (DfE, 2021c). The independent sector has a wide variety of school types[2]. While fees vary widely, the average senior day fee for a year's education in an independent school is more than £15,000, suggesting that independent

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[2] For instance, some are boarding, some are day, some religious, some large (more than 2,000 pupils), some small (between 200 and 300) (Cooke and Woodhead, 2002, p.160) and some are very academic (ibid.).

education is still, as was the case historically, for the affluent, despite the existence of bursaries and scholarships (ISC, 2018) – parents of independent school pupils are typically making a significant financial investment into their child's education. In terms of personal context, it is important to note that, at the time of my data collection, I was a teacher at the school in which my research takes place. Having worked in three UK HMC (Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Conference) independent senior schools, and having held a variety of different positions such as teacher, Head of Department, and Director of Teaching and Learning, my own personal experiences have prompted me to question ways in which teachers are scrutinised.

Definitions of surveillance

The increasing intensity of surveillance has brought with it 'surveillance studies', of which my own research is a part. Within surveillance studies, debate surrounds the very definition of surveillance. Surveillance literally means to 'watch over' (Lyon, 2010a), and Staples (1997, p.ix) defines it as 'the act of keeping a close watch on people', but it is not so much the 'watching' that is problematic, but the impact of this – the control surveillance has the potential to generate. Watching suggests a passive act, but the term 'surveillance' has connotations of something *being done* to somebody. Therefore, perhaps more useful are those definitions that state the intention, or purpose, of the watching (Taylor and Kearney, 2018). Fowler and Fowler (1964, p.1302, cited in Zureik, 2003, p.37) highlights ''The Concise Oxford Dictionary' definition of surveillance as 'supervision, close observation, [and] invigilation' of individuals who are 'not trusted to work or go about unwatched''. However, surveillance is arguably not always a result of lack of trust, and so Hope's (2015, p.841)

definition of surveillance as 'the monitoring of behaviour, activities or data to inform, influence and manage individuals or groups' is, as Skerritt (2020) purports, more 'apt'.

It is Lyon (1994; 2001; 2003a; 2003b; 2007; 2010a; 2010b; 2014; 2018), however, who has perhaps had the greatest influence upon surveillance studies. Lyon (2007, p.14) defines surveillance as 'the focused, systematic and routine attention to personal details for purposes of influence, management, protection or direction'. He takes the intention of surveillance further than Hope (2015) in this definition by usefully including 'protection'[3] as a function. Yet another definition from Lyon (2018) defines surveillance as 'the operations and experiences of gathering and analysing personal data for influence, entitlement and management'. Both of Lyon's (2007; 2018) definitions have personal details and data at the heart of surveillance, reflecting contemporary society's shift to 'dataveillance' (Clarke et al., 2021). However, Lyon's perspective on surveillance 'does not usually involve embodied persons watching each other' (Lyon, 2001a, p.2). His definitions therefore are not necessarily the most appropriate definitions to use when applying surveillance to the school context, in which one could argue that 'embodied persons' are still a key component of surveillant activity (Page, 2017a); as Hope (2009, p.233) explains, 'Direct observation is still an important tool of control in contemporary schools'. It is, perhaps, then, more useful to construct a definition of surveillance that is specific to the school, and teaching, context. Therefore, and while bearing in mind and drawing upon other existing definitions of surveillance, the definition of surveillance to be used throughout this thesis is: *a mechanism of formally and informally generating, sharing and using knowledge in order to contribute to the profiling, evaluation and development of teachers*.

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[3] See Foucault's (1982) discussion of 'Pastoral Power' for more on this.

In this definition, the term 'knowledge' is used instead of 'data', as, although knowledge can be used *as* data[4], surveillance does not always need to use personal data in order to function. The term 'knowledge', in referring to 'understanding', 'information', 'experience' and 'awareness' (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021b) is broader and more appropriate for understanding surveillance as something complex and nuanced. The description of 'formally and informally generating, sharing and using knowledge' acknowledges the multitudinous functioning of surveillance. The term 'profiling' draws upon Lyon's (2003a) concept of 'social sorting', described in more detail in Chapter 2. 'Evaluation' suggests a type of judgement, which is at the centre of traditional understandings of surveillance (Foucault, 1977), but more appropriate for a workplace context entrenched in managerialism and performativity. Finally, 'development' is repeatedly related to surveillance within the literature on teacher observations and appraisals, as shown in Chapter 3, and so is included in this definition specific to teaching contexts. Alongside this definition of surveillance, references to 'monitoring', 'watching', 'observing' and 'feedback' are also used in this thesis, as terms related to, yet not synonymous with, surveillance, but more appropriate in some contexts as they may offer an element of nuance. The term 'surveillance' appears to be indicative of a low-trust relationship, and of risk-management (Lyon, 2018), as discussed in the following section of this chapter, whereas other related terminology, as that listed above, might not; and might even, in some cases, indicate a more formative and even nurturing relationship.

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[4] Data' is defined as: 'information, especially facts or numbers, collected to be examined and considered and used to help decision-making, or other information in an electronic form that can be stored and used by a computer' (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021a).

Policy Context: marketisation and privatisation

In order to understand the case-study school through the lens of surveillance, it is important to consider the wider context of the current educational landscape. My discussion is positioned within a wider, global context of changes towards securitisation, marketisation and privatisation, both within, and outside, education. According to Hope (2015, p.853), 'to understand the evolving nature of the 'surveillance school' it will be necessary to look far beyond the educational institutions themselves', and he explains that 'devolution, marketisation and the broader neoliberal dynamics of the economy will result in an increasingly complex manifestation of how surveillance objects operate in contemporary schools'. Springer et al. (2016, p.2) explains that neoliberalism involves 'the extension of competitive markets into all areas of life, including the economy, politics and society' (ibid.), and is embedded with discourses of choice, responsibility, performativity, accountability, competition and marketisation. Education as a whole – not just fee-paying education – is therefore positioned within these notions.

The past four decades have seen a significant shift into neoliberal educational culture. A focus upon school choice and a schools' quasi-market was introduced by the 1980 Education Act. Rather than being required to send their children to the local school, parents could 'express a preference as to the school at which he wishes education to be provided for his child' (Education Act, 1980). The 1988 Education Act saw the introduction of the national curriculum and GCSE examinations, and, during the 1990s, Key Stage 1, 2 and 3 assessments (the latter of which were removed in 2008), all of which paved the way for comparison and competition. School league tables, for instance, introduced in 1992, rank schools according to GCSE examination results (or SATs in KS2), and play a role in facilitating the 'quasi-market

in education by informing parental school choice' (Leckie and Goldstein, 2017, p.194),

helping to contribute towards a culture of education driven by competition and performance.

Within a neoliberal context of school markets, competition and performativity, education can

increasingly be understood in terms of commodification[5]. Education as a commodity has been

seen in the increasingly competitive market of Higher Education for some years[6]. Independent

schools are another example of education as a commodity, with money literally being paid for

education within a competitive market, in particular for 'high standards of education and

examination results, good discipline, small classes with individual attention, encouragement

of a responsible attitude to schoolwork, development of social responsibility and

extracurricular activities' (Cooke and Woodhead, 2002). However, there is a shift whereby it

is now not only fee-paying educational establishments that are seen through the lens of

commodification, but those within the state sector too. In fact, education has become a

product in itself, in which 'schools are brands to be advertised, promoted and protected,

corporation is expressed in uniforms and marketing' (Page, 2018, p.381).

Commodification goes hand in hand with privatisation, the latter of which is explained by

Ball (1994, p.3) to be relating to both 'the bringing in, in various ways, of private providers to

deliver public services', and 'the re-working of existing public sector delivery into forms

which mimic the private and have similar consequences in terms of practices, values and

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[5] A commodity, according to Longhurst (1996, p.49), is 'any good or service produced by people which both satisfies some human need, i.e. it has use-value, and which is sold on the market for money, i.e. it has exchange-value'.
[6] Ball (1994, p.5) points out that now, 'a degree is a commodity that (hopefully) can be exchanged for a job', and – exacerbated by the increase in university fees to up to £9,000 per annum from 2012 (Coughlan, 2010), and currently up to £9,250 per annum in accordance with a 'Teaching Excellence Framework' award (UCAS, 2021) – students are increasingly seen as 'customers' (Royo, 2017, p.137).

identities'. Academies[7] and free-schools[8] serve as prime examples of the commodified UK educational 'market', demonstrating how, in recent years, 'the line between private and state education [has become] blurred' (White, 2016). Although independent schools[9] are fee-paying schools, and are often treated as completely separate to state schools, the existence of academies and free-schools suggests that, from a marketisation and securitisation perspective, the differences between state and independent schools are decreasing in significance (see Ball and Youdell, 2007; Winchip et al. 2019). Education in the UK (and internationally) is now 'a diffuse, expanding, and sophisticated system of goods, services, experiences and routes – publicly and privately provided' (Ball, 2004, p.7).

As my research makes clear through linking the commodification of education to surveillance, the commodification of education 'involves changes in the meaning and experience of education, what it means to be a teacher and a learner' (Ball, 2004, p.24). The competitive, consumerist and performative dimension of this neoliberal context invites increased surveillance; surveillance is arguably at the heart of these 'changes' of which Ball (2004) speaks, and is strongly interrelated with the emphasis upon 'accountability and measurable performance standards' (Braun & Maguire, 2020, p.1) which characterise neoliberal education policies.

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[7] The majority of secondary schools (66% in 2018, according to Hutchings and Francis, 2018, p.8) are now academies, which are 'England's versions of autonomous schools and are state funded but contracted out to non-state actors and are autonomous in terms of finances, staffing, and the curriculum' (Skerritt, 2020, p.3).

[8] These are 'autonomous schools, funded by the state but proposed, developed and run by external sponsors' (Morris and Perry, 2019), and, set up and run by 'private stakeholders' (ibid., p.536) are often aligned with the private sector (ibid., p.545).

[9] To avoid confusion, for the purpose of this thesis, 'independent school' (sometimes used interchangeably with 'private school' in the literature) is defined as 'a fee-paying school … one where fees are payable by most students' (Green, 2020, p.519), and therefore does not include 'free schools' or 'academies', despite their ostensibly 'independent' status.

Making products measurable makes them easier to surveil. Hope (2015) notes that the increasing marketisation of state schools, for instance through national testing and league tables, 'facilitates the development of school dataveillance markets', and Page (2018, p.381) explains that:

> The means of commodification is surveillance, the collection of data to be analysed and abstracted into units of measurement that can be compared and disseminated: surveillance is the process, education as a product is the outcome.

Within an independent school context, the consumer rights framework is also pertinent in relation to surveillance. The introduction of the Consumer Rights Act 2015 increased accountability levels for independent schools from a parents' perspective, enforcing the right to 'repeat performance' or 'price reduction' as remedies if 'statutory rights under a service contract are not met' (Consumer Rights Act 2015). The focus upon consumer rights not only positions education ever-more firmly as a commodity in a competitive market, but likely increases the extent to which the services offered by the school are scrutinised by the paying parent; 'pupils and parents as consumers (the former directly via the classroom and the latter indirectly as fee payers) have been given increased rights to challenge the quality of the service provided' (Gillingham, 2010, p.14)

Policy context: risk and securitisation

Working alongside a neoliberal context of performativity, marketisation and privation, is a preoccupation with risk. Within low-trust competition dynamics, if education (and student results) is the product, surveillance is the means of evaluating that product. On a wider scale, it has been argued that modern systems of surveillance were actually borne out of the 'risk society' – a product of post-World War II – and a response to fears of unrest (Beck, 1992;

Ericson and Haggerty, 1997), exacerbated in more recent times, of course, by 9/11 (Marx, 2012; Bauman et al., 2014; Lyon, 2018). Page (2017b, p.3) argues that societal anxiety and preoccupation with risk prevention, has led to 'intensifying' surveillance; surveillance is the 'product of risk' (ibid.), and it can be argued that it is fear of risk that makes it harder for 'calls for … ethical scrutiny of surveillance' to be heard (Lyon, 2001b, para.1.27). A key aspect of risk theory is a preoccupation with security; and at an 'exceptional' level, and in the context of extreme threat, surveillance as a response to perceived risk moves towards securitisation, which 'increases surveillance of what are deemed risky behaviours' (Lyon, 2018, p.18).

With the above in mind, and with regard to the educational sector, Page (2017b, p.2) suggests risk is the 'primary driver' of surveillance. Aside from surveillant responses[10] dominated by the 'security narrative' (Hope, 2015, p.853), within a 'culture of fear' (Furedi, 2006)[11], Page (2017a, p.994) notes that risk of poor education, poor accountability and risk to the child in terms of safeguarding are all prime motivators for the growth of surveillance in schools. Schools are 'risky places' (Page, 2017a, p.991), and surveillance is therefore used as a tool to manage these risks.

'Traditionally, educational risk was managed by teachers surveilling the pupils, through physical observation of presence, behaviour, and academic output' (Hope, 2009, p.233). This is still the case today; registers of attendance are taken, frequent pupil assessment ensures attainment and progress is recorded, reports are written by teachers about the pupils, behaviour is monitored, and, under safeguarding guidelines, pupils are watched carefully for

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[10] One such response includes the requirement (from 2015) for schools to follow the 'Prevent' guidance (DfE, 2015), which involves monitoring its pupils and raising concerns or making referrals where necessary, in order to prevent children and young people from 'being drawn into terrorism' (DfE, 2015).
[11] This is driven by such events as 9/11, the 1991 Columbine school shootings and the 1996 Dunblane school shooting.

any signs that they are at risk of harm. As pointed out by Taylor (2012), 'pupils are emerging as the most heavily surveilled populace in countries such as the United Kingdom and North America'.

However, it is not only the pupils who are surveilled in order to mitigate the risk of poor schools. At institutional level, schools themselves are placed under surveillance, through league tables, published examination results, Ofsted and ISI reports, open events, and even through discussion, comparison, and reviews of schools on such websites as 'Locrating' (2021) and 'The Good Schools Guide' (n.d.). Ofsted, 'the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills' is of especial interest in the context of surveillance (Jeffrey and Woods, 1996; Burns, 2000; Case, et al., 2000; Courtney, 2016; Perryman, 2018). Ofsted is a privatised inspection system, instigated by the 1992 Education Act (Perryman et al., 2018). In accordance to set criteria, inspection teams inspect schools and then report on them via a publicly available document. Judgements are made on a 4-point scale. As independent schools are not required to be inspected by Ofsted, Ofsted is only of limited relevance to my case-study. Yet, it provides valuable context for an understanding of the functioning of securitisation across the educational sector in England as a whole.

In England, ISC independent schools are typically inspected by the Independent Schools Inspectorate (ISI). Through ISI, schools undergo inspection approximately every three years. Educational Quality Inspections are usually 'announced', with a maximum of two days' notice, but can also be 'unannounced' (ISI, n.d.b). Lesson observations, as with Ofsted inspections (DfE, 2021a), are a key part of ISI inspections (ISI, n.d.a). Also as with Ofsted inspections (DfE, 2021a), parents, pupils and staff members are invited to give feedback on the school via questionnaires. Staff, parents and pupils can also request confidential discussions with inspectors. Following the inspection, a report is written, and for Educational

Quality Inspection, judgements of each aspect of the school's work (rather than an overarching judgement on the school as a whole) are given: 'excellent', 'good', 'sound', or 'unsatisfactory', which is published online and available publicly. A wealth of research positions external inspection (specifically Ofsted) as a means of surveillance (see, for instance, Dean, 1995; Jeffery and Woods, 1996; Troman, 1997; Burns, 2000; Perryman, 2006, 2007, 2009; Courtney, 2013, 2016; Brown et al., 2016), and explores the many detrimental impacts of inspection upon teachers and teaching. Whilst no research on this exists with regard to ISI and independent schools, as ISI work is monitored by Ofsted for quality assurance purposes, on behalf of the Department of Education, it is clear that Ofsted still exerts downward pressure upon the independent sector, albeit indirectly.

Also relevant to understanding surveillance within English education is that Performance Management became mandatory in 2000 (DfEE, 2000; cited in Page, 2016) and was followed, in 2007, by a renewed focus on collecting 'evidence' (Page, 2016, p.1). According to the DfE's model appraisal policy, teacher performance can be assessed through 'observation of classroom practice', 'feedback' on performance throughout the year, and 'evidence' (Edapt, 2021). As in Ofsted and ISI inspections, lesson observations are a key way in which teachers are monitored and assessed within systems of performance management, and it was significant that the annual 3 hour limit on teaching observations was lifted in 2013, meaning that teachers could be observed without restriction (ibid.), which is still currently the case. Significantly, despite Ofsted discontinuing the use of lesson grading in school inspections in 2014 (NASUWT, 2021), many schools (both state and independent) do still conduct graded lesson observations (*Why is my school still grading observations when Ofsted says it shouldn't?*, 2017). Learning walks are also becoming increasingly common, which involve

short visits to classes, often 'in order to collect evidence about teaching and learning, evidence of progress and areas for school development' (NEU, 2019).

There have been increased mechanisms in the surveillance of teachers by parents, often undertaken through the rhetoric of parental 'involvement' (Hassrick and Schneider, 2009). Indeed, dissatisfied parents can complain directly to the school; under Section 29(1)(b) of the Education Act 2002, schools 'must publicise [their] complaints procedures'[12]. If they are unhappy with how their complaint is dealt with, they can take their complaint above the school, to Ofsted (ibid.). Whilst interaction between parent and teacher prior to this was traditionally limited to infrequent parents' evenings and reports, and parents were expected to be 'supportive but passive', (Crozier, 1998, p.127), parents are now encouraged to be much more involved. In 2007, a NFER study (Lewis et al., 2007) found that 95% of UK secondary schools gathered parents' views as part of school self-evaluation, 94% of schools encouraged parents to contact or visit the school, and 60% had an active PTA (Parent-Teacher Association). Parents can also observe the teaching of their child more easily than ever; parents can monitor the homework their child is set through such websites as 'Show My Homework' (Carlile, 2018, p.22), which offer parents 'complete homework visibility' (ibid.), and some schools have even began to allow parents to watch teachers teaching their child in lessons remotely (Bunyan, 2004) – something exacerbated by the recent periods of remote teaching and learning, throughout the Covid-19 pandemic. Pupils, too, have greater opportunity to place teachers under scrutiny than ever before; websites such as 'Rate My Teachers' allow pupils to review their teacher in a public forum, pupil voice activities encourage pupils to review their teachers internally (Bragg, 2007), pupil panels are now

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[12] A 'complaint' is described as: 'an expression or statement of dissatisfaction however made, about actions taken or a lack of action' (DfE, 2021b).

common in recruitment of new teachers (Jarmin, 2018), and in some schools, pupil interviews are a replacement for lesson observations (Dickens, 2015).

Teachers in UK secondary schools may, therefore, be surveilled by multiple surveillant stakeholders in many ways – often simultaneously – and teaching can not only be characterised as a 'low status' profession' (Stromquist, 2018, p.14), but also as a 'low-trust' one. With marketisation and privatisation working alongside securitisation, if schools, as products, are 'risky places' (Page, 2017a, p.991) there is perhaps a suggestion of 'risky teachers', and it is perhaps no surprise that 'issues with accountability and scrutiny' (DfE, 2018, p.23) are one contributing factor to the current recruitment and retention crisis in teaching (DfE, 2016; DfE, 2018).

Rationale for study, and contribution to knowledge

The surveillance of teachers is deserving of study due to not only its prevalence (Page, 2017a; 2017b; Skerritt, 2020), but also due to its potentially significant consequences. The surveillance of teachers is interrelated with discourses on professional autonomy, the deprofessionalisation of teachers (Jeffrey and Woods, 1996; Cockburn, 2005; Perryman et al., 2011; Harris 2017; Keddie, 2017), relationships of power (Tomlinson, 2001; Forrester, 2011), and workload, stress and anxiety (Troman, 2000; Brown et al., 2002; Perryman et al., 2011; O'Leary, 2013b; Edington, 2016).

In a national educational context of accountability and performativity, and especially given the current well-documented teacher recruitment and retention crisis, (DfE, 2016; DfE, 2018), it is imperative to shine a light on how surveillance is functioning in schools, and to attain an understanding of teachers' own experiences and perceptions, as well as of other, related

stakeholders. My research can inform policymakers (both internally, within a school setting, and also on a wider, national scale) when considering issues regarding accountability, quality assurance, and teacher development. External inspectorates may benefit from a greater understanding of the implications of surveillant activities undertaken throughout the inspection process, and school leaders should have an understanding of the consequences of surveillant activities when reviewing and creating school policy. Furthermore, however, I feel it important for the teachers themselves to have an understanding of the ways that they may be surveilled, and the potential implications of this, and for this reason I feel that my findings could be included within teacher training courses.

By conducting a case-study of one single independent school, I am able to extend the valuable work applying assemblage theory to surveillance in education already initiated by Page (2017a; 2017b; 2018) and Skerrit (2020), and begin work in conceptualising a surveillant assemblage in the independent school sector, identifying themes and trends that can subsequently be explored elsewhere. More research is needed in different types of schools (Skerritt, 2020). Educational research tends to be situated within the state sector rather than the independent sector – indeed, research involving independent schools seems to be almost entirely about their *existence* in comparison to state schools (often social injustice public discourse) rather than educational research undertaken *within* independent schools as a legitimate study site in their own right. I see my research as an important developmental step for much further work in this area and sector; and, due to some (arguably increasing) shared educational policy and cultural patterns and concerns, it has value within the state sector literature too, similar to the way in which Page's (2017a; 2017b) work has had value as a starting point for my own research.

A note on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic

In early 2020, a form of coronavirus, Covid-19, spread around the globe, and was characterized by WHO (World Health Organisation) as a pandemic on 11th March 2020 (WHO, 2020). My research project took place in the midst of this. I had undertaken 19 out of 24 interviews when schools in England closed due to the pandemic on Friday 20th March, 2021, and remained closed until shortly before the summer holidays, when limited numbers of children returned for some face-to-face teaching (DfE, 2020). As a result of this, my remaining interviews were undertaken remotely; but, more importantly, this rapidly changing context provided an altered backdrop for my research, as the very nature of teaching and learning had changed drastically with pupils being taught remotely, and with the cancellation of GCSE and A Level examinations in favour of Centre Assessed Grading. Whilst most of my research explores the situation pre-pandemic, it is undeniable that the abrupt shift to remote teaching and learning and Centre Assessed Grading has had a drastic impact upon education, and that it therefore had an impact upon ways in which teachers were being surveilled in that time period and perhaps even beyond. This rapidly changing context is reflected and footnoted at various points of my thesis.

Organisation of thesis

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework serving as a backdrop for my research; that is, ways in which Foucault's (1977) panoptic metaphor can be applied to the concept of the 'surveillant assemblage' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000), Bauman's (2012) theorisation of liquid modernity and 'liquid surveillance' (Lyon, 2010b), and issues of social class and social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1973). Next, Chapter 3 is a

review of the existing literature on the surveillance of teachers, organised and underpinned by Page's (2017a, p.995) diagram 'the surveillant assemblage within schools', and demonstrates where the gaps in knowledge are, to which my research seeks to contribute. Chapter 4 explains the qualitative, interpretivist methodological approach used within my research, namely a case-study of a single independent school involving 23 interviews with a variety of surveillant stakeholders. Chapters 5 and 6 present my findings, alongside a discussion of my data, focusing on the main types of surveillance discussed in interviews, and Chapter 7 concludes my reflections on my findings, and how my findings make a significant contribution to existing knowledge. Finally, my appendices offer an audit of all the modes of surveillance found in the study, of which the most impactful are analysed in Chapters 5 and 6. Running through my entire thesis is a thread that discusses ways in which surveillance functions as an assemblage.

Conclusion

Teachers in England are working within an educational system preoccupied with risk, and are therefore surveilled by a multitude of different stakeholders, in a vast array of ways. Within low-trust competition dynamics, marketisation and privatisation work alongside securitisation, with perceived teacher underperformance positioned as a key 'threat' to the quality of the educational 'product'. Independent school student outcomes and experiences, as literal products bought for money, are at the heart of this.

This introduction has outlined my research aims, explained my research questions and why they are significant, defined 'surveillance', and offered an understanding of my research and policy contexts. However, in order to understand surveillance as an assemblage, engagement

with relevant theory is also imperative. Therefore, my next chapter focuses upon my theoretical framework, and discuss panopticism, power, liquidity, hierarchy, and social reproduction.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretical Framework

This chapter outlines the conceptual basis for my study. Firstly, I view surveillance in the independent school from a Foucauldian perspective, adapting the panoptic metaphor to befit today's surveillant 'assemblage' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000), while drawing upon Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) rhizomatic metaphor, and describing how surveillance has now become 'networked' (Galič and Timan, 2017). Through this lens, I also describe Foucault's (1977; 1990; 1994) views on resistance, making links with Baudrillard's (1994) work on simulacra and hyperreality. Secondly, and in relation to my first lens, I apply Bauman's (2012) theory of liquid modernity to my research area, in exploring the concept of 'Liquid Surveillance' (Lyon, 2010b), and use both Bauman's (1999; 2005b; 2009) work on consumerism and Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorisation of desire line as a lens to explore complex and dynamic power relations in contemporary neoliberal society. Finally, discussion of liquid modernity leads me to consider surveillance in the independent sector from a social class perspective, by considering the social status of the teacher in relation to the pupil/parent, while also making a link between surveillance and social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1973).

Foucauldian perspectives and the surveillant assemblage

Foucault's (1977) application of Bentham's circular prison design to society is still a central aspect of most studies of surveillance (Haggerty, 2006). In exploring the application of Bentham's design where inmates are watched over by an invisible guard, his model can be applied to the school classroom through the representation of the teacher as the guard and the pupils as the inmates: Bentham explains that 'the school is an establishment where

'persons…are kept under inspection'' (Bentham, 1843) and Foucault, in applying Bentham's principles to the classroom, explains that this is 'a guarantee of order…if they are schoolchildren, there is no copying, no noise, no chatter, no waste of time' (Foucault, 1977, p.201). The pupils are watched – or under the impression that they are watched – at all times (Monahan and Torres, 2010), and the school, in this model, is a panoptic site.

While some, such as Caluya (2010), remain attached to the panoptic metaphor, others in surveillance studies criticise it as being 'obsolete' (Page, 2017b, p.2) and 'oppressive' (Haggerty, 2006). Haggerty and Ericson (2000, p.607) suggest that 'many applications of [Foucault's] theories are 'stretch[ed]…beyond recognition' in a futile attempt to 'fit current developments', and that, in a new world of CCTV and internet tracking, Foucault's application is outdated. Likewise, Yar (2003, p.257) points out a series of similar criticisms in applying Foucault's adoption of Bentham's panoptic model – she notes that many (Bauman, 1998; Rose, 1999; Diken and Lausten, 2003; Hardt and Negri, 2001) argue that 'the deployment of disciplinary panoptic power was a phenomena of the 19th and early 20th century' and that it is not applicable to today's society, which, according to Yar (2003, p.257), in drawing upon Deleuze (1992), is 'experiencing the dissolution of institutional boundaries and with it the delineated sites in which panoptic technology previously found its disciplinary function'. Thus, there has been a trend towards claiming that society has moved beyond the panoptic, and that we now live post-panoptically.

I concede that Foucault's metaphor is no longer wholly suitable in its original form, in application to an educational context, as the 'gaze' is no longer unilateral (Yar, 2003, p.13), and the teacher, in position of guard, no longer holds absolute surveilling power (Page, 2017b, p.2). Thus, the concept of panopticism as described by Bentham and Foucault may well have 'outlived its utility' (Zureik, 2003, p.41). However, I feel that it is too hasty to disregard the

panoptic metaphor altogether, and I would argue that a school is one of the more 'bounded social sites' (Yar, 2003) that retains its disciplinary function and that the application of the panoptic is, to a certain extent, therefore entirely appropriate – both metaphorically and, in some cases, more tangibly (see Piro, 2008), as also described in Chapter 3. The site itself exists a broadly similar way; it is the systems *within* the site that have transformed into a society 'of control' (Deleuze, 1992, p.4), in which boundaries are more fluid and porous, and control is both ubiquitous and continuous. As Yar (2003, p.5) rightly concedes, 'the concept can still perform valuable work, so long as it is…refined and reformed appropriately in light of changing circumstances', and others, including myself, do choose to 'refine and reform' the panoptic metaphor to suit what is defined as an ever-changing 'liquid-modern' society (Bauman, 2009, p.157). I would not, therefore, suggest that an older model of more 'centralized' surveillance is 'entirely a thing of the past' (Stalder and Lyon, 2003, p.90), although there is no single fixed system of surveillance in any context; as my analysis shows (Chapters 5 and 6), there is a multitude of different modes of surveillance and surveillant relationships which all function and interact in different ways. Just as there is not one fixed or objective system of surveillance, there is not one fixed metaphor by which to describe it – they are multiple and interact dynamically.

My research explores a situation where the surveiller (the teacher) still retains that role but is now also multitudinously surveilled him or herself; the panopticon still exists, but the guard is no longer invisible – in fact, quite the reverse. The panoptic metaphor has evolved into a complex web of surveillance systems that now exist in schools. As shown by the literature (Chapter 3), the relationship is no longer just between the pupils and teachers, but SLT, colleagues, pupils, and even pupils' parents are also all part of this 'assemblage' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000), or 'multiplicity' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) – surveillance has become

a complex network of gazes that can penetrate the walls of the classroom and even of the school. Haggerty and Ericson (2000, p.608) draw upon Deleuze and Guattari (1987) to argue that multiplicity now exists in a system we once saw as 'stable', and to explain that the surveillant assemblage has emerged from 'a convergence of what were once discrete surveillance systems' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000, p.606). Deleuze (1992) asserts that there is a shift in modern societies from being disciplinary ('long duration, infinite and discontinuous') to control ('short-term', with 'rapid rates of turnover, but also continuous and without limit'). Individuals have become '*dividuals*' (emphasis in original), he claims, and, along with 'technological evolution' and masses of data in the public domain, control is something which modulates and mutates (Deleuze, 1992).

Multiple and dynamic forms of surveillance in schools

Although I maintain that the school establishment itself is still one of the more 'bounded social sites' (Yar, 2003) that exist, and that traditional institutions such as schools remain at the heart of modern societies, I support the claim that systems of surveillance *within* the site have now become something *un*stable – in fact, this is what makes modern systems of surveillance particularly hard to conceptualise. Haggerty and Ericson (2000, p.617) draw upon the 'rhizome' metaphor (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) to suggest that 'surveillance has become rhizomatic, it has transformed hierarchies of observation, and allows for the scrutiny of the powerful by both institutions and the general population'. Surveillance functions like a 'creeping plant' (Stalder and Lyon, 2003, p.90), or 'weeds' which 'grow across a series of interconnected roots which throw up shoots in different locations' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000, p.614) and which grow expansively and regenerate if harmed. According to Deleuze

and Guattari (1987, p.7), 'any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be. This is very different from the tree or root, which plots a point, fixes an order'. Deleuze's (1992, p.4) notion of 'societies of control' is therefore evident from this metaphor, and its potential 'levelling effect on hierarchies' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000, p.614) is of particular significance. When applied to the school context, we understand that although 'top-down' surveillance, in Page's (2017a) words, is still prominent, 'bottom-up' surveillance (Mathiesen, 1997; Page, 2017a) is also at work along with 'horizontal' surveillance; the traditional 'hierarchy of surveillance' has transformed into a 'fractured rhizomatic criss-crossing of the gaze' – the 'surveillant assemblage' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000, p.605). Hence, we have a multitude of different surveillant relationships between stakeholders, all caught up in a constantly shifting web of power and control, and making the surveillant 'assemblage' very complex and multifaceted in its ceaseless exchanges of power and constant state of flux. The modes of surveillance at work within this assemblage are discussed in Chapter 3, and issues of hierarchy are discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

Resistance is also part of this assemblage. For Foucault, resistance is integral to power relations. Power is a relationship rather than something to be possessed, and he explains that 'where there is power there is resistance' (Foucault, 1990). Indeed, Foucault suggests that resistance is actually a *form* of power – a 'counter-power' (Foucault, 1977) – exercised by such groups that are hierarchically less powerful than others. Students are one such example of this, along with prisoners and workers. As Heller (1996, p.99) explains, they represent '"resistances"' for Foucault, because 'they are lesser forms of power, not because they are powerless'. In terms of surveillance, and in a modern context, Mann (2004) writes about 'sousveillance' (watching from below, rather than *sur*veillance – watching from above), which Hope (2005, p.370) describes as 'containing both elements of play and resistance'.

When applied to the school classroom, it can be suggested, as noted by Page (2017a), that school pupils are one such group who return the surveillant gaze and watch back in this way. If we accept Foucault's assertion that resistance is a form of power, this suggests that pupils may be empowered – in relative terms – by conducting 'countersurveillance' (Hope, 2009, p.242) of their teacher. By following 'the flows of power in the 'opposite direction'' (Ball and Olmedo, 2013, p.86), we are better able to understand how surveillance is not a unilateral act of sovereign power; and, as 'power relations are obliged to change with the resistance' (Foucault, 1994), reverse and multiple flows are key to the surveillant assemblage.

Pupils are not the only 'less powerful' group in a school setting; teachers can be aligned with Foucault's 'workers', as a less powerful group who is surveilled by a more powerful group – in the case of the teacher, the most obvious 'more powerful group' is that of Management (line mangers or Senior Leadership). Again, with power exerted upon teachers, resistance is generated, although this is not always as simple as a reverse flow – resistance can flow in multiple directions and come in many forms. Just as surveillance is multiple, so is resistance. Page (2017a, p.1002), for instance, looks at 'hidden resistance'[13], and explains that one form of this is 'conspicuous practice', which is 'work made intentionally visible' (Page, 2018, p.376)[14]. This can, in some cases, comprise of 'covert' acts of 'routine' resistance; for instance, it may entail teachers 'using visible work as a means of disguising their actual

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[13] Page (2017a, p.1002) offers some further examples of 'hidden resistance', explaining that: 'CCTV has blind spots; data may be fiddled to show inflated performance or lower starting points; the student voice may be manipulated through strategies of ingratiation and persuasion; impression management may present a more effective picture at appraisals'.

[14] This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3

practices, a means of impression management to gain rewards, re-appropriating control over professional practice or even just avoiding work' (ibid.).

Resistance to surveillance in schools appears to be covert, hidden. Indeed, it seems to invite little 'overt resistance, of strikes and organised action' (Page, 2018, p.386). Instead, 'routine resistance' (Scott, 1985, p.256) is often practised in the workplace, which is 'necessarily covert' (Crocker, 2016, 171), typically '*less visible*' and 'more *indirect*' (Prasad and Prasad, 2000, p.388, emphasis in original) that more overt forms of resistance. Examples of routine resistance, in order to 'exercise autonomy' (Fleming and Sewell, 2002, p.863), might include 'questions and interruptions' during training sessions (ibid., p.394), retaining use of older working systems, deliberate 'carelessness' and passive aggressive behaviour. Employees may 'disguise' (Scott, 1985, p.283) their dissent with outward compliance, and 'camouflage' (Collinson, 2005, p.241) their actions in order to avoid 'disciplinary reprisals' (ibid.), which can consequently 'weaken organizational effectiveness' (ibid., p.242); Edwards et al (1995, p.291) suggest that 'The disruptive effects of such oppositional practices should not be under-estimated' and could be 'could be more damaging to management than a strike by an entire workforce'.

Page (2011, p.6) discusses different covert strategies of resistance. One form, he explains, is cynicism, a form of 'ambiguous accommodation' (Prasad and Prasad, 1998), whereby an employee typically still does his or her job, but distrusts their senior managers. Another is distancing of self; for instance, through cognitive escape, such as by job-searching, which offers the 'cognitive possibility of escape' (Page, 2011, p.7). Finally, Page (2011, p.8) discusses 'making-out strategies', which involves 'subvert[ing] or manipulat[ing] the official practices of the workplace' (ibid., p.7). These forms of resistance are typically concealed from

those against whom the resistance takes place, although detection is not impossible (ibid., p.8). In fact, it has been suggested that if detection of resistance takes place, then this actually leads to increased surveillance: 'if workers do not subjectively buy into the discourse of 'excellence' or 'continuous improvement' and actively participate in the attendant rituals then they are pathologized by the managerial gaze (Fleming and Sewell, 2002, p.861). There is, then, the suggestion of an endless cycle of surveillance – resistance – increased surveillance if resistance is detected.

Despite the practice of covert, or routine, resistance in the workplace, perhaps most interesting are instances of *lack* of resistance to surveillance. Zureik (2013) asserts, in contrast to Foucault (1990), that 'power will not automatically invite resistance' (Zureik, 2013), and Page (2018, p.380) describes how some teachers, especially those in 'highly performative environments', are seduced by a neoliberal culture where the act of being watched is not only normalised, but is even invited, and the object of surveillance – the teacher – learns to internalise his or her surveillance, and self-surveil, as a 'docile body' (Foucault, 1977, p.135). Here, Foucault's (1980) notion of 'power/knowledge' is pertinent, in that power is constituted through normalised forms of knowledge and 'truth'; Foucault ultimately sees power as productive rather than simply repressive. Instead of resisting, 'the surveilled [are becoming] willingly complicit in their own surveillance' (Page, 2017a, p.1004). However, this is not an instant process, and application of Baudrillard's work on hyperrealities and simulacra helps to illustrate a blurred distinction between resistance and complicity. Ball (2000, p.9) draws upon Foucault to explain that:

> Fabrications are versions of an organisation (or person) which does not exist –
> they are not 'outside the truth' but neither do they render simply true or direct
> accounts – they are produced purposefully in order 'to be accountable.

As well as being 'an accommodation to performativity', fabrication can be understood as a form of resistance (Ball, 2000, p.5). However, fabrication is not necessarily static. Page (2017b, p.9) draws upon Baudrillard (1994) to explain:

> The first stage of the evolution of simulacra sees image as a basic reflection of reality, a true likeness. The second stage 'masks and perverts a basic reality' (Bogard 1996, 11)…becomes deceptive, manipulative, ideological. In the third stage, within the information technology age, the image becomes a simulation fully and masks the absence of a reality.

Thus, the third order of simulacra, pure simulation, is a hyperreality; Baudrillard (1994) explains that 'to simulate is to feign to have what one doesn't have' but 'simulating is not pretending' as there is some 'truth' in the simulation. In this way, Baudrillard argues, 'simulation threatens the difference between the "true" and the "false," the "real" and the "imaginary"'. When applied to a teaching context, as Page (2017b) has done, it can be suggested that 'performativity has intensified to such an extent that it has gone beyond the production of fabrications, producing teaching as a simulation instead' (p.2). There is no distinction between 'real' teaching and 'fabricated' teaching, but it is instead hyperreal, and the simulation produces 'hyperdisciplinary effects' (Bogard, 1996, p.72). No longer a mere fabrication, the seduction of the teacher to be a complicit, non-resisting docile body within the surveillant assemblage reaches a new level.

Liquid surveillance and desire lines

The concepts of multiplicity and assemblage, as well as the 'rhizome' metaphor, bring me to my next lens. If we consider surveillance no longer as something fixed and immutable, but a complex changeable network or 'assemblage' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000), with simultaneous multiplicity of the gaze, we can argue surveillance to be something fluid –

something *liquid.* In adopting Bauman's framework of liquid modernity (Bauman, 2012), and also drawing upon Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorisation of desire lines, we can better understand the fluid nature of surveillance within the school context, and the significance of ever-changing roles and identities.

Bauman (2012) uses the term 'liquid modernity' to signify increasing fluidity and motility in society, preferring this term over 'postmodernism', which he sees problematic as a concept. For him, nothing is permanent in this modern period, and he states that, in the words of Marx and Engels (1848) 'all that is solid melts into air' (para.18) – or at least into liquid. The independent school classroom arguably has the appearance of a permanent establishment, rooted in tradition, with fixed rules and systems; however, within its walls the power of the gaze 'flows' back and forth between the surveillers and the surveilled, until the once-defined roles and hierarchies become more porous, and the 'stable liquefies' (Bauman and Lyon, 2013, p.10) in a fluid and ever-changing system of 'liquid surveillance' (Lyon, 2010a). For instance, while teachers surveil their pupils, they are also being surveilled back in response – the watchers are watched watching. Simultaneously, parents are also able to surveil the teacher, albeit from outside the classroom walls (Hassrick and Schneider, 2009; Page, 2017a; Skerritt, 2020), and SLT might even attempt to dissolve the classroom walls altogether (Piro, 2008) – or at least turn the opaque into the transparent.

A repeated metaphor of 'glass-walled transparency' (Lyon, 2018, p.10) appears to permeate much of the more recent literature (Ball, 2003; O'Leary, 2014; Page, 2015; Skerritt, 2020), arguably more so that which discusses surveillance from a post-panoptic perspective. This marks a shift from the notion of the 'professional isolation of the teacher' (Cockburn, 2005) in their 'own box classroom' (Wragg et al., 1996) to the popular 'open door policy' (O'Leary and Price, 2017), to an unceasingly surveillant transparent working environment in which

'visibility [is] maximized' (Skerritt, 2020). Page (2015), drawing upon Gabriel (2005; 2008), even describes the classroom as a 'glass cage', implying that surveillance cannot be escaped – teachers are trapped by the surveillant 'gaze'. In fact, sometimes the glass walls are now not just a metaphor, but are instead a physical and geographical reality for teachers in their literally glass-walled or open-plan classrooms (Page, 2015; 2017b; 2018; Salokangas and Ainscow, 2018; Skerrit, 2019a; Skerritt, 2020; Cardellino and Woolner, 2020).

In a culture of metaphorical and/or architectural 'glass-walled transparency' (Lyon, 2018), surveillance flows more freely than ever. The term 'liquid surveillance' encapsulates the dissolution of the 'rigid fixity' of the panoptic model (Bauman and Lyon, 2013, p.11), leading to a state where power moves quickly and fluidly. Whilst I uphold my view that the panopticon has its place in the school context, I find that the application of the liquidity metaphor aptly encapsulates not only a shifting element of the panopticon in terms of the surveillant relationship between pupils and teachers, but also the concept of a 'surveillant assemblage', which, as Haggerty and Ericson (2000, p.609) explain, is *not* a 'stable entity with its own fixed boundaries' but instead demonstrates the 'flow' of surveillance. Of course, there is a paradox in that, by discussing 'the surveillant assemblage', flows are 'fixed temporarily and spatially', but it can be argued that one must 'capture flows' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000, p.608) to understand them. As explained by Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p.8), 'there are no points or positions in a rhizome, such as those found in a structure, tree, or root. There are only lines'. It is these *lines* that I seek to capture.

Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) discussion of desire lines is of particular use in understanding the liquidity, yet also the 'capture' of an assemblage. For Deleuze and Guattari (1987), desire is not defined as a 'want or a lack', but instead, as 'a machinery of forces, flows and breaks of energy' (Bogard, 1998, p.52). According to Haggerty and Ericson (2000, p.609), 'it is desire

which secures these flows and gives them their permanence as an assemblage'. When applied to surveillance, the desire is for knowledge which can enable performance and success. Desiring lines are embodied rather than rational, and thus, within an assemblage, surveillance and resistance are an embodied experience rather than a rational process. Molar lines are rigid and prescriptive, much like the original panopticon (Foucault, 1977) – their regimented nature means that they 'territorialize, organize and stratify, relaying dispersive flows of desire into administrable regimes and patterns' (Windsor, 2015, p.158). In a school, examples of molar lines might be the stratification of year groups, or the indisputable categories and roles of 'pupil', 'teacher', 'headteacher'. Comparatively, molecular lines are supple, and governed by relations rather than prescribed identity, and as Windsor (2015, p.161) explains, 'instead of 'forms' and 'functions', we have 'forces' and 'flows'' – molecular lines are elastic, perhaps like power relations between school stakeholders (Page, 2017a). Finally, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) describe 'lines of flight', from which 'prescribed pathways' are broken away. A line of flight is a 'radical movement' which defies 'pre-emptive capture, categorization and containment' (Windsor, 2015, p.164). These lines are seen to 'overlap' (Merriman, 2018, p.73) rather than 'oppose' (ibid., p.71). According to Lyon (2010b, pp.325-6), Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) conceptualisation is surrounded by 'the feeling of liquidity', and he explains that for Deleuze, 'fixed enclosures' are no more. Foucault discusses the functioning of surveillance as 'a network of relations from top to bottom, but also to a certain extent from bottom to top and laterally'. However, when viewed through the lens of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorisation of desire lines and Bauman's concept of liquidity, one can question the permanence of such surveillant hierarchies in modern society, in which the top and bottom, and even horizontal, are far from fixed, flow freely, and may merge and coalesce into one another, yet the assemblage works to render multiple and often inconsistent desires

and logics consistent. Page's (2017a) hierarchical model of 'the surveillant assemblage in schools' may therefore be developed further to reflect this.

Data desires

In a modern context, societal use of data is crucial when viewing surveillance through this lens, and, as part of the 'datafication of society' (Galič and Timan, 2017), the concept of 'dataveillance' (Galič and Timan, 2017; McParland and Connolly, 2020; Clarke et al., 2021) has attracted considerable recent attention. Liquidity, as 'data flows', has been related to categorisation, profiling and sorting (Lyon, 2003a; 2003b). Gandy (1993) describes 'the panoptic sort', a process that 'sorts individuals on the basis of their estimated value of worth' (p.1). More recently, Lyon (2003a, p.1) has explored surveillance as a type of 'social sorting', and explains that 'surveillance today sorts people into categories, assigning worth or risk' and that this is done 'for the purpose of assessment, of judgement'. Deleuze (1992, p.5) even asserts that as part of this society of control, individuals are substituted with a 'code' that distinguishes between them as part of this sorting process, and Lyon (2003b) suggests that the data extracted from individuals – as coded categories – are used to create 'data doubles' which are themselves 'constantly mutating'.

Data doubles are virtual selves, generated by the rhizomatic structure of surveillant assemblages (Zureik, 2003, p.40), which serve to 'open and close doors of opportunity and access' (Lyon, 2003b, p.27) and which can be 'scrutinized and targeted for intervention' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000, p.606), as noted in a teaching context in Chapter 5 of this thesis. The categorisation of data doubles can be manipulated depending upon 'whatever paradigms the database interrogators choose', and so social sorting is never fixed, never permanent, but

always liquid; surveillance flows relentlessly. Page (2017a, p.994-95) applies the theorisation of social sorting and data doubles to the school context, and explains that in this context, sorting might relate to assessing risk through the categorizations of teachers and schools as ''good' and 'outstanding'' (lower risk) or ''requiring improvement' and 'unsatisfactory'' (higher risk), and can also relate to sorting teachers with regard to safeguarding risk. Either way, he explains, drawing upon (Bauman and Lyon, 2013), surveillant sorting is 'future-oriented'.

Consumer desires

Liquid modernity and consumerism go hand in hand in Bauman's eyes, in modern society's 'ceaseless drive toward change inherent in consumerism' (Bauman, 1999, p.35), as noted in the previous chapter (Chapter 1). From a neoliberal perspective, within a culture of educational marketisation, he situates consumerism in relation to education, stating that education is a 'product' with a 'knowledge package' (Bauman, 2009, p.159). If education has become a 'commodity' (Freeman and Thomas, 2005, p.155), then surely in the independent sector Ball's (2004) claim that education is 'for sale' rings truer than ever: money changes hands and a child's education is literally 'bought'. (Bauman (2005a, p.317) argues that there is a move away from the 'orthodox teacher-student relationship' into one of 'the supplier-client'.

There is some debate over who holds the 'purchasing power' (Nava, 1991, p.15): while for Petch (1992) and Crozier (1999), the 'consumers' are the parents, for Macbeth (1989) it is the pupils, although he purports that the parents are clients – he argues a distinction between the two. Either way, the independent school pupil or parent (or both), in a liquid-modern

consumer society, as the buyer, has the power or the right to make an evaluative judgement over what they are 'purchasing' – just as consumers have rights, so too do parents and pupils, and parental purchasing power is perhaps enhanced by the unequal social class relations between parent and teacher in the independent school[15]. Through the lens of social reproduction – the understanding that there is a 'domestic transmission of cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1986, p.244) which leads to a replication of social experiences and thus social status, from parent to child (Bauman, 2005b; Ball, 2006, 2013; Collins, 2009; Marsh, 2011) – it is not over-reaching to suggest that in independent schools in particular, there may be a perception of a kind of hierarchical superiority of the pupils and parents over the teachers (Courtois, 2018).

Unequal social class relations in a consumer society may be very significant in a surveillance context, as through this lens of social class, it could be suggested that parents may have limited 'trust' in the teacher, may recognise that the teacher does not have the same level of capital as themselves, and feel greater need to surveil, evaluate and, if necessary, take steps to discipline. The parent is able to 'take full advantage of 'the market' to sustain or re-assert their class advantages' (Ball et al., 1995, p.52), in order to avoid the risk of 'falling' – of unsuccessful social reproduction (Ball, 2006). This is especially the case through the lens of power-elite theory[16] (Ayling, 2019; Variyan, 2019; Mariotti, 2020), but is perhaps relevant to an extent to all prestigious fee-paying schools. The fact that education is ongoing (the purchase is not complete until the pupil has left school) suggests that the evaluative

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[15] While it is accepted that the social position of teachers is now decidedly 'middle-class' (Vandrick, 2014; Harris, 2017' and 'professionals' (Office for National Statistics, 2018), Harris (2017) notes that the *origins* of a teacher's social status in a UK context are more complex; that 'teaching has tended to recruit from the upwardly aspiring end of the lower /working class' (p.31). Teaching is also often viewed as a 'low status' profession' (Vincent, 1996; Perry and Birnhack, 2019, p.194) with limited 'prestige' (Hoyle, 2001).

[16] In seeking to explore power relations, elite theory takes the stance that power is held by a small minority – the elite. The term 'elite' refers to 'every group who is positioned at the top of a social or political hierarchy' (Mariotti, 2020).

judgement is also ongoing; hence, the teachers are constantly under surveillance from pupils and parents. While some, such as Marquand (2000, pp.212-13), are aghast at this shift in hierarchical relationship, stating, 'students are not "customers" of their teachers', the shift has already happened, and is symptomatic of a cultural shift towards the 'commodification of everything' (Ball, 2004, p.1) within a 'risk society' (Beck, 1992), which is 'concerned with the management and prevention of the risks itself has produced' (Page, 2017b, p.3). School leaders, pupils and parents are more cautious of 'risk' than ever, so, in a 'context of performativity and marketisation' (ibid., p.4), constant surveillance is expected in order for risk to be minimised. The ways in which this is typically undertaken are explored in the next chapter (Chapter 3).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined my theoretical framework, offering an understanding of the perceived shift from fixed, panoptic systems of surveillance, to more fluid, liquid, post-panoptic systems of surveillance – although I maintain that the panoptic metaphor still does have some place in exploring surveillance in education. This chapter provides greater clarity on the ways in which surveillance functions as an assemblage in liquid-modern society, and how social class theory is particularly relevant to my study of a school in the independent sector (although this is looked at in more detail in Chapter 3). Importantly, an understanding of liquid modernity (Lyon, 2010b; Bauman, 2012) and application of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) desire lines has helped me to formulate my hypothesis that modes of surveillance, and dynamics of surveillant relationships, work in combined ways and can never be fully distinguishable from each other. Now that relevant theory has been laid out, my next chapter

builds upon this framework by outlining the existing literature in this field with regard to the ways in which teachers are surveilled by different stakeholders within the surveillant assemblage, and the impacts of such. I also explain how my own research is positioned in relation to existing literature, and offer greater detail about the contribution it makes to existing knowledge.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

PRACTICES AND IMPACTS OF TEACHER SURVEILLANCE

When looking specifically at practices, perceptions and impacts of surveillance in an educational context, it is apparent that research has, to date, focused overwhelmingly on the *pupil* as the object of surveillance (see, for instance: Taylor, 2012; Hope, 2010; Weiss, 2010), more so than the *teacher*. There has, however, also been some discussion of schools themselves, and by extension, the teaching staff, as the objects of surveillance; in this context, and especially in the UK[17], the focus has been on external inspection (e.g. Ofsted) as a means of surveillance (see, for instance, Jeffrey and Woods, 1996; Troman, 1997; Burns, 2000; Perryman, 2006, 2007, 2009; Courtney, 2013, 2016). It is only more recently that there has been a move to consider external inspection as a driving force *for* surveillance, and, subsequently, some exploration of internal systems of surveillance within school establishments (Page, 2017a; 2017b; 2018; Skerritt, 2020).

The literature makes clear that external inspection may once have been the driving force of surveillance in comprehensive schools, but now the driving force comes from within, and which was once external is now internalised within the surveillant assemblage. Troman (1997, p.363) describes this as a transference of inspectorial power, and Skerritt (2020, p.1) explains that:

> Whereas in the past the surveillance of teachers might have been overseen by external inspectors, teachers are now also being surveilled in a myriad of ways by other stakeholders such as school staff, students, and parents.

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[17] Although I reference studies undertaken in other countries where relevant.

This chapter explores the existing literature that details this 'myriad of ways' in which these stakeholders surveil teachers, and the impacts of such, using the valuable work of Page (2015; 2016; 2017a; 2017b) as an important starting point. I use Page's (2017a) model, 'the surveillant assemblage within schools' as a structure for reviewing the literature, as I explore literature regarding surveillance that is both 'vertical' (top-down and bottom-up) and 'horizontal', to use his words, as well as 'intrapersonal' (see Figure 4.1, below).
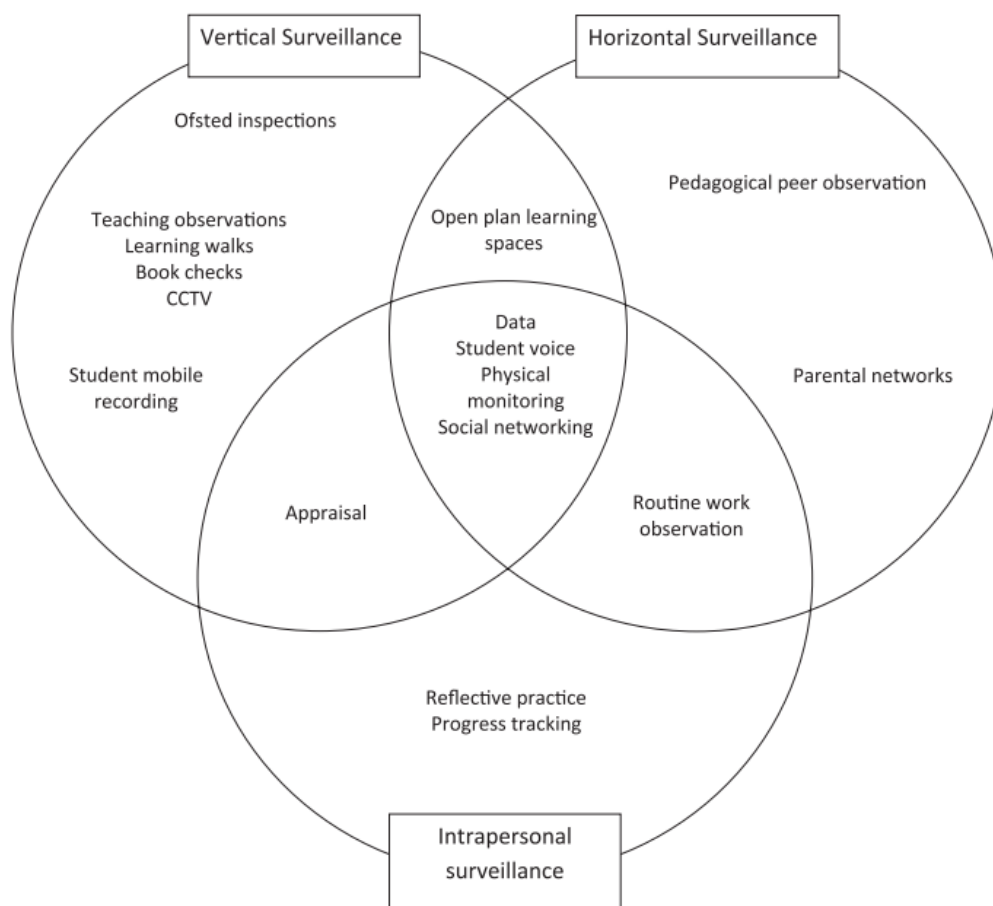

Figure 4.1: 'The surveillant assemblage within schools' (Page, 2017a)

Whilst the model is not based upon empirical engagement with the complexities and nuances of hierarchical power structures (as discussed in Chapters 2 and 5), it is nevertheless the only overview of the full extent to which the teacher is subject to a system or 'assemblage' of surveillance, and it is therefore most appropriate to organise my review of the literature in this way, with a view to reconceptualising a surveillant assemblage in the independent school context. However, it must be understood that, whilst discussing literature relating to 'top-down', 'bottom-up', and 'horizontal' surveillance separately, there is a great deal of overlap and, through the lens of liquid modernity (see Chapter 2), hierarches are unstable and porous; the lived experience of the surveillant assemblage is far more complex than this more rigid structure suggests.

Independent schools, the focus of my own research, are rarely discussed in the context of surveillance; existing literature is almost entirely situated within the state sector of both primary and secondary education (Metcalfe, 1999; Lam, 2001; Moreland, 2009; Perryman et al., 2011; Page, 2015; Page, 2016), or, especially regarding what Page (2017a) calls peer surveillance, within the Further Education (FE) and Higher Education (HE) sectors (Cockburn, 2005; Lawson, 2011; O'Leary, 2013a, 2013b; Thompson and Wolstencroft, 2014; O'Leary and Brooks, 2014; Edington, 2016; O'Leary and Wood, 2017). In fact, surveillance studies aside, there is very little research undertaken in independent schools at all[18]; the literature is *about* the existence of independent schools in relation to state schools, rather research undertaken *within* them. As such, while any relevant research within the independent sector is included in this review of the literature, as this the sector is neglected in educational research, the review is disproportionately focused upon other sectors. My own research helps

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[18] Dearden et al. (2002, p.5) notes that school research often 'exclud[es] pupils who went to private schools', and Kenway (2018, p.94) confirms that 'studies of elite secondary school markets' are only just now 'emerging'.

to fill this gap and helps to position independent schools as legitimate study sites in their own right.

Practicalities and Impacts of 'Vertical' ('Top-down') Surveillance: Management

My research tests the hypothesis that modes of surveillance, and dynamics of surveillant relationships, work in combined ways and can never be fully distinguishable from each other. However, despite the important contribution of Page's (2017a) work, most of the literature in the area of teacher surveillance does not acknowledge a surveillant 'assemblage'[19] of multiple and dynamic kinds of surveillance, but instead focuses primarily on top-down surveillance; that is, a hierarchical system of power in which those 'above' in the hierarchy (namely, the Headmaster, Senior Leadership Team, and middle-managers) surveil those 'below' – the teachers – with lesson observations at the forefront of much of this discussion (Wragg 1999; Marriott, 2001; O'Leary 2013a). Aside from observations conducted by Ofsted, the most commonly discussed form of observation is traditional, pre-arranged, top-down lesson observations by management, although there has been a more recent trend for literature to also include discussion of observational 'learning walks' or 'walk-throughs' (O'Leary, 2014; Page, 2017a; Stevens, 2017; Skerritt, 2020) and 'remote video observations' (O'Leary, 2014; Haines and Miller, 2017; Stevens, 2017), as well as 'lesson study' (O'Leary, 2014; Wood, 2017) – I include references to literature situated in FE, as well as in schools.

Other forms of top-down surveillance referred to in the literature include book-checks (Page, 2015; Page, 2017a), the scrutiny of examination results and pupil attainment data (Perryman et al., 2011; Page, 2015; 2017b) as an example of 'dataveillance' (Nemorin, 2017), and even

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[19] One exception is Weber et al. (2016), who touches on the idea of an assemblage by describing the multiple 'instruments' that can be used together to identify good teaching practice: 'observations can be triangulated with other data, such as student achievement scores and survey responses' (p.92).

surveillance through CCTV or remote video devices (Hope, 2015, Page, 2017a; Perry-Hazan and Birnhack, 2019) – the latter two of which are becoming increasingly important in the context of the 'digital age' (Nemorin, 2017). Importantly, the literature very often discusses top-down surveillance in the context of performativity and managerialism (see Chapter 1 for more on this), and frames it as a negative act, with two main strands evident in this context: the undermining of professional autonomy, and feelings of stress and anxiety, although benefits of surveillance relating to development, validation and empowerment are highlighted too.

Deprofessionalisation

Many argue that top-down surveillance, whether in the form of external inspection, performance management, or quality assurance, leads to a loss of 'professional capital' (Edington, 2016, p.8) or teacher deprofessionalisation (Jeffrey and Woods, 1996; Tomlinson, 2001; Cockburn, 2005; Perryman et al., 2011; Harris 2017; Keddie, 2017; L. Page, 2017) as trust in the teacher is removed. Tomlinson (2001, p.41) asserts that teachers are now 'a technical workforce to be managed and controlled rather than a profession to be respected'. Teacher professionalism is arguably at odds with a managerial approach (Forrester, 2011; Bartlett, 2000; Keddie, 2017), and while the literature does not always explicitly situate performance management systems in the wider context of surveillance, this context is always implicit. Forrester (2011, p.7) points out how the 'monitoring' of work' is a 'form of control', and Keddie (2017, p.1246) adds that 'the ethics of competition, performance and standards currently expected reflect mistrust, surveillance and an undermining of creativity, autonomy and intellectuality'.

Within this context of performativity and accountability, the most discussed form of surveillance in education in existing literature is lesson observations. Traditionally, observations have been seen as a top-down assessment of teaching (Tilstone, 1998; Bailey, 2001), viewed through a panoptic lens (see Chapter 2), and positioned within the performance management paradigm; in the UK Secondary School sector, Metcalfe (1999) suggests that 'teachers are inclined to regard observation more as a system of surveillance and control…than as a means of supporting professional development'. Top-down observations are commonly problematized in existing educational research; in FE, O'Leary (2013b, p.710) finds that graded observations, used as a tool to 'measure and control', had a 'negative impact on tutors' professional identities', leading to a 'reduction in autonomy' (p.711) and 'feelings of resentment' (p.706). As Holloway (2017, p.11) says, the collective literature appears to suggest that these 'high-stakes systems' serve to 'undermine teachers and the teaching profession by threatening their professionalism, autonomy, and integrity'.

Anxiety and stress

'Nothing seems to stress a teacher out more than being monitored, observed or watched', writes Corns (2018, p.46). While there are many complex factors at work in the generation of teacher stress, much emerging literature does seem to support this claim (Troman, 2000; Brown et al., 2002; Perryman et al., 2011; O'Leary, 2013b; Edington, 2016).

Troman (2000) conducted a small-scale qualitative case-study and looks at teacher experience of 'trust and distrust in their work' (p.333). His interviewees make clear the stress caused by the way 'management monitor and appraise teachers and keep files on teachers' behaviour and performance' (p.350). His methodology is questionable – for instance, he used an

'opportunity sample' of teachers who have suffered stress, and in the two extra schools chosen to complement his study, there are obvious problems with one self-defining as 'low-stress' and the other as 'high stress'. However, his findings are supported by Brown et al. (2002) and the length of interviews (1.5-2h) allowed for in-depth discussion.

Graded lesson observations were cited as a source of stress (O'Leary, 2013b; Edington, 2016). Even those who 'get good grades…live in fear of failing next time' (O'Leary, 2013b, p.710), and those who get poor observation grades describe a sense of shame and failure (Edington, 2016). The scrutiny of external examination results is also a trigger for teacher stress; while Perryman et al.'s (2011) study, unusually, had little discussion of teacher observations, teachers felt under great pressure to generate results, which are viewed as a mode of surveillance here, and felt 'judged' by such; so much so that the authors describe a 'pressure cooker'. It is perhaps also noteworthy that their study focused specifically upon English and Mathematics teachers, and their study suggests that these departments are 'more accountable' than others – and that they are therefore subject to a higher intensity of very pressurized surveillance. This high-level accountability also appears to increase workload, according to Perryman and Calvert (2020). Although 'the English education system is often considered to be one of the most high-stakes in the world' (Skerritt, 2019a, p.269), similar issues to those described here seem to exist elsewhere internationally (see Webb et al., 2004; Karsenti and Collin, 2013; Zaidi, 2017; Holloway, 2019). The international nature of this suggests that Ofsted is perhaps not the only factor regarding teacher stress; and that, as discussed earlier, the internal systems of surveillance at play in schools (and probably the influence of inspectorate themselves) are symptomatic of a wider cultural and societal shift.

Benefits of top-down surveillance

Thus far, all the cited literature has displayed the impacts of top-down surveillance as detrimental and something to be feared or resisted. However, this is not always the case; 'surveillance is not always experienced negatively by teachers' (Skerritt, 2020, p.21). The literature cites the main benefits to teachers of top-down surveillance as validation (Moreland, 2009; Perryman et al., 2011; L. Page, 2017; Skerritt, 2020), empowerment (Webb et al., 2004; Perryman et al., 2011) and development (Taylor, 2017), although the idea of protection is also occasionally referenced (Nemorin, 2017).

Skerritt's (2020) findings are significant in this context, despite his small sample. Whilst most of his participants spoke negatively about their experiences under top-down managerial surveillance, one participant, Pauric, was unusual in noting positive benefits and framed his surveillant experiences differently from the others. He saw learning walks as an 'opportunity for validation' (p.17), suggesting that he embodies a neoliberal 'form of professionalism' where 'surveillance is a requisite for success' (p.19), and reinforcing L. Page's (2017, p.65) findings in her six-year FE single institution case-study, that some teachers 'liked being graded' as it offered affirmation of doing things 'right'. Performative systems 'offer to some the opportunity and satisfaction of being excellent' (Perryman et al., 2011, p.190). Thus, 'surveillance can be productive and empowering' (Webb et al., 2004, p.210); the idea of 'empowerment'[20] is interesting here in the context of surveillance – something which is traditionally understood to strip the power from those surveilled (Foucault, 1977).

Others suggest developmental benefits to teacher, with observations once again at the forefront (Wragg, 1999; Lasagabaster and Sierra, 2011; O'Leary, 2014; L.Page, 2017; Taylor,

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[20] Defined by Vincent (1996, p.3) as 'redistributing control and influence in favour of the disadvantaged and deprived'.

2017). Taylor (2017) finds in her study of two FE colleges that in one college which 'sought to locate observation within a CPD rather than quality assurance framework' (p.21), there were some very positive impacts – as a '"less threatening process"' (p.19), teachers made such comments as '"it encouraged me to develop some new ideas that I had been mulling over but would have not 'risked' in the old-style observations"' (p.19), and described it as '"professional support rather an a judgement"' (p.20). Metcalfe (1999) claims similar findings from his research, although a serious limitation is that, unlike Taylor (2017), he does not quote from the interviews that took place.

It is evident, then, that my own research therefore had to be open to the possibility that some of the impacts of surveillance could be similarly wide and varied at my research site, and it was clearly vital to question and probe these impacts without making any unchallenged assumptions.

Practicalities and Impacts of 'Horizontal' Surveillance: Peers / Colleagues

While top-down surveillance is often associated with performativity and judgement, horizontal, or peer-to-peer surveillant activity (especially in the context of peer observation) is more commonly linked to collaboration and development, as a result of different power relations between peers than between teachers and management (O'Leary, 2014). However, some literature does suggest that even within peer relationships, there is often still an element of judgement and power relations in play; there is even rhetoric of competition and self-comparison evident in some research. As with top-down surveillance, the most common mode of peer surveillance discussed in detail in existing literature is observations – there is a wealth of literature on peer observation in a wide variety of settings, especially in relation to FE, HE

and Language School settings (Shortland, 2004; 2010; Hendry et al., 2014; O'Leary and Price, 2017; O'Leary, 2013a; 2013b; Nordin and Channa, 2018), although interestingly there is a notable lack of research with regard to discussion of peer observation in UK secondary schools[21]. Page (2017a), for instance, includes 'pedagogical peer observations' as a horizontal component of his model of 'the surveillance assemblage in schools', but, aside from referencing a few texts (mostly located in FE and HE), he offers limited discussion. Therefore, this section includes a disproportionate amount of literature based in other settings, such as post-compulsory education settings and Secondary Schools in other countries. It is not the intention to claim that such institutions and UK Secondary Schools/Senior Schools are one and the same; rather, the existing research in other settings serves as a valuable starting point to begin probing peer surveillance, and contextualises the gap in the research. Peer observation aside, other forms of more informal peer surveillance are also discussed within the literature, although to a lesser extent; some of this is situated within UK Secondary School settings, such as discussion of the surveillance of teachers' punctuality, of internet use, by overhearing conversations, and by teaching in close proximity to other lessons (Page, 2017a).

Development

According to Hendry et al. (2014), peer observation is:

> a process involving an observer watching a colleague's teaching and providing feedback afterwards … to help observed colleagues enhance their teaching performance.

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[21] One possible exception to this gap in the literature is Metcalfe's (1999) study of two UK Secondary Schools, which discussed 'developmental' observation, and explained that 'the teachers involved in observing and being observed have included a cross-section of the staff in terms of seniority'; but it is not clear the extent to which these observations were perceived as 'top-down' or 'peer' observations, especially as his paper is somewhat paradoxically titled: 'Developmental Classroom Observation as a Component of Monitoring and Evaluating the Work of Subject Departments in Secondary Schools'.

In this definition there seems to be a primary purpose of teacher development. While some teachers 'see the [peer] observation process as a bureaucratic exercise with little genuine concern for teacher development', and still see it as a 'judgement' (Shortland, 2010, p.301), 'scrutinisation' (Cockburn, 2005, p.377) or peer 'review' (Ball, 2003, p.220; Hendry et al., 2014, p.318), this is usually in a management-driven peer system, in which peer observation is 'mandated by senior leaders' (Page, 2017a, p.997) and, in a sense, is therefore ironically still a top-down process (Shortland, 2004). Upon the removal of managerial control, and in an equal peer relationship, existing literature suggests great developmental benefit (Shortland, 2004; Cockburn, 2005; 2010; O'Leary, 2014).

Developmental benefits of peer observation are discussed in detail by O'Leary (2013a) through his impressively large national inquiry into lesson observation schemes in FE, which adopted a mixed methods approach. One of his participants described peer observation as 'the most effective [way of] improving performance' (p.54), and participant Vera explains that 'the most effective staff development happens when teachers talk to and work with other teachers, not managers or observers, but peers' (p.80). It was clear that teaching staff wanted, and felt like they benefitted from, a peer-observation model which prioritised development; their views are perhaps best summarised by participant Barry's assertion that 'we must sever the metaphorical umbilical cord that currently exists between performance management/appraisal and lesson observation' (p.89). Most importantly, though, there is the suggestion that to optimise effectiveness, peer observation should be sustained and continuous, rather than isolated events.

Learning from watching others

An inverted approach to formal methods of peer observation is also discussed in a minority of the literature, in which teachers learn from watching each other teach, rather than learning from an observer giving feedback – a very different form of surveillance, and one which helps to illustrate the complex dynamics and flows of the surveillant assemblage, as indicated in Chapter 2. Hendry et al. (2014, p.318) define 'peer observation' as a teacher watching a colleague's teaching '*without* necessarily judging their practice or being required to give feedback' (emphasis in original). They make a clear distinction between 'peer review' and 'peer observation' as they believe that there are things that 'teachers can learn from observing a colleague teach which they cannot learn, or are hindered in learning as effectively, when they are also required to review teaching' (p.318), the use of the word 'review' suggesting that in order to deliver feedback, some form of evaluative judgement is required. Here, the act of evaluation is suggested to be an obstacle to development, and so in the flipped approach, the primary learner is not necessarily the observed, but in this case, the observer, with teaching modelled for them.

Power relations

A repeatedly referenced advantage of peer observation is the way in which they are less hierarchical in nature than top-down observations (Tilstone, 1998; Towndrow and Tan, 2009; Lawson, 2011; O'Leary, 2013a; 2014; Boocock, 2013; O'Leary and Price, 2017), and therefore less 'threatening' (Boocock, 2013, p.495), allowing 'substantive dialogue as an equal' (O'Leary, 2014, p.115). However, while Page (2017a, p.997) explains that: 'while vertical surveillance is embedded within hierarchical power relations, horizontal surveillance

primarily concerns peers', one could argue that issues of power relations are not entirely avoided in peer-to-peer surveillance – the relationship isn't necessarily perfectly 'horizontal' (Metcalfe, 1999; Hammersley-Fletcher and Orsmond, 2004; Shortland, 2004; 2010; Cockburn, 2005; O'Leary, 2014). Gosling (2002) explains that 'the term 'peer' can include a variety of relationships within an organisational setting', with 'differentials of status' even among peers. O'Leary (2014, p.30) points out that 'the rules of observer-observee engagement are likely to differ according to who is observing whom, in what context and for what purpose', suggesting that it is not necessarily as straightforward as the observer simply 'possessing greater power' (Cockburn 2005, p.384). Chapter 2 has also outlined, through Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) rhizome metaphor, how 'hierarchies of observation' have been 'transformed' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000, p.617). Howsoever the power relations lie, unequal power relations can be problematic, and, due to feelings of awkwardness between peers or lack of confidence, can limit developmental potential (Metcalfe, 1999; Hammersley-Fletcher and Orsmond, 2004; O'Leary, 2014). This also helps to demonstrate how, within the surveillant assemblage, there are complex and nuanced power dynamics at play which are difficult to capture, and helps to justify, therefore, my development of Page's (2017a) surveillant assemblage.

Informal peer surveillance

Peer observation and lesson study are by no means the only forms of peer surveillance discussed in existing literature. Page (2017a, p.997) explains that, 'less formally, peer surveillance is also a feature of every staffroom and every open plan office, embedded within the routine work within schools', with the intertwining of 'surveillance and teamwork' as an

alternative to traditional top-down power relations. Horizontal surveillance becomes an informal means of policing teacher behaviour, such as punctuality and internet use, and colleagues overhear teachers discussing their teaching, including problems in the classroom. (Page, 2017a). He also pointed out that school architecture, such as open-plan learning environments (as discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to liquidity), can allow for teachers to see each other teach – a more informal and continuous version of peer observation. Page (2017a, p.999) also notes that 'students may complain about individual teachers to that teacher's peers', enabling peer surveillance. However, the literature additionally makes clear how the ability to unceasingly surveil a colleague can lead to a sense of competitiveness in a performative environment (Shortland, 2010; O'Leary, 2013a; Skerritt, 2019b; 2020). Skerritt (2020, p.13), for instance, describes an environment in which colleagues compete against one another for internal promotion, explaining that 'colleagues became competitors and the watched become another set of watchers themselves'. One of his participants explain how the teachers 'had the potential to watch, record and compare colleagues' (ibid.), and declared that '"*everyone* is watching the things that you do"' (emphasis added). An atmosphere of competition, furthermore, has the potential to lead to a sense of comparison – teachers comparing themselves with others – and lead to intense 'intrapersonal surveillance' (Page, 2017a, p.998) and 'self-disciplining' (Skerritt, 2020, p.7) as a result, which builds upon the Foucauldian theory laid out in Chapter 2, and which is further discussed later this chapter.

Practicalities and Impacts of 'Horizontal' Surveillance: Parents

The parent-teacher relationship is widely varied, as described by Hornby (2000, p.17-20), who claims that there are six main models of parent-teacher relationships.[22] Much literature frames the relationship between parents and schools as parents being 'involved' in schools (Hoover, Dempsey and Sandler, 1997; Hill and Craft, 2003), and often describes it as a 'partnership' (Macbeth, 1995; Crozier, 1998; Barge and Loges, 2003; Hornby, 2011), defined by Vincent (1996, p.3) as implying 'equality, consensus, harmony and joint endeavour'. However, Crozier (1998, p.125) suggests that this partnership might be 'double-edged' and can act 'as a form of control'. Although Crozier (1998) notes how a school may surveil the parents, in a culture of increasingly 'marketized' education (Crozier, 1998; Page, 2017a; 2017b), research has begun to explore the inversion of this – the ways in which the parents surveil the school, and their child's teachers (Hassrick and Schneider, 2009; Page, 2017a; Skerritt, 2020), in particular as a method of managing 'risk' (Page, 2017b). Hassrick and Schneider's study (2009) found that teachers perceived some parents as '"watching"' and 'critiquing' them, and suggested that 'this watchfulness suggested a new measure of parent and teacher interaction…"surveillance"' (p.205).

The 'watchful dynamic' (Hassrick and Schneider, 2009, p.205) of parental surveillance is often concerned with 'establishing rights of access to information' (Power and Clark, 2000, p.26). Page (2017a, p.998) describes direct parental surveillance as including 'direct observation of teaching', 'ad hoc observations in corridors and offices during visits', and 'direct communication with teachers', Hornby (2000) and Ingris (2012) implicitly demonstrate how parents surveil teachers at Parents' Evenings, and Power and Clark (2000)

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[22] He lists these as: 'the protective, expert, transmission, curriculum-enrichment, consumer, and partnership models'.

show a surveillant and evaluative element of the reporting process. Indirect methods of parental surveillance of teachers are also described in the literature, such as parental scrutiny of test results (Lasky, 2000; Bushnell, 2003; Skerritt, 2020;) and the monitoring of homework set (Crozier et al., 2011), this latter made easier by such websites as 'Show My Homework' (Carlile, 2018, p.22), which offer parents 'complete homework visibility' (ibid.). Page (2017a, p.998) also makes reference to the parental surveillance of teachers via 'children's narratives', something also referred to by Crozier et al. (2011), and a significant body of literature describes how parents, especially middle-class mothers, work in networks to share surveillant information about teachers (Vincent, 1996; Crozier, 1997; Reay, 2002; Hovrat, et al., 2003; Hassrick and Schneider, 2009; Page, 2017a). This section discusses the most notable literature in this context (in particular, Hassrick and Schneider, 2009 and Crozier,1997; 1998; 1999); and, in doing so, explores the main threads in the literature relevant to my research questions: parents as a threat, issues of power relations and class, parent as consumer, and positive benefits of parental surveillance.

Parents as a threat

'If a parent phoned up for anything, and usually negative, it was always the teacher's fault', explains participant Orla in Skerritt's (2020, p.14) study. The literature suggests that there appears to be a repeated sense of blame attached to the teacher as the result of both direct and indirect parental surveillance (Lasky, 2000; Crozier, et al., 2011; Skerritt, 2020). With teachers' awareness of being under parental surveillance, and the perception of surveillance as critique, comes the perception of parents as a threat; surveillance has 'the power to segregate teachers and parents, rather than partner them' (Brown et al., 2020, p.91).

A threat to teacher professionalism is found by Epstein (1986), Bushnell (2003) and Hassrick and Schneider (2009), the latter of whom finds that 'monitoring parents can negatively affect teachers by undermining their professional judgment and practice' (p.199). There is also repeated reference to parents getting in touch with the school to complain about the teachers, or to raise concerns (Hassrick and Schneider, 2009; Skerritt, 2020). Indeed, Moore (1994) found, in her focus-group interviews in Scottish schools, that two-thirds of the parents had contacted the school with a 'grievance'. Parental surveillance is clearly not just about monitoring the teacher, but also about casting judgement and intervening when felt necessary, which is where the threat is felt. Teachers also feel pressured into having to '"change [their] teaching"' (Skerritt, 2020, p.14) as a result of surveillant parental complaints, and the extent of parental influence is also commented upon by Crozier (1997), Hovrat, et al. (2003), Hassrick and Schneider (2009) and Francis and Hutchings (2013). Teachers in Bushnell's (2003) study describe how parental influence stifled their creativity, limited their autonomy and undermined their professionalism. Parental surveillance is therefore framed as generating significant power over the teacher.

Power-relations and class

As noted by Crozier (1997, p.193), 'the relationship between parents and teachers is underpinned by power'. The power of the parent is illustrated well by a father in Crozier's (1999, p.323) study, who says that he is given misinformation about his child: 'Sometimes teachers exaggerate … it's [a child's failure] a reflection on their abilities, so maybe they make out the child is doing better than she actually is'. There is an implication here that both teacher and parent are aware of the power the parent holds, and that the teacher is afraid of it.

Although working-class parents are framed as *lacking* power (Crozier, 1998; 1999; Reay, 1998; 2002; Crozier, et al., 2011), as noted in Chapter 2's discussion of social reproduction, there is a very different power relationship between teachers and middle-class parents. There is a consensus among much of the literature, with the exception of Power and Clark (2000), that the powerfully surveillant parents, who 'observe, assess, and influence instructional behaviours' (Hassrick and Schneider, 2009, p.197), are typically middle-class. Middle-class parents are found to make themselves more visible, and to intervene in their child's education more (Vincent, 1996; Reay, 1998; 2002; Crozier, 2000; Hassrick and Schneider, 2009; Crozier, et al., 2011), especially the 'second generation middle class' and 'established middle class'; this level of 'social capital'…'permits parents to more effectively watch over their children [and] also permits surveillance of other adults involved in childrearing' (Sandefur and Laumann, 1998, p.488). One second-generation middle-class parent participant declared:

> I think you need to be really on the ball, I would say. I think you need to be proactive, um just to keep your eye on what's happening, keep your eye on what they're doing. There's nothing wrong with being a demanding parent I think…that's what I do, I monitor very carefully…(Crozier et al., 2011, p.205)

This parent's description of herself as 'demanding' echoing Kenway's (2018, p.98) description of 'hyper-vigilant and demanding parents' in elite independent schools, shows her awareness of her surveillant power over the teachers and suggests an understanding of her own 'social capital'. This contests Skerritt (2020) and Page (2017a)'s claims that parental power is 'non-hierarchical' and 'horizontal'. Hovrat et al. (2003, p.346) explains that parental interventions represent 'an assertion of power in an institutional arena where parents are formally endowed with only a restricted authority'. Informally, however, it seems that the authority parents hold over the teacher is without restriction.

Parent consumer practices

The surveillant power of the parent is exacerbated by the increasing marketisation of education and school 'choice' (Vincent, 1996), which has resulted in a 'shifted' power relationship 'in favour of [middle-class] parents' (Crozier, 1998, p.127). As noted in Chapters 1 and 2, one could argue that in a consumerist paradigm, parents take on the role of 'consumer' or 'client' (Crozier, 1998; Power and Clark, 2000; Hassrick and Schneider, 2009; Inglis, 2012; Nelson and Charteris, 2020). A supplier-client relationship ensues, whereby the parent holds surveillant purchasing power over the teacher, as part of an arguably unequal and therefore non-horizontal consumer relationship. They are 'acting as consumers on behalf of their children in so far as they are overseeing the accumulation of the 'product'' (Crozier, 1997, p.190), and teachers feel the need to 'satisfy the customer' (Crozier, 1998, p.128). As explained by Power and Clark (2000, p.44), 'parents and teachers will never be `equal partners''. Inglis (2012), for instance, describes the power relationships at play in parents' meetings in her in-depth study of parent-teacher meetings. She found that teachers prepared by making copious notes in order to maintain the image of the 'expert', whilst parents, repositioned as clients, often critiqued the teachers' performance. This surveillance and judgement posed a threat to the teachers' expert image and undermined their professionalism. In drawing upon Clark and Power (1998), Inglis (2012, p.87) explain that parents' evenings can become akin to a 'public relations exercise' in a consumerist paradigm, and point out the 'discomfort' teachers felt when 'interrogated' by their surveillant 'clients'.[23]

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[23] Interestingly, these 'clients' are usually mothers (Crozier, 1999; McGrath and Kuriloff, 1999; Reay, 2000; 2002).

Positive impacts

However, while recent literature has discussed negative aspects of parental surveillance of teachers, framing parents as a 'threat', and as a force of deprofessionalisation, some more positive impacts of parental surveillance are also described. Parental pressure is not always a bad thing – according to Honingh et al. (2020), parents are becoming 'more demanding with regard to educational quality and hold their school boards accountable', highlighting their high expectations of educational provision, and Hassrick and Schneider (2009, p.199) note that:

> careful parent monitoring of everyday classroom instruction can create subtle pressures and incentives that aid teachers in being more responsive to both the individual and the group needs of their students.

The literature also notes the potential for parental surveillance helping to 'develop trusting relationships' between parents and teachers (Hassrick and Schneider, 2009, p.199) and greater collaboration between them (McNeal, 1999); Crozier (1997, p.198) found that teachers 'recognise the importance of their partnership with parents and they have a commitment to developing this'. Crozier (1998, p.125) asks the question: 'Parents and schools: partnership or surveillance?', but the two things are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and it is clear from the literature that parental surveillance can have simultaneous positive and negative consequences.

Practicalities and Impacts of 'Vertical' ('Bottom-up') Surveillance: Pupils

Although the previous section noted how parents may surveil the teacher using pupils as a tool, pupils are also surveillant stakeholders in their own right (Lareau, 2011; Crozier, et al.,

2011), with the opportunity to conduct 'sousveillance' (Mann, 2004), as discussed in Chapter 2. Literature over the past two decades suggests that there have been 'changes in teachers' relations with children', due to 'the influence of the performativity discourse' (Jeffrey, 2002, p.533). From a social class perspective, Lareau (2011, p.2) explained that a 'robust sense of entitlement' has been developed by middle-class children, who 'learn to question adults and address them as relative equals'. Similarly, Inglis (2012, p.98) discusses the potential for children to act as 'self-advocates' if present at parent-teacher meetings, and in Devine's (2000, p.27) qualitative study of pupils in three primary schools in Ireland, participants felt that children today 'were quick to assert their rights in their interactions with adults'. It is clear that some pupils, especially those from middle-class families (Lareau, 2011) watch and evaluate their teachers to ensure that they are getting the quality of education which they feel is their 'right'.

Interestingly, the existing literature suggests that much pupil surveillance of the teacher is actually driven and encouraged by the school itself; indeed, 'student voice'[24] is by far the most commonly discussed form of pupil surveillance of the teacher in the existing literature (Johnson, 1991; Flutter and Rudduck, 2004; Fletcher , 2005; Robinson and Taylor, 2007; Taylor and Robinson, 2009; Morgan, 2011; Robinson, 2011), and therefore the surveillant activity with which this section is concerned. In interacting with other stakeholders, the impact of pupil surveillance is broad, all-encompassing, and multifaceted, yet offers positive developmental benefits as well as issues of power relations and instrumentalization, as discussed below.

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[24] 'Student voice' is broadly defined by Robinson (2011, p.437) as 'listening to the opinions, needs and concerns of the student body', by Fletcher (2005, p.5) as 'validating and authorizing [students] to represent their own ideas, opinions, knowledge and experiences throughout education in order to improve our schools', and by Morgan (2011, p.449) as 'where teachers explicitly seek and take into account pupil perspectives on aspects of teaching and learning in particular classrooms'.

Benefits of student voice

Student voice can be understood in terms of formal pupil surveys and informal conversation with pupils (Morgan, 2011), student councils (Taylor and Robinson, 2009), student-led school-based research (Thomson and Gunter, 2005; Taylor and Robinson, 2009; Robinson and Taylor, 2013), and pupil involvement within the staff appointment process (Bragg, 2007). While student voice initiatives are not always positioned within a surveillance paradigm,[25] there is no denying that, in my defining surveillance as *a mechanism of formally and informally generating, sharing and using knowledge in order to contribute to the profiling, evaluation and development of teachers*, one could argue that student voice is positioned, at least implicitly, as a surveillant activity. The literature highlights the positive impacts of student voice initiatives – that it increases pupil motivation (McIntyre et al., 2005), can improve the relationships between teachers and pupils (Fielding and Bragg 2003; Fielding 2004; Hope, 2012; Mitra, 2018), and is aligned with 'respect' and 'rights' of the students (Cook-Sather, 2006). However, the benefit with the most prevalence in the literature is that of teacher development. Morgan (2011), Messiou and Ainscow (2015) and Messiou et al. (2016) all find that some student voice activities can help develop teachers' teaching practice. These studies did have limitations; for instance, these researchers admit that their research is underpinned by their underlying assumptions[26], and Morgan's (2011) study is limited in her use of only four teachers. However, it is clear from their findings that through listening to the evaluative voice of the children experiencing their lessons, teachers were challenged to think more deeply about their own practice.

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[25] In fact, sometimes, the researcher emphatically claims the opposite, such as Morgan (2011).

[26] Morgan (2011), for instance, worked on the assumption that teachers' classroom practice can be 'informed' by pupils.

Power relations

However, even those who spoke positively about student-voice initiatives noted their challenges (McIntyre, 2005; Cook-Sather, 2006; Morgan, 2011; Ainscow and Messiou, 2017). McIntyre (2005, p.156), for instance, found that some teachers were 'defensive, unimpressed and suspicious' of their student voice feedback, noting how one teacher participant, Lorna, was defensive about the pupils picking up on her 'weaknesses' (p.165). Feelings of defensiveness, teachers feeling threatened by student voice feedback, and a potential destabilisation of traditional hierarchical roles are all common themes discussed in literature which problematises student voice initiatives – more so for management-led student voice initiatives, but also in teacher-led initiatives to an extent.

Much of the discussion in this area centres on notions of power and influence, and suggests the 'danger' of student voice (Fielding, 2004; Rudduck, 2006), which is particularly interesting when considered, as by Nelson and Charteris (2020) within the narrative of 'market notions of accountability, efficiency and consumer competition' (ibid., p.3). The notion of the parent as consumer has already been discussed previously in this chapter, but, through the lens of social reproduction (see Chapter 2), the pupil, as the recipient of education, can increasingly be positioned as a consumer of sorts too, with student voice initiatives serving as an invitation to evaluate the education that they are consuming.[27] Students may hence be positioned as 'consumers' and their voices may serve as an 'audit' and as 'quality assurance' (Charteris and Smardon, 2019b, p.7).

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[27] This is already widely discussed in the context Higher Education (Bunce et al., 2017; Bunce, 2019; Cardoso et al., 2011; Delucchi, and Korgen, 2002), with long-established student feedback surveys conducted to evaluate educators globally (see, for example, Blair and Noel, 2014; Wright, 2011; Smith, 2008).

While some research discusses *lack* of power among school pupils (Roche, 1999; Mitra, 2018), in Skerritt's (2020, p.13) study, participant Orla argues that pupils are '"given an unnecessary and unproductive power"', and participant Eamon claims that pupil power is 'misuse[d]', and compares it to 'blackmailing' (ibid.). Here, pupils, much like their parents, are suggested to be a threat, and are aware of their own power, and this framing of pupils is reinforced by McIntyre (2005), Morgan (2009) and Bragg (2007); the latter of which offers a particularly interesting example. Bragg (2007) conducted a two-year case-study of a Deputy Head's (Alison) attempt to develop student voice in a primary school. Alison explains a scenario in which:

> *"One of the staff was upset because she received a report card on her performance as a teacher from one of her pupils – complete with targets! She was affronted and felt that this pupil voice thing was turning things on their head"* (p.512).

Commenting on this, Bragg (2007, p.513) notes that 'Teachers are used to being put in the position of evaluating children; thinking that pupils might evaluate teachers in turn effects shifts in identity and power', illustrated to an extent, perhaps, by Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) lines of escape as discussed in Chapter 2. This in itself is not necessarily a detrimental impact of pupil surveillance, but, in the context of power, for some, the empowerment of pupils is viewed as having the inevitable consequence of the *dis*empowerment of teachers, in a type of zero-sum game (Mitra, 2008; Nelson, 2017). Others, however, argue that while student voice does offer a 'challenge to traditional power relations' (Rudduck and Fielding, 2006, p.220), it is arguably a *flow* of power rather than an exchange, whereby teacher-pupil relationships 'will undergo endless negotiation and re-negotiation' (Robinson, 2011, p.449) and power is in 'perpetual flux' (Nelson, 2017, p.183).

Management-driven student-voice initiatives

Teacher-driven student voice initiatives are likely to be discussed with the rhetoric of collaboration, partnership and development, whereas management-drive student voice initiatives are often linked to accountability and seen as a threat or something punitive. Issues of power relations are perhaps intensified in a management-driven approach to instrumentalized student voice initiatives, which are described by Page (2017a, p.997) as 'where top-down and bottom-up surveillance converge'. Flutter (2007) suggests that top-down approaches may distract teachers from the real benefits of pupil voice – thus student voice initiatives in this context might be more superficial exercises and 'tokenistic' (Mitra, 2018, p.475). Morgan (2011) and Page (2015) consider a different approach to student voice, which removes the teacher's role altogether, whereby headteachers collect the information rather than teachers, by speaking with pupils during learning walks. Similar management interaction with pupils is found by Charteris and Smardon's (2019c, p.105) Australian study , who conclude that 'some student voice practices can be an exercise in power and surveillance that result in fear and distrust'. Through the lens of assemblage theory (see Chapter 2), we see here the merging together of top-down surveillance from management, and bottom-up surveillance from pupils[28]; thus, surveillance can be 'elicited by senior leaders in the guise of student voice activities' (Page, 2018, p. 379). This gives weight to Lensmire's (1998, p.261) claim that 'student voice responses are often 'formed in the shadow of teacher scrutiny and evaluation', and shows that, as Bragg (2007) expresses, teacher concerns and anxieties are very genuine and valid.

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[28] Page (2017a) terms this merging 'compound' surveillance

Practicalities and Impacts of Intrapersonal surveillance

Along with the increase of teachers being surveilled by multiple stakeholders, teachers are also increasingly watching themselves and reporting on their practice to others (Page, 2018). Page's (2017a) 'surveillant assemblage within schools' (Figure 4.1) terms this 'intrapersonal surveillance', and he claims that it involves 'reflective practice and self-monitoring' (p.995), and that it overlaps with horizontal and/or vertical surveillance to also include appraisal, routine work observation, data, student voice, physical monitoring and social networking. Skerritt (2020) also adds paperwork to this list. Page (2017a, p.998) argues that reflective practice is probably 'the most common form of intrapersonal surveillance', and this claim is substantiated by the volume of literature on teacher appraisal, one form of this (see, for instance: Tickle, 1999; Towndrow and Tan, 2009; Elliott, 2015), in which it is argued that this intensified focus on 'reflective practice' has emerged from a culture of constant surveillance and scrutiny in highly performative environments.

It is evident that intrapersonal surveillance can be seen both positively and negatively. On one end of the continuum, it is framed as an 'an intrinsically worthwhile activity' (Bleakley, 1999, p.320), and aligned with notions of educator professionalism (Page, 2018) and teacher development (OECD, 2013); on the other, more critical end, it may be seen within 'managerialist orthodoxy' (Clegg, 1999, p.168). Self-surveillance has arguably become normalised; and, due to commodification of both education and teachers themselves (Page, 2018), teachers purposefully make themselves visible, an act which Page (2018) terms 'conspicuous practice', and which is demonstrated in action by Skerritt (2020). This section outlines the above in more detail, and also explores the discourse of teacher identity within the literature, and how self-surveillance is suggested to lead to self-alienation.

Compound surveillance

Intrapersonal surveillance isn't necessarily always viewed as a form of surveillance in its own right – rather, it is viewed as an amalgamation and internalisation of the forms of surveillance discussed previously in this chapter, illustrating the 'liquidity' that Page (2017a p.996) describes, and which is discussed through the lens of liquid modernity in Chapter 2. Page (2017a, p.998) explains that 'intrapersonal surveillance begins with the highly panoptic and involves the internalization of disciplinary surveillance', and he shows in his 'surveillant assemblage within schools' (Figure 4.1) that intrapersonal surveillance is largely an overlap of vertical and horizontal surveillance. The interrelationship between the different surveillant strands – a key aspect of assemblage – is also referenced by Hope (2013, p.43), who notes that, in a context of surveillance, 'such processes then encourage individuals to reflect upon and monitor their own behaviour'. Skerritt (2020) demonstrates this internalization of surveillance and monitoring of self-behaviour through teacher participants Eamon and Ciara, who, under surveillance from other stakeholders, 'learned the accepted modes of practice in their schools' (Skerritt, 2020, p.15) and self-surveilled in order to ensure that they were following the 'system' in order to avoid discipline.

Appraisal and self-reflection

A significant aspect of compound surveillance is arguably the process of teacher appraisal, as this often brings together many different aspects of a teacher's 'performance', and draws upon views from other stakeholders and surveillant activities, such as observations (Towndrow and Tan, 2009), analysis of examination data (OECD, 2013), and even, occasionally, student voice (Morgan, 2011). Appraisal as a formal surveillant activity has been defined as a

'continuous process of identifying, measuring, and developing the performance of individuals and teams' (Aguinis, 2019, p.1). It is described by Barry et al. (2001) as a form of managerial control, and he draws upon Foucault (1977) to describe it as 'a system of surveillance resembling the confessional, for producing docile, self-regulating bodies' (p.92). Typically referred to as a key component in the performance management process (Page, 2015), it can also be viewed as a tool by which to enforce *self*-management, and Ball (2003, p.219) describes it as a form of 'very immediate surveillance and self-monitoring'. From an intrapersonal perspective, Page (2015) explains that appraisal can be viewed panoptically in two main ways: by teachers 'collecting evidence of their performance' (p.1034) as an 'informant' (p.1035) to the appraisal process, and through the teacher's 'perpetual analysis of [their] own behaviour' (ibid.).

There appears to be increasingly willing compliance of teachers to self-surveil (Tickle, 1999, p.125-26), and self-appraisal has become a central feature of the teacher appraisal process in Britain. It is often viewed as developmentally beneficial for teachers (OECD, 2013), and the framing of appraisal as a self-reflective activity has been argued to empower the teacher as it gives them an element of ownership over the process (Wragg et al., 1996). However, Towndrow and Tan (2009) challenge this view, suggesting that self-evaluation might 'subject teachers to even more power', by informing other stakeholders 'about how they view themselves'. Furthermore, appraisal can, according to Tickle (1999, p. 126), be problematic if 'framed in terms only related to technical skills and instruction'. It can also encourage a sense of self-blame and guilt (Tickle, 1999; Ball, 2003), and it is perhaps no wonder, therefore, that Towndrow and Tan (2009, p.285) describe feelings of 'confusion, frustration and even hostility' among some teachers undergoing self-evaluation within an appraisal process.

Consumerism and conspicuous practice

The self-reflectiveness of teachers, framed by Page (2015) as a means of self-surveillance, is becoming increasingly continuous and embedded in daily practice, rather than merely an isolated annual evaluative activity (Page, 2018). Although some teachers self-surveil out of fear of discipline, other teachers may also be willing participants in their own surveillance as they understand the need to construct a 'brand' to be marketed (Page, 2018, p.384). Page (2018) asserts that the teacher is 'seduced' into marketing his or her self and ultimately becomes a 'commodity' (p.381), striving to be more visible. This is the point where 'surveillance and consumerism converge' (Page, 2018, p.378) and, as a result, 'self-surveillance becomes a marketing exercise' (ibid.).

It is not enough for teachers to self-surveil to check that they are a marketable commodity; they must actively promote themselves too. As pointed out by Page (2018, p.383), 'the self has to become not just visible but visible in the right way and to the right people at the right time.' Thus, teachers self-surveil in order to promote selective aspects of themselves for the surveillance of others. Page (2018) calls this public display 'conspicuous practice', as noted in Chapter 2. He suggests that the intention of conspicuous practice is to convey a message about 'professional status' – this is perhaps not a little ironic, given the prior discussions about surveillance from other stakeholders deprofessionalising the teacher. Teachers want '*to be seen as being* professional' (Moore and Clarke, 2016, p.671, emphasis in original). Here, by having the agency to *self*-surveil, the teacher is able to feel as though they have some control over surveillance, and turn it to their own advantage, as shown in examples offered by both Page (2018) and Skerritt (2020), such as the 'pure advertising' of the 'sharing of best practice' (Page, 2018, p.384) and teachers seeing observations as an 'opportunity' (Skerritt,

2020, p.17) to exhibit their teaching. In such examples, 'self-surveillance, commodification and conspicuous practice are the norm' (Page, 2018, p.385).

Teacher identity and self-alienation

Conspicuous practice has obvious links with performance, which has already been discussed in this chapter in relation to top-down surveillance. As shown by Ball (2003), there can be a tension between self-surveillance and top-down surveillance such that teachers may be very self-aware of any performance that they are putting on, and teachers may consequently call their own identities into question (Jeffrey and Woods, 1998; Ball, 2003). In fabricating their own practice (as discussed from a Baudrillardian perspective in Chapter 2), they are also self-surveilling the success of their fabrication. One could argue that fabrications are produced not only in order to be 'accountable' Ball (2003, p.224), but also to be visible, or conspicuous. Ball (2003, p.220) uses appraisals as an example of an opportunity for fabrication, and explains how we become 'unsure whether we are doing enough, doing the right thing, doing as much as others, or as well as others, constantly looking to improve, to be better, to be excellent', such is the nature of the intrapersonal.

However, embedded within intrapersonal surveillance in a culture of performativity, Chatelier and Rudolph (2018, p.12) assert that:

> self-responsibilisation as an expression of the enterprising self – technologised by accountability and audit measures within the market-based logics of neoliberalism – has shifted the focus of teachers' care away from the student and onto the teachers' own need for professional recognition and advancement.

In sacrificing the needs of their pupils for the needs of themselves, one could argue that some teachers sacrifice their own values and allow a values 'splitting' (Ball, 2003, p.221), as discussed previously this chapter, in order to marketize themselves appropriately. This is demonstrated by a teacher participant in Wilkins's (2011, p.399) study: 'It's more about me now. I used to think teaching was what you can do for kids…'. Ball's (2003, p.221) description of a 'values schizophrenia' is sometimes referred to in relation to top-down surveillance (Page, 2017b), but is perhaps even more relevant in relation to discussion of the intrapersonal. Here, 'commitment, judgement and authenticity within practice are sacrificed for impression and performance', thus leading to an 'identity shift' (O'Keeffe and Skerritt, 2020, p.3) to a performative identity which self-surveils and self-disciplines on a constant basis. A teacher's awareness of his or her own ontological insecurity may lead to a form of self-displacement, or self-alienation. For those teachers who are products of a performative environment, however, the stakes are perhaps even higher; in these cases, a 'post-performative', identity (Wilkins, 2011, p.402) may be constructed, and what it 'means to be a teacher' has changed (Ball, 2000, p.2) to the point at which the teacher does not need to sacrifice their values – their values were constructed with a performative focus – and the teacher merely needs to self-surveil to ensure that they are ticking the right boxes (Forrester, 2011).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the existing literature relating to what Page (2017a) terms top-down, bottom-up and intrapersonal surveillance. Although my work builds Page's (2017a, 2017b) discussion of UK Secondary Schools and Skerritt's (2020) research in UK academies

in particular, it departs from the body of existing literature focused on the state sector, by exploring what is going on in independent senior school settings. My thesis takes Page's (2017a, p.995) model of 'the surveillant assemblage within schools' as a starting point, but adapts and develops it for the independent school context, based upon my own findings. I also move away from a traditional approach of looking at surveillance in the context of external inspection (Jeffrey and Woods, 1996; Burns, 2000; Perryman, 2006, 2007, 2009; Courtney, 2013, 2016; Brown et al., 2016), and explore internal systems in more detail, on the assumption that, as Troman (1997) argues, the external has now moved internal. In answering my first research question, '*in what ways are teachers perceived to be surveilled in the independent school?'*, the surveillant stakeholders discussed in this review of the literature are of great significance.

While some of the literature does explore aspects of what Page (2017a) terms as 'bottom-up' 'horizontal' and 'intrapersonal' surveillance, which is looked at in detail in my thesis, each piece of empirical research rarely looks at these surveillant perspectives altogether, and hardly ever as an assemblage. Indeed, the literature is still overwhelmingly focused on surveillance which is specifically 'top-down', and other components of the surveillant assemblage have, in many cases, only implicitly included surveillance in their discussions. This chapter thus shines a light on the need for more research applying assemblage theory to surveillance in education. Additionally, thus far, the literature has only occasionally, and briefly, considered marketisation as having a connection to surveillance, but my research views systems of surveillance from a marketisation perspective, viewing education as a commodity, and purchased by the parents and/or pupils. Therefore, my thesis makes a stronger link between surveillance and parent and pupil stakeholders than in the existing research, which is, within a

context of educational marketisation, especially relevant for an independent school research site in which money is literally paid for the 'product' of education.

Furthermore, while the existing literature largely seeks to *conceptualise* surveillance in schools, and starts to look at *some* impacts, especially of top-down surveillance, my research adds much-needed detail in this area; the literature does not look at the complexities of this, and there is little empirical research in UK (or, indeed, elsewhere) school settings in this field, especially regarding relationships between surveillant stakeholders. This is where my own research takes the next step in this field, with my second research question: *What are the impacts of the surveillance of teachers in this independent school context?*. The next chapter explains my methodological approach, and outlines the ways in which my research was conducted.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter explores the methodological decisions I made in my research. Firstly, I explain and justify my decision to use a case-study methodological approach. I discuss research methods literature, weigh up the positives and negatives of various methods, and draw upon researchers in this field who have used this approach. I then describe my research site and factors influencing my decision to choose it for my case-study. I go on to describe my research methods, justifying my use of interviews with participants in a variety of roles, referred to as 'surveillant stakeholders'. I also discuss my recording and transcription methods, as well as explaining and justifying my approach to coding and analytical methods. Finally, I explain my consideration of ethical issues, and how I have ensured that my research meets ethical standards, as well as describing challenges I faced in this.

Qualitative research and case-study approach

My research deals with perceptions, feelings, and notions of power – all of all of which are difficult to fully quantify or make tangible[29]. As Thomas (2009) argues, no one static position is required. A focus upon intangible concepts, such as power, is likely why research in this field tends to have a qualitative approach (Troman, 1997; 2000; Webb et al., 2004; Perryman, 2006; Page, 2015); it is concerned with individuals' experiences, and often, therefore, perceptions of such. Thus, there is clearly an advantage here in exploring 'depth' rather than 'breadth' (Burton et al., 2008, p.67).

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[29] As such, some (Sharp, 2009; Bryman, 2012) might label my approach as 'interpretivist' although I feel that the idea of a positivist-interpretivist dichotomy, between which one should 'choose', is too simplistic and outdated.

As a method of qualitative research, a case-study research design is an appropriate choice for my study, as case studies are often used to explore 'issues relating to status, power, ownership and control' (Burton et al., 2008, p.61). Bell (1993, p.8) explains that a case-study 'allows the researcher to concentrate on a specific instance or situation and to identify…the various interactive processes at work'. In the context of my research, these 'various interactive processes' are the dynamics of surveillance, as an assemblage. Therefore, like many researchers in this field (such as Wragg et al., 1996; Troman, 2000; Perryman et al., 2011), I chose to conduct my research with a qualitative approach, and a single case-study was my route to answering my research questions: '*In what ways are teachers perceived to be surveilled in the independent school?*' and '*What are the impacts of the surveillance of teachers in this independent school context?*' Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier (2013, p.10), in drawing upon the views of Elliott and Lukeš (2008), suggest that a case-study 'aims to capture the complexity of relationships, beliefs and attitudes within a bounded unit'. A case-study, I felt, would provide me with a single assemblage, or web, of surveillance existing within a relatively bounded unit on a small enough scale for me to explore the role, position and function of each stakeholder, the varied surveillant relationships between them, and allow me to test my hypothesis that modes of surveillance, and dynamics of surveillant relationships, work in combined ways and can never be fully distinguishable from each other.

Generalisation and transferability

Case-studies have become a more popular approach in educational research in recent years (Klein, 2012), but there is ongoing debate about the extent to which case studies can be generalised or transferred (Stake, 1995; Bassey, 1999; 2000; Lincoln and Guba, 2000; Gomm,

Hammersley and Foster, 2000; Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017). While both Jeffrey and Woods (1996, p.327) and Troman (1997, p.349) suggest that it is possible to have a school that is 'typical' of a larger group, I am of the opinion that in education, there are too many variables at play for *any* school to be entirely 'typical' – as Thomas succinctly puts it, 'you cannot generalise from one case' (2009, p.109). That said, while I feel that generalisation is an 'inappropriate goal' (Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000, p.103) for a case-study, I do acknowledge the potential for case-study research to enhance understanding in other sectors or sites, whilst not being directly transferable. Although there is no such thing as a 'typical' school, schools, including independent schools, are not entirely distinct from one another, and have shared commonalities, such as policy drivers and inspectorates, to some extent (as discussed in Chapter 1). Bassey (1999, p.51-4) refers to 'fuzzy generalisation' and Stake (1995, p.7) to 'modified generalisation', explaining that through this, 'seldom is an entirely new understanding reached but refinement of understanding is'. This is my goal here – my findings do not need to be fully generalisable or transferable to be found valuable, as my case-study can be a 'direct and satisfying way of adding to experience and improving understanding' (Stake, 2000, p.25), which I feel is the case for mine.

Therefore, case-study is an appropriate choice of research design in a study that explores complex power dynamics. My research is no exception to much of the existing empirical research in this field regarding its case-study research design, but differs from most existing empirical research in three main ways:

- the research site of an independent school, rather than state;
- the focus on an assemblage of surveillance, rather than one form/source of surveillance (usually managerial);

- the use of *all* recognised surveillant stakeholders within the assemblage as participants within my case-study.

Research site

School profile and context

This case-study takes place in a single co-educational ISC independent school in the South of England. The senior section of this school, with which this study is concerned, takes pupils aged 13-18, or from the state equivalent of Year 9 to Year 13[30]. There are 496 pupils in the senior school (Years 9 to 13), and more than 150 teaching staff, although some of the staff also teach in the linked junior school. The school, established in the 1800s, has both boarding and day pupils, but the boarding community (predominantly international) is small, with no more than approximately 60-70 pupils. With a reputation for being highly academic[31], the school is selective, with both entrance examinations and interviews comprising the selection process. Upon leaving the sixth-form, around 75% of pupils attend Russel Group Universities each year[32]. Fees at the school are upwards of £18,000 per year, with some bursaries available. The school site itself is on one campus, with extensive grounds. The school is structured pastorally by Houses and form groups. Class sizes are comparatively small; a core-subject GCSE class might be expected to have pupil numbers in the low twenties at most. Numbers of pupils with special educational needs are very low in comparison to the majority of UK schools.

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[30] Whilst this school has a different method of naming each year groups, which is commonplace in similar independent schools, for the sake of ease, state sector nomenclature is used in this study.

[31] more than 80% of all GCSE grades achieved in 2019[31] were A*-A or 7, 8 or 9, and more than 64% of A Level grades achieved were A*/A grades

[32] Based upon data from 2020, and previous years are very similar

The research site is one independent school of many in the local area; indeed, there are two other independent senior schools within a four-mile radius of the school, which serve as direct competitors. In terms of local context, fees charged at this school are very similar to other comparable independent schools in the immediate area, with examination results slightly higher. The school has a strong academic reputation, and received an excellent report in its 2015 ISI inspection. In terms of national context, the research site is well within the top 100 schools in both A Level and GCSE rankings, with examination results comparable to the better-known Harrow School and Dulwich College (Best Schools, 2021a; 2021b), and with fees significantly lower. There is an implicit hierarchy of schools within the independent sector (Walford, 2013, p.89), based upon a combination of factors such as historical tradition, fees and results, and the school used as my research site can be characterised as a 'mid-tier school' – beneath the famous 'Rugby Group' and 'Eton Group' of schools, but, as a HMC (Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Conference) school, is better-known than some of the much smaller and less reputable schools.

The school has recently undergone a series of important changes. A new Headmaster was appointed in 2015, and within three years, there was an entirely new Senior Leadership Team. At the beginning of the 2018 academic year, the school hired an educational consultant, who conducted a series of (more than 43) teaching-staff observations over the course of his three-week residency, in addition to numerous meetings, two teaching demonstrations, and a presentation. In the context of surveillance, based on discussions, he found that lesson observations carried a 'stigma of being a punitive, anxiety-ridden experience' and he recommended changes to the ways in which lesson observations were undertaken.

Additionally, a new role was created at the beginning of the 2018 academic year – the Director of Learning, Teaching and Innovation, whose job description referred to the need for

engendering a 'glass walls' culture. Along with this, new systems have been initiated, such as learning walks and 'Blink' classroom visits (ten-minute unscheduled drop-ins by SLT, with feedback). Using my definition of surveillance in an educational context as *a mechanism of formally and informally generating, sharing and using knowledge in order to contribute to the profiling, evaluation and development of teachers*, it can be suggested that the school is experiencing a renewed focus on teacher surveillance, and my research, succeeding these changes, is therefore very timely. Rooted within this school context, my research explores perceptions and experiences of teacher surveillance, and how the impacts of these changes are perceived.

Reasons for choosing research site[33]

There are several reasons for my selection of this particular independent school as my research site; first and foremost because it is the school in which I was, at the time of my research and data collection, under employment as a teacher. There are a number of important advantages to this, aside from the obvious convenience factor. Firstly, surveillance as a research topic has the potential to be sensitive[34], due to the implications of power, hierarchy and control. My research aim was to uncover existing systems of surveillance, and look at the consequences – positive and/or negative.

It would be unsurprising for a Headteacher, as 'gate-keeper' (Felzmann, 2009, p.105) to show reluctance in allowing a researcher to explore this in his or her school, for fear of negative repercussions, such as the potential for inadvertently encouraging teachers to challenge the

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[33] Although this section touches upon ethical issues, further discussion of this is explored in more detail later this chapter.
[34] Defined as having 'potential to arouse emotional responses' (Johnson and Clarke, 2003, p.421).

status quo[35]. In fact, to allow any researcher to conduct research in any school can be perceived as a risk, particularly in terms of the involvement of vulnerable persons (Bryan and Burstow, 2018). However, while Hammersley (1993, p.433) highlights the argument that 'a teacher doing research in the school in which he or she works is likely to operate under more serious threat of control by senior management or governors than is an outside researcher', this was not at all my experience in this school. I was asked for very little information about my research, and I received the impression that I was being trusted to conduct this research in a scrupulous manner; this level of trust was perhaps only possible to attain in a school in which I had already built a relationship of trust, and a reputation of professionalism, and highlights a clear advantage to using a school within which I was current in employ as my research site. This relationship of trust was also helpful when recruiting my staff, pupil and parent participants, and assuring them of anonymity.

Teaching staff, in particular, may feel that they are putting their professional reputation at risk by agreeing to be interviewed (Thomas, 2009), especially if their responses criticise the school or school leaders in some way. They may have been less likely to trust an 'outsider', as described in Brayda and Boyce (2014, p.330) account of conducting 'sensitive' interviews, but perhaps more likely trust me, as 'one of them', especially if I had a good working relationship with them. Of course, the reverse can also be claimed – and therefore it was perhaps to my advantage that I do not have any seniority in the school (although, admittedly, this may not have been the case when interviewing my two participating members of SLT, as I do not know how comfortable they felt discussing school systems with a classroom teacher).

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[35] Some related discussion of this, from an emancipatory perspective, can be found in Edwards and Holland (2013, pp.20-21)

My awareness and understanding of the school systems from the emic (insider) perspective (Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier, 2013) was also beneficial, as it helped me to focus my questionnaire and interview schedule, because I already had some idea what to look for, and certainly 'a greater awareness of the issues that are deemed to be important' (Burton et al., 2008, p.22). An external researcher would certainly find it very difficult to understand the inner workings of the school and its many varied and complex systems in a limited amount of time, in order to attain a full insight and therefore may not be able to do the case-study research justice, having only limited understanding of the 'case', as discussed by other educational researchers (Edwards and Hillyard, 2012, p.139). Of course, the cost of this insider knowledge is that I was risking the potential influencing factors of my own preconceptions or 'personal biases' (Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier, 2013, p.17). However, in practice, although my own preconceptions may have provided me with a starting point to a certain extent, I did frequently have my own views challenged in interviews and was surprised by some of the responses. Therefore, despite having undeniable expectations as to what I would 'find', these expectations were not self-fulfilling. It is also important to acknowledge that even an external researcher would come to the school with some sort of preconceptions or presumptions. My 'situated knowledge' (Thomas, 2009, p.109) provided me with greater benefit than cost.

Teacher as researcher

A study in which the researcher is essentially *surveilling* the act of *surveillance* is somewhat paradoxical, and therefore, the researcher's self-reflexivity is essential. Notions of ethical accountability are discussed later this chapter, but here I extend the discussion above

regarding my positionality. Some discussion of the 'teacher as researcher' is, perhaps, pertinent, especially in the context of a case-study of the school at which I work. The term 'teacher as researcher' is often taken to refer to action research (Nixon, 1987, p.21; Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier, 2013, p.121) – that is to say, 'a disciplined process of inquiry conducted by and for those taking the action' for which 'the primary reason for engaging in action research is to assist the "actor" in improving and/or refining his or her actions' (Sagor, 2000, p.3). Whilst Nixon, (1987, p.30) makes the call for teacher-research to 'look to the interfaces: between the classroom and the broader organisational and curricular strands of schooling, between school and home…', even though the 'teacher as researcher' *can* explore whole-school systems of which they are a part, much of the literature in this area refers to the importance of researching classroom-based teaching and learning strategies and processes (Kitchen and Stevens, 2008; Souto-Manning, 2012; Joram et al., 2020) in order to lead to 'action and change' (Santa and Santa, 1995, p.444) in teaching behaviour rather than investigating wider school systems from the inside. In other words, teacher-led research appears to be more concerned with the *classroom*, and classroom practice, than the *school.* As my research is more conceptually driven, it is not classed as 'action' based, and again, this is where my study departs from the many, as my research explores whole-school practices and perceptions from the inside, rather than just my classroom, and thus hopefully has the potential to fulfil Nixon's (1987, p.30) call for 'change' through internal teacher-led research.

Of course, there is an irony in Fueyo and Koorland's (1997, p.337) statement that 'teachers as researchers…observe and monitor themselves and their students' and Santa and Santa's (1995, p.449) claim that teacher-researchers should be 'challenged to become better clinicians and observers of both themselves and their students', as well as Nixon's (1987, p.20) reference to 'critical self-scrutiny and for examination by colleagues'. The repeated use of

such lexis as 'observer', 'observe', 'monitor' and 'scrutiny' suggests that perhaps the very nature of teacher-research, inadvertently must become another strand of the surveillant assemblage.

Interviews as case-study technique

The majority of key researchers in this field use interviews as part, or the entirety, of their research methods (Jeffrey and Woods, 1996; Troman, 1997; Case et al., 2000; Bushnell, 2003; Moreland, 2009; Perryman et al., 2011; Page, 2016; Courtney, 2016) within their case-study. Admittedly, there are those who do not use individual interviews at all, such as Kumar et al. (2019) and Dean (1995), who both used focus groups instead, but the topics focused on in their studies were arguably less sensitive[36]. For my research, individual interviews were much more appropriate due to my study's potentially sensitive nature; discussion of surveillant activity in the workplace requires privacy, as participants may not be entirely forthcoming about their perceptions and experiences if they felt their responses could be overheard.

The benefits of interviews are many. May (2001, p.120) suggests that interviews offer 'insights into people's biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings', and this view is supported by Sharp (2009, p.73), who points out that interviews can be used to 'explore the nature of expressed views, opinions, perceptions, attitudes, preferences and behaviours'. In my research, which is largely concerned with experiences and perceptions of teacher surveillance, interviews therefore appear particularly useful in understanding my

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[36] Kumar et al. (2019) looked at surveillance from the perspective of the teacher surveilling the pupil, and Dean (1995) focused on the surveillant impacts of external inspection, rather than internal systems.

case. Furthermore, interviews are known to yield particularly 'rich' data (Bell, 1993, p.91; Gillham, 2000, p.11; Dicicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006, p.319) and to be effective at exploring 'complex human experiences' (Gillham, 2000, p.16). However, interviews do also come with their disadvantages. Firstly, they are commonly agreed to be particularly 'time-consuming' (Bell, 1993; Gilham, 2000b; Burton et al., 2008; Sharp 2009), which I found to be the case not only when preparing and conducting the interviews, but also – and especially – with managing data post-interview. Additionally, the logistics of setting up the interviews, finding a mutually convenient time and a suitable private location within the busy school day, and relying on participants to turn up were also challenges I had to overcome. However, I found the benefits by far outweighed the costs.

I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews, as these appeared to provide me with 'the best of both worlds' (Thomas, 2009, p.164). Given my time constraints, it was reassuring to have a structure, with specific topics to cover and questions to ask, to give my interview a sense of focus and purpose. On the other hand, however, in order to generate the richest data from my participants, I had to allow for flexibility, an advantage of semi-structured interviews noted by Burton et al. (2008), as I needed to be able to pursue different strands of discussion and follow unexpected routes of conversation. In such a complex topic as this, interview responses may be multifaceted and intricate. Therefore, while the prompts and probes were useful to have as reassurance, and to help me to generate as much useful data as possible, I did not feel restrained by my schedules, and they gave both myself and my participants a useful element of freedom in our discussions.

The combination of the literature available (especially Page, 2017a and Skerritt, 2020), and my prior knowledge of the school, suggested that there might be four main groups of individuals that would be pertinent to my research questions: teachers, pupils, parents, and management, and my reading on the marketisation of education prompted me to include a representative from the marketing department as an additional extra[37]. I therefore created five different interview schedules. In doing so, I used the four-stage approach as described by Gillman (2020b, p.37): 'the introductory phase', 'the opening development of the interview', 'the central core of the interview', and 'bringing the interview to a close', although I subdivided the 'core' section into themes too, which differed by stakeholder group. I trialled some questions, and then subsequently piloted a complete interview, as advised by Gillham (2000), which helped me to fine-tune my order of questions and get a feel for the approximate length of interview, and I subsequently deleted a few questions that felt somewhat redundant (see Appendix 1 for final version of teacher interview schedule).

Sampling and selection

I interviewed 23 participants in total: 5 teachers, 5 HoDs, 5 parents, 5 pupils, 2 members of SLT, and 1 marketing department representative. For my pupil sample, I decided to focus on GCSE pupils who were approximately in the middle of their course; Year 11 pupils embarking on their second GCSE year. I chose GCSE pupils to focus upon, because I felt that it would be prudent to look at an examination group, as the research suggested that examination performance may be an aspect of the surveillance of teachers (Perryman et al., 2011; Page, 2017a; Skerritt, 2020), and also because examination results are often seen as

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[37] However, my findings from the interview with the marketing department representative had limited use in answering my research questions, and so little reference to this is made throughout this thesis.

highly significant in the competitive market of independent schools (Best Schools, 2021a; 2021b). Furthermore, I had noticed that the majority of related literature that involves pupils as participants focuses on Year 8 (McIntyre et al., 2005; Morgan, 2009 – both student voice literature) and I felt I could add more to existing research by choosing a different age-group. My pupil sample comprised of 5 randomly selected Year 11 pupils, from within the same randomly selected form group (although of my original sample 3, pupils declined to participate, so I had to randomly select replacements, also from within the same form group). I selected this form group (out of nine) at random, as it was a convenient way of ensuring a cross-section of pupils with regard to gender, nationality, academic ability, teachers, GCSE subjects chosen, and general school experience, and also made it easier, logistically, to recruit my participants and to arrange interviews. My sample included 3 girls and 2 boys, one of whom is an international pupil.

I then used the pupil form group I had used to generate my pupil sample to generate my teacher, HoD, and parent samples. I listed the pupils' teachers in alphabetical order. I then numbered these teachers in this order, and used the RAN button on a calculator to select the first five that came up. These teachers were wide-ranging terms of length of experience, and my teacher sample included the three 'core' subjects (English, Mathematics, and a Science subject), and two 'non-core' subjects. Heads of Departments were selected in a similar way; I listed each subject taken by each pupil in the form group, randomly selected five subjects, and selected the HoDs of these subjects; again, a mixture of 'core' and 'non-core'. One HoD did not want to be interviewed, so I randomly selected a replacement.

The parents were not necessarily the parents of the pupils in my pupil sample (although some coincidentally happened to be) – rather, I simply selected 5 parents of the pupils in my selected form group at random. Two selected parents were unable to participate so I reselected

replacements, also at random. Significantly, although I wrote my recruitment emails to both of each child's parents requesting the participation of either one of them, the parent that agreed to be interviewed was always the mother, regardless of work commitments. The sample was therefore biased in terms of gender, reflecting the fact that mothers tend to undertake the majority of education labour (Crozier, 1999; McGrath and Kuriloff, 1999; Reay, 2000; 2002).

Length and form of interviews

Interviews took place from February to April 2020. I grouped the order of my interviews by stakeholder, in order to help me engage more deeply with the various views and experiences of each specific stakeholder group. The vast majority took place in-person (in school classrooms or offices), but interviews with HoD4, HoD5, SLT1, SLT2 and Marketing took place online, via Microsoft Teams, as a result of Covid-19 and school closure. I was initially supposed to interview the Headteacher of the school too, but was not able to do so as a result of Covid-19. Interview lengths ranged from 28 minutes to 1 hour 15; pupil interviews were, typically, the shortest, and SLT interviews the longest. Whilst many other researchers conducted longer interviews than mine (indeed, Burgess (1991, p.98) claims that the 'optimum' interview length is 1 hour 30 minutes, and Page's (2005) semi-structured interviews were all between 1 hour and 1 hour 40 in length), I also had to be mindful of what would work in the context of the school and its one-hour period and lunchtime slots. When the school closed in March 2021, I recognised an opportunity to collect further data on surveillance in relation to impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic, and so emailed my participants asking brief questions about their perceptions and experiences of surveillance of the teacher

under these new circumstances (see Appendix 5). I received 13 emailed replies (3 teachers, 1 HoD, 4 pupils and 5 parents) between 7th and 27th April 2021.

Recording

Throughout each interview, I took very brief notes whenever something particularly important or new came up, but I mostly relied on the audio recording, which I later transcribed. I feel that this helped me to focus more on interacting with my participants, and to maintain a more relaxed and conversational atmosphere, rather than continually writing down everything the participant said, which could not only be disruptive, but also generate a greater sense of formality. Note-making could also run the risk of errors (although transcription of an audio recording is not exempt from this – see Bryman, 2012, p.486) or of omission of important points. Admittedly, in an interview about surveillance, perhaps any form of recording is ironic, but without these means I would not have quality and accurate data.

Transcription

The time it took to transcribe my interview recordings was a significant obstacle. Bryman (2012, p. 93) advises to 'Allow at least six hours' transcription for every one hour of recorded interview talk', a figure which Gillham (2000) increases to ten hours. With 23 interviews, ranging from 28 minutes to 1 hour and 15 minutes in length, and totalling more than 18 hours, I was concerned about the time commitment of transcribing them all, and initially considered alternative options and 'short-cuts' (Gillham, 2000) in order to avoid this, such as selecting only the 'relevant' (Burgess, 1991, p.98) parts of my interview to transcribe, using transcription apps and software (Alcock and Iphofen, 2007; Bryman, 2012, p.448; Kowal and

O'Connell, 2014; Shelton and Flint, 2020), or outsourcing my transcription. However, each of these short-cuts could lead to a reduction in quality of data. Additionally, as Bryman (2012, p.486) points out, an advantage of self-transcription is that it helps the researcher engage more closely with the data, and they can therefore start making connections and identifying key themes and trends while transcribing. Kowal and O'Connell (2014) actually calls transcription a 'critical' and 'indispensable' step in research. Therefore, in order to avoid sacrificing quality of knowledge and understanding of the data, I made the decision to work through the transcription of each interview personally, despite it taking more than 100 hours in total over several months.

To transcribe, I selected a linear and denaturalized approach (Azevedo et al., 2017, p.163) as I was not undertaking a discourse analysis, and felt that the content was more important than the exact way in which the content was spoken. Through this process, I found that Bryman's (2012) aforementioned point about engaging with the data while transcribing was correct, as was able to begin generating a list of thematic strands before I had finished transcribing, which was a very useful starting point for me when it came to the data analysis stage; this is explained in more detail below.

Coding

According to Braun and Clarke (2006, pp.4-5), 'thematic analysis should be seen as a foundational method for qualitative analysis' due to its ability to provide: 'a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data'. However, 'thematic analysis' as a method in itself is very broad, and there are numerous varying approaches to this. Due to the complexity of my data, generated from

multiple different stakeholders, I sought an analytical approach that offered 'flexibility as well as consistency and coherence' (Holloway and Todres, 2003, p.346) – a fine balance to strike. To fulfil the needs of my data, I primarily used Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidance, but enhanced my understanding of codes and themes through my reading of Saldaña (2009), and used elements of template analysis as discussed in King and Horrocks (2010). I felt that there was no need for one sole 'named' or 'branded' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.6) thematic analysis method, but rather that my own method could be developed to suit my subject matter, research questions, and data corpus, using elements from previous qualitative research to do so; it was important not to be 'too attached to method for method's sake' (Holloway and Todres, 2003, p.347). With this in mind, it was clear that the most important things were 'that the theoretical framework and methods match what the researcher wants to know, and that they acknowledge these decisions, and recognise them as decisions' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.8), and that I included 'detail about the development of the analytic process itself; for example, by providing illustrations and commentary on the way in which a thematic coding structure developed over the course of the project' (King and Horrocks, 2010, p.165). It is this type of 'transparency' (Holloway and Todres, 2003, p. 356) that I seek to show here.

Template analysis involves very structured coding, in which a coding structure – the template – is applied and reapplied to the same data until 'the analyst feels it is clear and thorough enough to serve as a basis for building an account of the findings' (King and Horrocks, 2010, p.166). I was initially attracted to this type of analytical method, as I could see the appeal of such a systematic approach (Brooks et al., 2015). However, I felt that early identification of *a priori* themes – often used within this approach – would lead to a too rigid and 'blinkered' approach (King and Horrocks, 2010, p.168), despite claims that it is 'flexible' and can be adapted (Brooks et al., 2015, p.203) and be potentially problematic. That said, an entirely

inductive approach would have been an impossibility, given my prior engagement with the literature, the hermeneutical implications of my position as a teacher within the research site, and the assumptions and preconceptions I held as a result. Furthermore, my interview schedule was constructed from my understanding of the literature, and thus influenced my data, with the transcription process providing an opportunity to consider the data and identify recurrent topics, connections and patterns prior to formally analysing it. Therefore, while I did not go so far as to use an analytical template, there was certainly a deductive element to the way my analysis was organised, if not to the analysis itself.

Saldaña (2009, p.3) states that 'A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data.' He explains that 'a theme is an outcome of coding, categorization and analytic reflection, not something that is, in itself, coded' (Saldaña, 2009, p.13). It was this understanding of the distinction between codes and themes that formed the backbone of my data analysis method. While Saldaña (2009, p.4) explains that 'when we reflect on a passage of data to decipher its core meaning we are *de*coding; when we determine its appropriate code and label it, we are *en*coding', this thesis, likewise, uses the term 'coding' to encapsulate both. Essentially, for me, codes summarily label the explicit content of the data, whereas themes are a categorisation and grouping of codes, exploring the data more implicitly, and with my own interpretation.

While I initially constructed a coding and analysis grid using a coding system based on presumptions of surveillant hierarchies (see Appendix 2 for details), at this point I realised that my assumptions regarding hierarchical positionings of stakeholders within the surveillant assemblage were being challenged. It became apparent at this point that there was an opportunity to add further nuance and relative fluidity to the 'vertical' and 'horizontal'

positionings described by Page (2017a) – a far more complex and fluid 'web' of surveillance was becoming apparent. Surveillance wasn't being discussed as a fixed system, but instead something changeable and mutable: 'liquid surveillance', as described by Lyon (2010), with unstable hierarchy. Therefore, I took the decision to eliminate my admittedly rigid and presumptive hierarchical codings, in favour of highlighting specific surveillant stakeholder instead, such as 'Parents', 'Pupils', 'Colleagues/peers', 'Middle/Senior Management', 'Teacher' – and acknowledged that even these might need amending. Figure 5.1 (below) shows the result of these changes.

Transcript, highlighted by surveillant stakeholders Management; Parents; Peers; Pupils; Teacher (Intrapersonal); Unclear or combination	Code: Mode of surveillance	Codes: Discussion	Initial theme ideas: first iteration
I'd like to think no. I make conscious effort not to change things and there's a key reason for that, as I think it sends a really bad message to the pupils, because they know what my PowerPoints look like, and they know how I present myself in class, and if all of a sudden I'm a different person, it sends a really bad message to them about what being a professional is, so I really purposefully try and not, um, put on a show… but of course there's an element where you've got… and this isn't just because it's a formal observation, if – when I have a graduate assistant come in, I want them to get a good impression of me. And my, I think it's as much to do with… the opinion of my colleagues being more important to me than anything else, and that isn't just the opinion of my colleagues watching me teach, it could be the way I behave in the office, the language that I use around other members of staff… that kind of thing. That, that's really important to me, um, but I guess I, there's one reason why I don't put on a show is because I think it set a bad example to the kids… number 2 is there's a little element of a bit of resistance going on, to this idea as I said earlier about perhaps a bit of frustration that 'who's this person to come in and judge me?' So there's a bit of resistance there, that, 'I'm not going to put on a show for you… I'm not going to do something different, and I'm still going to'… I have quite a relaxed way about me in the classroom, that	Pupils watching lessons Peer observations Peer interactions day to day	Consciously doesn't change lesson for observation Doesn't put on a show Wants to make a good impression Resists changing his lessons for an observer Frustration at being judged Relaxed teaching style	 Performance Professional reputation Resistance Defensiveness Judgement

Figure 5.1: Edited coding grid, alongside transcript

I then set up the grid alongside each transcript for ease of analysis, and further coded, or sub-coded, within each of these stakeholder groups. I had two coding columns in my transcript grid (see Figure 5.1). My first coding column was used for coding 'modes of surveillance', such as learning walks, observations, parental complaints etc, in order to address my first research question, '*In what ways are teachers perceived to be surveilled in the independent school?*'. The discussion, and therefore existence, of many of these within my data was influenced by the subject matter of my interview schedule, which was of course in turn influenced by my reading of existing literature. However, some aspects of this emerged anew, as described in my analysis chapters. Surveillant activities were all noted in this first column. My second coding column was used for more general ongoing coding of the discussion, and therefore became very detailed. Whilst I was most interested in coding for *how* the modes of surveillance were discussed, in order to address my second research question, '*What are the impacts of the surveillance of teachers in this independent school context?*', I felt it would be remiss to ignore chunks of the interview, in case anything that might be realised important later was missed. King and Horrocks (2010, p.153) suggest coding only that which 'might help you to understand the participant's views, experiences and perceptions as they relate to the topic under investigation'. However, I was concerned that at this early stage I might not know specifically what might or might not ultimately be relevant to my research questions; Braun and Clarke (2006, p.19) point out 'you never know what might be interesting later'. As a result of this concern, I followed the advice to 'work systematically through the entire data set, giving full and equal attention to each data item' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.18) and I

fully coded the entire transcripts, to summarise the main strands of discussion, even when I felt the section was unlikely to be useful.[38]

I coded by surveillant stakeholder, which allowed me to identify connections within a grouping and make notes as I went through. Once I had completed my provisional coding of all twenty-three transcripts, I checked for accuracy and uniformity, and then I undertook a second iteration of the themes. I did this by listing all of my first iteration themes onto a separate document, and looking for a) repetition or overlap of themes (for instance, 'performance', 'show' and 'fabrication'), and b) themes which would not be relevant to help me answer my research questions (such as 'passion for teaching' and 'pupil ability'); by now, having explored all the transcripts in detail, I had a much better idea of what was relevant and what was not. I edited this list accordingly, and then revisited every single transcript, editing the themes (second iteration) to match the overall list. As I went through the transcripts again, I saw other opportunities to add or edit themes further, and did so, updating my list as I went. I coded my email responses regarding the Covid-19 pandemic in the same way, but separately to my transcripts, as I saw them as an additional extra. Finally, I had a set of themes – both in each transcript, and overall – and I feel that the efforts taken to ensure such a thorough, iterative process were highly beneficial to the quality of my findings.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical consideration needs to be at the forefront of all decisions made, and must be embedded throughout a research project from its inception (Sharp, 2009, p.22), especially in a

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[38] It is also, perhaps, pertinent to note my reasons for choosing not to use NVivo as an analytical software tool, as so many have done. Having used NVivo to aid my analysis of qualitative data in a previous piece of research, I found, as did Fielding and Lee's (1998) study, that I 'had a feeling of being distant from the data', and found that I felt more immersed within my data, and that I had more ownership of it, with a more manual approach.

research project that involves children or other vulnerable individuals. While some argue that the costs of such stringent ethical regulation may outweigh the benefits (Dingwall, 2012; Harrison and Rooney, 2012), I feel that ethics should always be at the heart of any research in order to ensure that participants are protected from any harm, and to ensure that research is undertaken for moral reasons. The careful completion of my own university-approved ethics review application, along with a copy of the participant information sheet and consent form I issued each potential participant (Appendix 3), were paramount to ensuring that I followed ethical guidelines. However, along with Harrison and Rooney (2012), I feel that such documents, as required for this research project, are only one small part of the consideration of ethics, as there is a much wider ethical context in research, and that while it is important to hold researchers to account, the ethics form only touches the surface of the ethical complexities that are involved in research. In a sense, having a separate section in my thesis for 'ethical consideration' implies a sense of the detachment or marginalisation of ethics, but this is not the case at all in my project. Careful consideration of ethics pervaded the decisions made in my research, and indeed my work has been shaped by ethical reasoning. I firstly outline the ways in which I abide with the Code of Practice, and describe my own ethical review, as well as discuss changes I made as a result of the process. I then offer an ethical perspective with regard to my dual role as both teacher and researcher in the case-study site. I discuss the involvement of children as participants in particular, and I detail personal ethical predicaments and dilemmas that I encountered during my research and how I overcame them.

Code of Practice and ethical review

It was imperative that I abided by my University's 'Code of Practice for Research' (2020) and that I underwent the appropriate ethics review as part of my 'duty of accountability' (ibid., p.7) to the University, my research site and my participants. Discussion in this section outlines the ways in which I ensured I adhered to ethical requirements, and describes my submission for ethical review.

Firstly, it was important to seek permission from my case-study site (Bell, 1993, p.58; Sharp, 2009, p.22; BERA, 2018, p.10). As it was the school in which I worked, this was an easier task than it might otherwise have been, as I had easy access. I offered to show the Headteacher my interview schedules and recruitment documentation, but he said there was no need, and I felt that I was being offered a certain degree of trust which is often 'central' to research projects (Wilson and Hodgson, 2012, p.126).

I ensured that participants were recruited fairly, through random selection, and I emailed each of them to outline my project. My email included a 'participant information sheet and consent form' (see Appendix 3) which outlined my study's focus and purpose, the interview process, and how data would be used. I had a slightly different approach with pupils, as 'vulnerable' participants, as I not only had to get the pupils' permission to consent, but also that of their parents (May, 2001, p.61). I also spoke to the entire form group (from which my participants were randomly selected) to explain my research to them in advance of emailing them, which I feel helped my eventual participants to understand why they were being selected for interview, and the fact that it was entirely voluntary. I felt that speaking to the pupil before the parent, and asking for their permission first, helped build a relationship of mutual respect and gave the pupils a sense of being in control.

I explained to each participant their right to withdraw, both in the recruitment stage, and at the beginning and end of each interview. No accepted participants withdrew at any point. I also assured all participants of anonymity, although pupils were made aware that this did not cover issues of safeguarding. I found that some participants did double-check my assurance of anonymity mid-interview; Bell (1993, p.58) notes that it is important to define exactly what is meant by anonymity for the participants, so I was very explicit in this, and I reassured my participants that their name would not be used. However, it is, perhaps, pertinent to note the limits of anonymity. Although participants' names were not used, that is not to say that participants were without doubt entirely unidentifiable. Even though I did not state the specific subjects taught by teachers, for instance, some of the things that they said during interview, especially coupled with my use of gendered pronouns, might make them identifiable to other individuals reading my thesis. This was the case for all stakeholder groups; arguably, any qualitative research that deals with individuals' personal experiences has limited anonymity for this reason. However, stakeholders were informed that anything they said in conversation might be quoted and published, so they had control over the extent to which they discussed personal experiences or information that might make them identifiable to others.

In terms of data storage, I took care to store my recordings and my transcripts in a pseudo-anonymised format, labelling each item as 'Teacher 1, 2, 3'; 'HoD 1, 2, 3' etc, as recommended by Bazeley and Jackson, (2013). Aside from consent forms, which I kept as hard copies in a locked drawer at home, all data was kept electronically, and was therefore password protected.

Finally, it is perhaps important to note that the Humanities and Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee raised a few questions and requested some amendments to my initial

ethical review application. Most notably, this included the following: firstly, the committee queried how I would ensure the reasonable anonymity of participants with unique job titles which prompted me to use such labels as SLT1, SLT2, rather than use their job titles. Secondly, a concern was raised over my interaction with my participants with regard to my teaching role and how this might affect my project, but I confirmed that I was not teaching any of my participants at the time of my data collection. Finally, I was asked to confirm that I would follow the school's procedure for reporting safeguarding incidents, if a safeguarding concern was raised by a pupil. I also made slight amendments to my participant information sheets. I found the process useful in order to become a more reflexive practitioner and to fine-tune my approach to ethics.

'Multiple selves' and the dual role of researcher and teacher

With regard to ontological identity, my dual role as both teacher and researcher in the school within which I worked at the time of my data collection is of especial significance, as already noted previously; here I consider this from an ethical perspective. King and Horrocks (2010) raise the concept of 'multiple selves', and Reinharz (1997) describes how the 'researcher-based self' is only one aspect of many selves, and argues that we must take our other roles and agendas into account; in my case, I could not escape the fact that I was a teacher in the school[39], and this provided me with ethical challenges. As explained by BERA (2018, p.13), 'dual roles may also introduce explicit tensions in areas such as confidentiality'. Through my interviews I learned something about a staff member which I would usually have reported.

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[39] In fact, through this lens, it is perhaps rather too simplistic to call myself a teacher-researcher, as it implies that those are my only two 'selves', but due to the limited scope of my thesis there is not the opportunity to delve into sufficient depth with regard to my own 'multiple selves'.

This was not a safeguarding issue, which I would have automatically reported under the school's safeguarding policy, yet was something about which I felt uneasy, and which gave me an ethical dilemma. However, as my researcher 'self', I felt that it would be unethical to report this individual as the ethical decision was to uphold my 'responsibilities' (BERA, 2018) to my participants. It could have potentially undermined any trust in future research, and it is important for researchers to 'protect the integrity and reputation of educational research' (BERA, 2018, p.29). I was satisfied with this decision, but this did not remove the level of discomfort that I felt, which, as noted by Bell (1993), is typical for researchers in such a position.

Children as vulnerable participants within a school setting

Children are defined as 'vulnerable' (Thomas, 2017, p.174) individuals, and use of children as participants therefore raises 'particular ethical issues' (Chistensen and James, 2017, p.1) that need to take priority over 'expediency or efficiency' (Barnes, 1979, p.16). Firstly, safeguarding was the most important thing I had to consider, not only because I was going to be interacting with children, but especially because I was conducting one-to-one interviews with them, in private. This was another way in which my research was benefited from my dual role as both teacher and researcher, and especially the fact that I was an employee of my case-study school. As a teacher, I hold an up-to-date DBS (Disclosure and Barring Service) check, am trained in safeguarding on a regular basis, and am very familiar with the school's safeguarding policy, so I was permitted to interview children individually. A key aspect of this training is understanding the necessity of disclosing any safeguarding concerns, and never promising confidentiality to a pupil. Pupils' awareness of this may have run the risk of them

purposefully not disclosing something to me in case I felt a moral and professional obligation to discuss it with somebody else – and therefore I feel my assurances of anonymity were undermined somewhat (as also found by Roberts, 2017) – but for essential safeguarding reasons, as the safety of vulnerable persons must always be the priority in research.

Specifically from an educational research point of view, Edwards and Hillyard (2012, p.136) assert that: 'The legitimacy of any research that detracted from children's education would be highly questionable', and suggest that this would include:

a) affecting the behaviour of staff and pupils, b) detracting from the time teachers or pupils spend in, or preparing for, classroom activities, and c) becoming a logistical problem or a hindrance on the school's finite resources.

All three of these areas had potential for ethical issues. I did not want to affect any of my participants' 'behaviour', as suggested by point a), which was why I was very careful not to share my own opinions during interview. In terms of point b), the time taken to interview teachers likely did detract from the time teachers spend preparing for classroom activities, as many teachers spoke to me in a 'free' period (usually used for planning, preparation and assessment). That said, only those teachers and other staff members who felt that they had sufficient time to be interviewed assented (indeed, some declined on the basis of being too busy). Finally, in terms of point c), becoming a 'logistical problem or a hindrance', I was aware of the 'sheer logistical demands' (Edwards and Hillyard, 2012, p.137-8) my research could place upon the school. However, as an employee of the school, I was able to arrange the logistics myself, with very little burden on the school as I did not need any staff member to act as 'gate-keeper', which is often the case with external researchers (BERA, 2018, p.10).

Personal opinions

In my role as teacher, if a pupil makes a comment I feel is inappropriate, I immediately address it with them; to not do so would be unethical in my role as a teacher, and might run the risk of the pupil thinking that I condoned such views. However, this is more complex in an interview situation. Although such researchers as Connolly (2017, p.107) choose to gently challenge such viewpoints as racist attitudes during interviews with children by giving 'the clear impression that [he] did not agree with them', by asking such questions as '"How would you feel if someone called you a name like that?", I question the ethics of this approach, as in my role as researcher I feel that my position was not to challenge personal opinions or attitudes, but to listen, without showing any judgement. With regard to Connolly's (2017) approach, I feel that the fact that the interviews were with children takes advantage of unequal power relations (BERA, 2018) in this respect. Others note 'the need to silence personal opinions when interviewing individuals with alternative world views' (Keenan, 2012, p.105). I think that this is important, and applied this view to my research. It was not just pupils that made comments that I had trouble with; some parents did too. For instance, one parent commented on the quality of '*genetics*' in the school, and raised that as a reason why examination results are strong. I felt a deep level of discomfort in listening to some such views, but, in the same way as Edwards and Hillyard (2012), who uncovered points of conflict, racist attitudes and allegations of embezzlement and fraud in their school research, my approach was, likewise, 'exploratory and non-interventionist' (ibid.).

Conclusion

This chapter has described and justified my methodological decisions, giving a great deal of thought to my own positioning within my research, and offers an in-depth discussion of ethical considerations and challenges. This chapter also begins to outline how my assumptions regarding a fixed hierarchical positioning of stakeholders within the surveillant assemblage were being challenged through the analysis process, and how this shaped my approach to my research and conceptualisation of the surveillant assemblage in this independent school. The next chapter begins to present and analyse my findings. Firstly, I build upon my discussion of hierarchy in this chapter, and explain how my conceptualisation of surveillance adds to existing knowledge by acknowledging issues associated with representing hierarchy as an *a priori* reality; and secondly, I discuss and analyse my findings with regard to surveillance of the teacher by Management.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS 1

This Chapter is the first of two analysis chapters. In this chapter, I firstly begin to present my data, in the form of a diagram entitled 'The Surveillant 360', and explain how and why it was constructed as such, and how it functions in conceptualising surveillance in a new way. I then integrate my data with the existing theory and literature to present my findings through discussion of the ways in which teachers are perceived to be surveilled by Management, and the impacts of such. Management is split into two groups: 'Group 1' (Heads of Departments, or HoDs) and Group 2 (Senior Leadership Team, or SLT). Due to the prevalence of discussion about surveillance undertaken by Management, both in my data and also in existing literature, and the fact that there are two groups within Management to discuss separately, the only component of 'The Surveillant 360' to be explored in this chapter is Management, and the following chapter discusses the ways in which teachers are surveilled by each of Colleagues, Pupils, Parents and the Self; and the impacts of this surveillant activity. Through the lens of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorisation of lines of desire, in this Chapter, I discuss how I find surveillance undertaken by Management to constitute largely molar lines, but with increasingly molecular elements.

The Surveillant 360

As Page (2017a, p.995) chose to do in his Venn diagram 'the surveillant assemblage within schools', I also decided to display my data visually (see Figure 6.1, overleaf) to answer my first research question: '*In what ways are teachers perceived to be surveilled in the independent school?*'. A visual display of data helps to show the surveillant assemblage, or web of surveillance, more effectively and clearly, in offering a 'clear portrayal of complexity'

(Tufte, 2001, p.191), and makes more obvious patterns of interaction between the surveillant stakeholders. With the teacher at the surveillant centre, I constructed concentric circles to show the surrounding layers of surveillance perceptions by stakeholder. This diagram is organised in terms of mode of knowledge production and circulation, rather than stakeholder hierarchical position. The outer circle describes knowledge which stakeholders can 'access' without needing to take an active part in, the next concentric circle – 'generating knowledge' – describes knowledge which is actively constructed by the stakeholder rather than being somewhat passively received, and the inner circle is about 'sharing knowledge' and is about transference. My data additionally produced some brief discussion of 'storing knowledge', but this has not been included in this model as the discussion was very limited. Finally, the central circle highlights ways the teacher appears to surveil his or her self. By explicitly stating the surveillant stakeholders and respective modes of teacher surveillance in detail, as well as categorising surveillant knowledge by type of action undertaken, Figure 6.1 takes the conceptualisation of surveillance a step further than that which has already been done, while retaining (and developing) Page's (2017a) approach to it as assemblage.

Figure 6.1: 'The Surveillant 360' – Perceptions of surveillance by stakeholder and knowledge type

The 'Surveillant 360' (Figure 6.1) also sees the modes of surveillance repeated in different

quadrants, under different stakeholders; this is because often, surveillance activities are shared

activities. For instance, Page (2017a, p.996) explains that 'surveillance may begin as an

intrapersonal act but be exploited by vertical lines of management'. Again, while I would

hesitate to refer to 'vertical [or horizontal] lines', Page's noting of overlap and even,

sometimes, exploitation, by and between stakeholders is very valid through the lens of

assemblage theory – for instance, a teacher's marking of pupil books may be surveilled by the pupil, the parent, colleagues and management – a true surveillant '360' in fact. Likewise, there is most certainly overlap between the different functions of knowledge – for instance, some knowledge, such as examination data, can be accessed by a stakeholder, but then an evaluation of such might also be shared. Knowledge is everchanging, multiple, dynamic; some is used and some is not, and some is used in varying ways, and so it is important to note that each surveillant activity is placed in the area of 'best fit' based upon the participant's discussion of it, and that, true to Lyon's (2010b) concept of 'liquid surveillance', which incorporates Deleuze's view of control as continuous change (Lyon, 2010b, p.326), the concentric circles merge in to one another to an extent, illustrated by the dashed lines. It is clear that the acts of surveillance are impossible to separate from the impacts of such, and so my discussion explores both my research questions together – '*In what ways are teachers perceived to be surveilled in the independent school?*' and '*What are the impacts of the surveillance of teachers in this independent school context?*'

It is important to note that 'The Surveillant 360' is based upon stakeholders' *perceptions* of surveillance, rather than trying to claim a reflection of an objective reality. As explained by Court (2013, p.13), 'truth in qualitative research is using all appropriate means to arrive at deep understanding of the participants' world as they perceive it', and O'Leary (2014, p.48) adds 'qualitative researchers believe that there is not one external reality, but multiple realities'. In my study, perceptions of my participants' world (or worlds) differed between stakeholders, with no one, single agreed system at play; my diagram is hence about individuals' collective experiences and perceptions. Therefore, I include every activity that interview participants expressed placed a teacher under surveillance, giving consideration at all times to my definition of surveillance – *a mechanism of formally and informally*

generating, sharing and using knowledge in order to contribute to the profiling, evaluation and development of teachers. Not every participant will feel that 'The Surveillant 360' is an accurate reflection of their view of surveillant activity, but it is a reflection of the experiences and perceptions of the participants as a whole to create an overall picture of what is perceived to be happening, and reflects Skerritt's (2020, p.20) assertion that 'not only are teachers being monitored by various people, but they are being monitored in various ways through various tools and techniques'.

Although Page (2017a) and Skerritt (2020) foreground school hierarchy to discuss their understanding of the surveillant assemblage in schools, I feel that we need to conceptually further complicate such relationships to account for their intricacies and variability, and avoid suggesting that hierarchy is rigid and immutable. Instead, it is a system where power relationships change, flow and are exchanged between stakeholders. Admittedly, Page (2017a, p.993) does acknowledge the 'mutability of surveillance' and explains that 'the surveillant assemblage…is never fixed; never maintaining its shape'. He also helpfully explains his decision to show 'overlap' and declares that 'there are no firm boundaries between the three categories [vertical, horizontal and intrapersonal]'. However, it could be argued that the very labelling of stakeholders as 'vertical' (i.e. Management as top-down and pupils as bottom-up) and 'horizontal' (i.e. parents and colleagues) is problematic, and the sense of rigidity presented in previous work is perhaps at risk of affording fixed ontological status to surveillance hierarchies (i.e. making them an *a priori* reality rather than a socially arranged one). Additionally, and as demonstrated by Larson's (1988) work, hierarchies can exist within hierarchies – for instance, Page (2017a) finds a hierarchy present among the teachers themselves, and it would therefore be too simplistic to presume that all teachers – or any other stakeholder for that matter – are at the same hierarchical level. Despite claims that

schools are 'locations where hierarchical boundaries are agreed upon' (Piro, 2008, p.42), my data finds that something far more complex and nuanced – arguably molecular – is going on than that which is presented in Page's (2017a) 'the surveillant assemblage within schools' (Figure 4.1), and, due to its liquid form, surveillant hierarchy cannot be fully captured or quantified in a diagram. For these reasons, my own use of such stakeholder group labels as 'Teacher', 'Pupil' etc. are more appropriate to use on a diagram, as these hold 'essentialising principles' – molar lines 'territorialize, organize and stratify' (Windsor, 2015, p.158). Therefore, my diagram, 'The Surveillant 360', is organised by surveillant stakeholder rather than hierarchical positioning.

As 'The Surveillant 360' (Figure 6.1) shows, participants referred to more than thirty ways in which teachers are surveilled in my case site. Given the word count limitations of this thesis, it would not be possible to fully explain and describe the process and impacts of each of this surveillant activities, and especially not for each surveillant stakeholder (many activities are shared between stakeholders, such as looking at pupil books). Therefore, I made the decision to focus solely on the surveillant activities that were described in the greatest frequency and intensity by my stakeholders, with my use of 'intensity' drawing upon Tomkins' (2008) concept of affect theory[40]. Further information about all surveillant activities noted in 'The Surveillant 360' is briefly offered in the appendices (see Appendix 4). Therefore, under each stakeholder section of the remainder of this chapter and of the next chapter, there are just one, or at most two, surveillant activities described and explored in depth, to allow for rich case-study analysis. It is for this reason that I have made the decision to display my model of 'The

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[40] According to Tomkins (2008), affect is an innate biological response. He distinguishes nine innate affects, some of which are split into low/high intensity labels. Intensity is described as being driven by neural firing, and, in relation to affect duration, produces an 'affect density'. It is important to note that for Tomkins, high-intensity does not necessarily always mean negative; there are positive high-intensity affects (such as 'excitement'), as well as negative (such as 'terror') and neutral ones ('startle').

Surveillant 360' prior to my discussion. As I am only exploring one or two surveillant activities per stakeholder section in detail, I did not want to risk misleading readers into thinking that my findings were disproportionate focused upon these activities, when, in actuality, a multitude of surveillant activities were discussed in interview. By displaying my model first, I am offering a broad overview of my findings, some of which the remainder of Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 will look at in more detail.

Perceptions and experiences of teacher surveillance by management

Among the teachers, HoDs, SLT and sometimes even parents, there was a repeated reference to a management-driven 'system' of surveillance. The teachers seemed to feel that they were operating within a structured surveillance system, designed to access, generate and share knowledge about them, and SLT and HoDs made reference to a 'system' of quality assurance. SLT1 explains: '*the system of quality assurance we've got in place…takes the individual teacher… gives them the responsibility for good practice, [and] charges the line manager with the responsibility for making sure that happens'*. He explains how the responsibility for close-range surveillance of teachers is with the Head of Department: '*the people who are responsible for overseeing the quality of those are their line managers, so the Heads of Department, for, is for me the first line of enquiry, whether a teacher is performing well or not'*. Thus, there seems to be a cascade effect, whereby information about the teacher is often accessed or generated by the HoD (Management Group 1), and then shared with SLT (Management Group 2), although SLT were also perceived as undertaking some surveillant activities of teachers of their own. This section outlines some of the main ways in which

teachers are perceived by stakeholders to be surveilled by Management Groups 1 and 2, and discusses the impacts of these surveillant activities.

- **Management Group 1 (HoDs)**

Observations

A key component of this perceived 'system' seems to be teacher observations. Scarcely any empirical research in this field exists without at least some discussion of the observation of teachers (O' Leary, 2013; Page, 2016; Skerritt, 2020), and Wilcox and Gray (1996) note the 'dominance' of classroom observation as a surveillant activity. In my interviews with teachers, HoDs and SLT, observations were the most frequently and most thoroughly discussed mode of surveillance, and even pupils and parents referred to them. Four different types of management observation were discussed in interviews: formal observations (or '*classroom visits*' (SLT1 and 2)), drop-ins known as 'Blinks', learning walks, and informally happening to walk through a teacher's classroom. However, the type of observation undertaken differed depending on the category of manager undertaking the observational activity: most commonly, Management Group 1 was more typically described as conducting formal observations and informal lesson walk-throughs, whereas Management Group 2 was described as conducting learning walks and Blinks.

Purpose and value of HoD observations

Formal observations were described as usually lasting approximately thirty minutes in which a (usually Management Group 1) line manager would visit a teacher's lesson and complete a

form based upon their experience of the lesson, to be discussed in a meeting post-observation, thereby generating surveillant knowledge. These observations would usually be pre-arranged, so the teacher would know when to expect the observer. These were generally reported to be infrequent – once or twice a year for most, although Teacher2 claimed not to have had an observation '*for years*' – and, related to the annual Professional Developmental Review process, would be seen as a '*formal*' or '*proper*' observation. The perceived purpose of the observations varied depending upon who was being interviewed, and there seemed to be a tension between what SLT stated was the purpose of observations, and what HoDs and teachers felt the purpose and outcome to be. HoDs predominantly saw observations as an attempt at ensuring quality assurance of teaching; HoD4 stated that '*It's definitely about monitoring, definitely checking*' and HoD2 explained that many lesson observations entail '*monitoring members of my department to make sure that the experience of the pupils is to the standard that we really expect.* HoD1 even stated: '*I think it's perfectly acceptable to say I want to come in and observe you teaching and be able to pass a judgement on that. If you can't – if you can't as a teacher cope with that, then there's something fundamentally wrong with your attitude to teaching*', implying that a judgemental observation is to be expected, and demonstrating a normalization of observation as a means of surveillant evaluation. The reference to an inability to 'cope' with being observed appears to be a sarcastic denouncement of any attempt of resistance. Conversely, one member of SLT challenged the notion that observational activities are '*a form of monitoring*' in this school setting, and explained: '*we're trying to swing the pendulum away from monitoring and towards feedback and development. Um…the assumption that they're all a form of monitoring I'd probably challenge. They're all a form of feedback*' (SLT1). Regardless of the fact that there is clearly disparity in perceptions between Management Group 1 and 2 with regard to the purpose and function of observations,

using my definition of surveillance as *a mechanism of formally and informally generating, sharing and using knowledge in order to contribute to the profiling, evaluation and development of teachers*, one could argue that surveillance and feedback/development are not mutually exclusive. Instead, surveillance is a *part* of development and vice-versa. One could also argue that some level of profiling and evaluation must take place in order for useful feedback and consequential successful development to take place. The teachers themselves, HoDs, and also parents and pupils certainly saw observations as surveillant activities, even if they had developmental intentions.

My teacher interviewees did not feel that observations had developmental outcomes in most cases, though, and there was a sense that they were superficial – that as found by Taylor (2017, p.15), they 'only serve to promote surface learning rather than the sticky and challenging unpicking of practice to support deeper learning'. Teacher1, 2 and 4 all questioned their developmental value, and Teachers 3 and 4 referred to them as simply box-ticking exercises, much in the same way as participants in O'Leary's (2014, p.36) study. Teacher2 and Teacher5's criticism, though, went further than this, and highlighted a discord between their perspective and an SLT perspective; Teacher2 says '*they always say it's about sharing good practice but I'm not sure it is sharing good practice*', and Teacher5 muses:

> *I think they're a check-up on staff. That is, I think they're dressed up as developmental…we've been told again and again how it's developmental and not a punitive thing, or a potentially punitive thing…however, it's really hard to make them developmental really.*

There is perhaps some element of suspicion here as to the 'real' purpose and value of observations, giving weight, perhaps, to Marx's (2001) link between surveillance and suspicion, and teachers also seem suspicious of the functions of other Management-led surveillant activities, such as Blinks, discussed later this chapter. This suspicion is ironic,

perhaps, given Page's (2017a, p.994) assertion that the panopticon is 'grounded within suspicion'; it appears that in this case, rather than suspicion just being a driving force for surveillance, the reverse may have taken place, and it is in fact the observed who are suspicious of, and even casting judgement upon, the observers. There is also, however, a weariness around performativity identified here, with Teacher5 saying how teachers have been told '*time and time again*' and Teacher2 saying '*they* always *say*' (emphasis added), as if stuck in a perpetual performative cycle. Through the lens of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorisation of desiring lines, surveillance in this manner, with fixed hierarchy, ostensibly one-way 'flow' (although resistance is discussed later in this chapter) and the inescapable perception of observation as judgement, Management surveillance of the teacher can, at least to some extent, be described as molar lines, or prescribed pathways – although a shift towards more molecular lines is explored later in this chapter.

SLT showed awareness of a negative attitude towards lesson observation. In fact, SLT1 and SLT2 both referred to these lesson observations as '*Classroom Visits*', explaining that the school is trying to change the language used – '*It's no longer 'lesson observations', it's now 'classroom visits'. We're not observing the teacher. So the language changed. And language does matter*', something also discovered by 'Rainbow College' in Taylor's (2017, p.21) study, which 'changed the terminology from 'observation' to 'developmental practice'' in an attempt to 'shift the negative connotations linked to having an 'observation'.' This attempt at a shift in perspective is perhaps an example of an attempt to transform something rigid and prescriptive – molar lines – into something a little more elastic – molecular lines. However, every HoD and teacher still used the term '*observation*' nevertheless, so this is the term that is used in this thesis; SLT1 was quite right in wondering: '*I don't think people have fully grasped [the*

change in terminology]', and SLT2 even conceded that '*lesson observation*' and '*classroom visit*' are actually '*exactly the same thing*':

> *that whole word 'observation' I think comes with lots of baggage and lots of history for a number of members of staff, like myself included. We call them 'classroom visits'…let's be honest, it's exactly the same thing, but it comes with a hopefully slightly uh softer touch – we're 'visiting' your classroom. 'Observation' just kind of comes across as 'we're looking at you'.*

SLT were clearly very aware of the perception of lesson observations as a surveillant activity and implies that this is a problem, as a consequence of individuals' prior experiences of such activity, and surveillance is framed here as a negative act.

Prior experiences of surveillance

Indeed, teachers drew upon previous experiences to explain how they felt about observations; Teacher1 recalls from a previous job: '*we had leadership coming in…um…coming in and then walking out and coming back seven minutes later, wanting to know what progress that child, the children in the class made in that seven minute period. Which is crazy',* and HoD4 explains that in one of her previous jobs: '*we were watched constantly. I mean our classrooms were bugged*'.

Previous negative surveillant experiences appear to have two consequences. On one hand, as SLT1 acknowledges, it creates a '*cultural tone which is extremely hierarchical and very, um, very summative*' and which is difficult to '*get away from*' in a new context – responses to all future experiences of observation are influenced by prior experiences of such – or, as HoD4 puts it, previous negative surveillant experiences become '*engrained in your soul*'. In fact, even when observations were entirely removed, during the latter end of my data collection,

during a period of remote teaching and learning during the Covid-19 pandemic, teachers still felt like *'the school [was] watching them'* (HoD4), and HoD4 asserted that *'I think staff are finding it difficult to accept that no-one is directly scrutinising what they're doing'*. The removal of observations therefore did not remove the feeling of being watched. However, Teacher1 and HoD4 also sound relieved to have escaped such an oppressive system and the comparison between their experiences seems to make them more appreciative of a different system and finds observations in their current school far less oppressive than their previous experiences: HoD4, for instance, explains that '*when you go from* that *to a* normal *school, any less surveillance than that feels quite normal'* (emphasis in original). It is clear that prior experiences of surveillance often mean that the activity of observation can become a very highly emotionally charged experience depending upon the individual's' context.

Emotional impact of observations

In fact, the emotional impact of lesson observations upon the teacher became a significant repeated narrative, whether linked to previous experiences of observation or not, but it was surprising how little reference to stress there was in relation to observations, despite many participants describing teaching as a stressful career generally. Although a few HoDs mentioned that they thought some of their department get '*nervous*' (HoD2) or '*anxious*' (HoD4), this was not reflected significantly in conversations with the teachers themselves.

Existing literature suggests that stress and surveillance are strongly linked (Macdonald and Kirk, 1996; Troman, 2000; Brown, et al., 2002; Webb et al., 2004; Page, 2015), and Skerritt (2020, p.16) finds that his 'participants' tales about surveillance were predominantly accompanied by a sense of unease'. However, my data suggests that the level of stress

experienced by the teacher under observation appears to be related to the extent to which stakes are high or low – and therefore, how intense the experience is – a link also discussed by Lavigne (2014), and reinforced by other literature on the topic of high-stakes teacher accountability (Valli and Buese, 2007; O'Leary, 2014; Warren and Ward, 2019). SLT1 suggests that if the stakes are lower, the '*classroom visit*' becomes more '*constructive*'. Teacher3 explains that she can get '*stressed*' if she knows she is going to be observed, but clarifies that this is less so now that observations in the school are no longer graded; stakes are lower, and the experience is less intense. Similarly, Teacher5 describes a '*really stressful*' series of observations he had in his first year at the school, but specifically within his probationary period, explaining that the stress was because of worries over job security rather than the act of observation itself, this latter point somewhat echoing HoD4's half-joking fears of: '"*What if I lose my job? What if it's awful?*"'. Therefore, my data seems to suggest, in opposition to much of the existing literature, that it is possible to conduct low-stress, lower-intensity observations if they are perceived by the teacher to be low-stakes – but teachers do not, as shown by their comments above, share the same perception of this.

Observations as performance

As in Skerritt's (2020) findings, many teachers appeared to readily comply with the system of annual observations. They appeared to take them seriously, in some cases preparing thoroughly for them in order to be performance-ready – panoptic surveillance, as Page (2017b, p.6) explains, is when teachers are: 'aware of the potential for being observed and so put on a performance'. In fact, the element of performance is perhaps all the stronger because a pre-arranged observation isn't just a 'potential' event but a certainty. Teacher4 notes that

'*you feel that pressure to be exceptional under an observation, even if it's supposedly non-judgemental*' (the word '*supposedly*' suggesting that to him, stakes are still high) and this view is reflected by that of SLT2, who states:

> *I think teachers would be naïve if they didn't put on the best show for their HoD coming to look at them…if you know someone's coming in to watch you, and someone said 'I'm just going to do exactly what I do', they're lying…They're going to change the way they do it because they want to show off and be the best that they can be for someone who's effectively in charge of what they're doing.*

As O'Leary (2014, p.63) explains, ''the enacted fantasy' of the 'spectacle' lesson (Ball 2003: 222) is actively promoted by many senior managers in schools and colleges.' Teaching during an observation is repeatedly described as a 'show' here, and this SLT member's certainty and even expectation that teachers are putting on an artificial performance for an observation is very interesting in light of Ball's (2003, p.221-2) assertion that in a 'regime of performativity', 'commitment, judgement and authenticity within practice are sacrificed for impression and performance'. Some of the participants did indeed feel that they put on a 'show' for their observer, and that this was expected by the line manager, but this was not the case for all – the 'fabrication' (Ball, 2000; Page, 2017b) was not universal. For Teacher3, the extent to which she performed depended on the specific observer – as found by O'Leary (2014, p.30), 'the rules of observer-observee engagement are likely to differ according to who is observing whom'. She had a Head of her specific subject, and also a Head of Department overseeing a larger faculty, whom she described as the '*HoD-HoD'* – both defined as 'Management1'. She made a distinction about which she would perform for, explaining that the more senior HoD '*likes to see a showcase, you know, you at your best, the pupils at their best, what's the best you can possibly do'* whereas her less senior head of subject '*likes to see you as you are, just, you know, doing what you would normally be doing'* – in this case, the teacher believed herself to be influenced by what she feels her managers' expectations are

rather than performing as an automatic response to observation. Similarly, Teacher4 said that although he used to change his teaching for an observation in his first couple of years as a teacher, he doesn't feel the need to anymore because '*We know exactly what [our HoD is] thinking, what he's wanting, what he thinks of the process'*. Therefore, it is evident that not all teachers feel the need to 'play the game', an oft-used phrase in this context (Jeffrey and Woods, 1998, p.160; O'Leary, 2012, p.807; Page, 2017b, p.6; Edgington, 2017) in all observed contexts, but that their response to the activity of observation is still a response to the perceived expectations of those observing; even those who claim not put on a show are often still conforming to their line managers' expectations.

Pupils' experiences of teacher observations

As yet, aside from the very briefest of references (O'Leary and Brooks, 2014) existing literature has not explored pupil responses and attitudes to their teachers being observed. My research begins to fill this gap, and considers pupils as an integral component of this activity, within the wider surveillant assemblage. In interviews, pupils had a great deal to say about managers' observation of teachers, with Pupil3 stating '*to be honest I've thought about it quite a lot'*. Pupils appear very aware of whether or not the teacher 'performs' for an observation. Pupil1 and Pupil4 both believe that their teachers do not change the way they teach when observed, but interestingly they both praise their teachers for this; Pupil1 states that it's '*a really good thing'* when teachers don't offer an observer a false impression of their teaching, and Pupil4 says:

> *I know for sure, my Chemistry teacher – he behaved the same when he was*
> *doing it, and I don't know if that was because he knew he was doing it right,*
> *or he actually wanted to find out if he needed improvement elsewhere because*

> *he knows that it could help him…and I think that was really good of him to actually stay and behave the same.*

This suggests that not only are some of the pupils aware of the potential for teachers to put on a performance for observations – Pupil1 says she '*expected it*' – pupils actually pass judgement on teachers based upon whether they choose to fabricate their teaching or not, and appear to have greater respect for those teachers who choose not to.

Alternatively, other pupils do claim to see '*a drastic change in the teaching*' (Pupil2) during a lesson observation; Pupil3 tries to explain: '*you definitely see a change in…the way that the teacher acts*', and Pupil5 states than in an observation lesson, '*the teacher would prepare very well. So the lesson is kind of the best, and if there's no observer then the lesson will be normal.*' This is in accordance with findings from O'Leary (2014, p.63), in which one participant says: '"I could hear the students saying, 'He doesn't normally do it like this'."' The pupils in my study tried to explain the reason for this sense of performance, and it is significant that they all attached a purpose of judgement to teacher observations; Pupils 1 and 5 both describe observations as checking up on the teachers, and judgemental terminology such as '*assessed*' (Pupil5), '*judged*' (Pupil2) and '*reviewed*' (Pupil1) was used. Pupil2 repeatedly calls a teacher observation an '*inspection*' and Pupil5 thinks that for the teacher, '*it's the equivalent of exams*' – this latter is interesting in light of Foucault's (1977, p.184) description of an examination as 'a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify, and to punish.' Pupil2 even thinks that observations are a result of a complaint, explaining that '*teachers have been complained about and then lessons have been sat in upon*', so it is certainly fair to say that from the pupils' perspectives, lesson observations are judgemental, and perhaps even punitive, surveillant activities. This, however,

may have a subsequent detrimental effect. Pupil2 suggests that the teacher can consequently sometimes be perceived to the pupils as '*less professional*', explaining:

> *it does seem a bit…not undermining as such, but it's…almost as if…we're getting judged by the teacher, the teacher's getting judged by the person inspecting, and it's kind of an ongoing thing…it will just go around, which does kind of defeat the value…*

Here, this young person is expressing her weariness with everyone watching everyone, and implying it is a type of valueless game play.

An artificial process

The value of SLT observations is questioned by a number of participants interviewed. SLT1 admits that '*one of the crashing failures of lesson observations is that they're a point in time, when actually teaching is a continuum*' and SLT2 agrees that observations '*give a skewed perception of what [the teaching is] like*'. Teacher2 describes an observation lesson, then admits '*in reality, that doesn't happen*', her lexical choice here suggesting that an observation is not reality, and therefore a false scenario, and HoD2 also acknowledges that an observation is '*a snapshot that you're being judged on, and one class in a scenario that might not represent your, you know, the rest of your teaching…*'. Pupil2 criticises the fact that observations are '*predictable*' and that teachers know in advance that they will be observed: '*you know what's to come and expected, so you can imagine that the teachers, if they really needed to, could put on a show*', implying that they are artificial means of measuring a teacher's quality, and she also asserts that an observation is '*just a snapshot, and it doesn't give an accurate representation always, and it can't*'. Even the parents are critical of observations as a surveillant activity, with Parent2 asking: '*how can you tell from one lesson what a teacher's like?*' and Parent3 stating:

Teachers, when put on the spot, shall teach probably differently from the day to day thing. It's like – inspection, when it comes through the school, the school knew about it and they do…you know, they lay the red carpet. I don't actually think that's very…useful.

With members of all surveillant stakeholders – Teachers, Management, Pupils and Parents – aware of the artificial nature of pre-arranged observations and subsequent fabrication of teaching, one cannot be blamed for wondering what the value of them is, regardless of the intended purpose, and whether Teacher5 is correct in his assertion that an observation is not a '*particularly productive exercise'.* At this point, not only does the teaching itself become artificial, but so does the actual observation process itself – as reinforced by Cockburn (2005, p.377) and Page (2017b, p.9), the observers are complicit in the artifice themselves by being aware that what they are observing does not reflect the teachers' day to day realities of teaching and that they are generating false knowledge about the teacher. The fact that SLT, HoDs, teachers and even the pupils are so aware that observations are a fabrication suggests that they all contribute to the performative process – while the teacher is performing for the observer, the observer is also performing in a sense by conducting these knowingly artificial observations, and giving artificial feedback on an artificial lesson, hence leading to a cycle of performance and artifice. As Teacher4 states, '*it often feels more like we're just making sure that what we say happens here happens here'.* This perception of a valueless act suggests teacher cynicism – a form of 'routine resistance' (Scott, 1985, p.287), and highlights teachers' distrust in SLT and the surveillant activities.

Resisting Performativity

Some teachers acknowledge their frustration at their own complicity in performing for an observation, stating *'I wish I wouldn't'*, echoing participant Diane in Jeffrey and Woods'

(1998, p.155) study, who says ''My first reaction was 'I'm not going to play the game', but I am and they know I am. I don't respect myself for it''. Here, we see frustration at not practising a more overt form of resistance, yet these teachers are still resisting covertly – their cynicism, is a form of 'ambiguous accommodation' (Prasad and Prasad, 1998), despite outwardly complying. Not all comply with this system of artifice though; some teachers refuse to have 'their values challenged or displaced by the terrors of performativity' (Ball, 2003, p.216). Teacher5 claims that he teaches '*a regular lesson*' and therefore feels he gets '*honest feedback*', echoing Pupil4's implication of a sense of dishonesty and lack of value by putting on a performance, and Teacher1 seems to feel especially strongly about not changing his teaching for an observation. Even though he admits '*I want them [observers] to get a good impression of me*', he says '*I make conscious effort not to change things*', and explains that this is because:

> *I think it sends a really bad message to the pupils, because they know what my*
> *PowerPoints look like, and they know how I present myself in class, and if all*
> *of a sudden I'm a different person, it sends a really bad message to them*
> *about what being a professional is, so I really purposefully try and not, um,*
> *put on a show.*

This is interesting in light of pupils' aforementioned comments regarding teachers' level of professionalism being undermined by the act of observation, and their noticing that some teachers do change their teaching for an observer. Teacher1, though, has another reason for choosing not to 'perform':

> *There's a little element of a bit of resistance going on, to this idea as I said*
> *earlier about perhaps a bit of frustration that 'who's this person to come in*
> *and judge me?'…'I'm not going to put on a show for you'…*

Here, although this teacher's resistance might not be detected by those observing him, his cynicism goes beyond 'ambiguous accommodation' (Prasad and Prasad, 1998) and leads to, in this case, inaction – he refuses to put on his best 'performance' for his observers, and

therefore uses resistance as 'a means of reappropriating control over [his] work' (Page, 2011, p.6). He also describes his frustration that there is an '*assumption*' that '*that the Head of Department is the one to give the best feedback*', suggesting that a managerial position doesn't necessarily mean they are a '*better teacher*' than him, something also discussed in Metcalfe's (1999, p.455) research of observation in UK Secondary Schools: 'within a teaching team the formal leader of the team may not be the best classroom performer in all circumstances'. The above comments by Teacher1 are rooted in the power relationships paradigm and certainly have implications for internal hierarchical structures, with Teacher1 questioning the credibility of the observer, something also discussed by L. Page (2017) although she finds an assumption that observers *are* qualified to observe. Wragg (1993, p.3) warns of 'hostility, resistance and suspicion' as a potential response to lesson observation, and this is what we see here. This resistance shown by Teacher1, interestingly, was shared by HoD5 too, who describes himself as '*stroppy*' about lesson observations, declaring '*I'm not a clown on the stage*' – the term 'stage' also being used a number of times to describe observation in research undertaken by L. Page (2017). Unlike Diane (Jeffrey and Woods, 1998) and Teacher2, these individuals refuse to 'play the game' (Jeffrey and Woods, 1998; O'Leary, 2014), and we have an example here of challenge to fixed molar lines (Deluze and Guattari, 1987) and a slight destabilising of hierarchy characterised by the molecular. HoD5's relation between performance and a '*clown*' suggests, like Diane, a lack of self-respect or self-worth if he sacrificed his values for the sake of performance, implying that to do so is to become a fool. Given that SLT1 suggested that any teacher who claims not to change their teaching for an observation is '*lying*', there is clearly a disconnect between attitudes and approaches to observation between not only teachers and Management, but also within Management structures, which could be problematic. Like surveillance, resistance is also

multiple; teachers attempt to resist in different ways. The resistance shown here is limited, however – it is typically covert resistance, rather than overt resistance that is demonstrated, and one could therefore argue that these lines are a combination of the molar and molecular.

Perceived benefits of HoD observation

Finally, despite the value of observations being questioned, a number of benefits were also discussed, as also found by Skerritt (2020). While a few teachers did mention that occasionally the observations might have some developmental value (Teacher1, Teacher3), the most significant benefit discussed was that some teachers felt that observations gave them tangible evidence of their teaching quality, and were therefore a useful defence against criticism or complaints. Teacher2 highlights this in recalling a complaint received from a parent (discussed in more detail in Chapter 6) where she was heavily scrutinised by her line manager as a result, and muses:

> *That can be the downside if you're not observed…If suddenly something happens, it's like 'oh, what are you doing wrong?' 'Well I'm not doing anything wrong, just because you haven't watched me, it doesn't mean I'm doing anything wrong…'and that's when I think a lack of observation can be a bad thing, because then, you [the HoD] have to do all this horrible digging, 'right what's happened, what have you been doing wrong?'…whereas if you have been observed properly, you know, and in a nice way, in a supportive way, then actually you [the HoD] can kick back straight to that parent and say 'I absolutely know what's going on'…*

Even though she says she is '*pleased not to be observed*', she believes her line manager should know what is happening in her classroom, recalling Pauric's statement, in Skerritt's (2020, p.17) findings, that ''you should know what your staff are doing.'' Teacher2 wants the quality of her teaching to be evidenced, and she notes that an observation can be empowering. Here, Teacher2 seems to feel that observations offer some level of protection against a

parental complaint, and lead to the teacher receiving greater levels of support and trust from the line manager, as they have some awareness and evidence of what is happening inside the classroom. The idea of surveillance offering protection is also discussed by Nemorin (2017, p.243), framed as offering 'safety and security' and echoes Foucault's (1982) description of 'pastoral power'. SLT2 also sees lesson observations as an opportunity to evidence quality, and describes them as a '*fantastic opportunity to show yourself off and to show yourself in a really good light, in a really good position*'; as Ball (2003, p.216) suggests, such surveillant activities 'represent the worth, quality or value of an individual'. From this perspective, an observation is a way of building an impression of oneself – in fact, perhaps an initial step to the construction of a 'data double' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000; Page, 2017b). So, despite HoD2 asserting that observations are sometimes conducted in response to a complaint – '*my first point of call [is] to get into a lesson to see what's going on*' – which is something also picked up on by pupils, in actual fact observations can also be a pre-defence *against* a complaint as well, and offer a teacher an empowering sense of security that the quality of their teaching is evidenced, a feeling of being protected, and a reassurance that potential future risk is managed.

- **Management Group 2 (SLT)**

'Blinks'

Although Management2 were described as being quite detached from a teacher's '*world*' (Teacher1; Teacher3), they were also described as an increasing presence in and around the school due to the 'Blink' process, which was frequently discussed by Teachers, HoDs and SLT. This is a fairly new SLT-led initiative within the school, consisting of short 'drop-ins'

into lessons, similar to the 'learning walks' described by Skerritt (2020), and summarised by SLT2 as follows:

> *'Blinks' is a method of where SLT…they're scheduled to walk for at least twenty minutes, at least once a week, um, at a certain time-frame, so that's about ten, ten slots a week where SLT will go into a classroom with an A5 piece of card and they have to write down things that they loved seeing and then a couple of thoughts.*

As explained by Teacher1, no discussion takes place following the Blink; instead, the teacher receives a feedback card in their pigeonhole. SLT1 explains that Blinks are:

> *A way of enabling people to get feedback in a way that is not onerous, is not high-stakes, so those Blinks only go to the – they go straight back to the teachers. So I come in, I watch a teacher for 10 minutes, then I write a few notes, none of which are recorded. And then they get given to you.*

The description of Blinks as '*not high-stakes*' is interesting, given HoD2's comment that '*as long as they are done by SLT, including the Head, and as long as there is a written comment, it's going to feel like a judgement*.' Once again, as with formal lesson observations, the level of '*stakes*' depends on the teacher's perception of the observer. Furthermore, the act of writing the feedback down seems to make the process more formal and judgemental in teachers' eyes, as suggested by HoD2 above. Teacher2 suggests that this attaches a '*stigma*' to Blinks: '*you don't have to write anything, you know, why write anything? Why do you have to have a record of anything*?' This comment is interesting in light of other schools' decisions to remove written feedback from learning walks (Downey et al., 2004; Taylor, 2017). Despite SLT1 stating that the feedback is not '*recorded*', it seems that this view is not shared by teaching staff, and SLT1 is correct that there is '*a huge amount of suspicion*' about the Blinks process – acknowledging, again, covert resistance in the form of cynicism.

Ownership of the 'Blink' experience

SLT2 described how the Blink feedback card has the school's 6 principles of excellent

teaching and learning listed at the bottom, which are ticked if observed – '*that bottom bit is*

cut off, and the reason it's cut off is that I then track what is being seen on a regular basis or

what isn't being seen…it's not linked to a member of staff at all…it's completely anonymous'

– and the remainder of the form is placed into the teacher's pigeonhole. Thus, using the

collected data, SLT are able to '*build a bit of a picture*' of teaching across the whole school to

'*get a flavour of what our teaching is like'* (SLT2) – SLT here are generating, sharing and

even storing knowledge of whole-school teaching. Most teachers did not seem aware of the

section cut off, or at least didn't mention it. One exception, however, was Teacher4, who

noted that '*that part was missing'* and had discovered that '*it was going into an SLT*

observation statistics spreadsheet'. Teacher4 explained:

> *And so I just thought to myself, "great, I've got a question that's really not*
> *that thought-provoking, and the technical data is gone…it's for you, it's not*
> *for me". And so it – that really compounded for me that there, it's sort of a*
> *positive spin on SLT-led exercise of sorts…you've taken away data, rather*
> *than give it to me…so who is this for – you or me?*

This 'you or me?' tension was repeated throughout the data set, with Teacher3 noting *'it*

wasn't really clear to me what I *was getting from it'* (emphasis in original) and Teacher4

suggesting that '*the need to monitor me is more about what* they *need rather than what* I

need' (emphasis in original). As with lesson observations, here we have another example of

the observer being observed and critiqued by the teacher under observation; the gaze is once

again inverted.Teacher4 explains that he actually went to question SLT about the removal of

data, demonstrating an example of routine resistance through questioning the system (Fleming

and Sewell, 2002, p.394). However, in raising the significance of the removal of data,

Teacher4 also questions the ownership of the experience. To whom does this observational

experience belong? Interestingly, SLT1 notes the benefits of *'the more ownership you can give the teacher'*, echoing O'Leary (2012, p.794) who asserts that:

> Ownership and autonomy are identified as key features of successful observation schemes, which are characterised by a move away from authoritarian models where observation is something that is 'done to teachers' to a more egalitarian approach in which ownership of the process is devolved to teachers.

However, in this instance, Teacher4 appeared not to feel that he has ownership of the process, and does not play a part in the 'co-construction of knowledge' (O'Leary, 2014, p.118); he described it as something being done *to* him but not *for* him, his frustration adding a sense of irony to SLT2's explanation that the reason they cut off the bottom part was '*if we did give it to teachers it would fall flat on its face because automatically they would get their back up and feel that's a judgment, and it's not*'. In Teacher4's case though, his frustration appears to be a result of *removing* data – knowledge generated about him – rather than *giving* it to teachers, perhaps even more than the actual generation of knowledge in the first place.

Frustration with 'Blink' feedback

HoD1 appears to be correct in her assertion that the Blink system '*can sort of put someone's back up'*; in fact, there appeared to be far more frustration with the system of Blinks than there was with the formal lesson observation process, largely because teachers felt that feedback based on a few minutes' '*snapshot*' or '*snippet*' (Teacher2) not only lacked value, an issue also raised by O'Leary (2017, p.5) but that they sometimes felt unfairly criticised by their observer. The Blink card contains a section entitled 'I loved seeing' and another section entitled 'Thoughts' – and it is this latter section that appeared to be problematic, as some teachers saw this feedback as judgemental. O'Leary (2014, p.70) links the act of 'pass[ing]

judgement' with 'offer[ing] advice on which areas of practice need to be improved, through feedback to the observer'; SLT2 was clearly aware of teachers' views, and explains that:

> *"thoughts" was perceived as judgement, or "what can you do better next time?" And it's not. It's actually just, hopefully the thought is actually "oh I did that when you left" or "yeh I do that all the time, it's just that you didn't happen to see that".*

He was correct that the teaching staff do respond in such ways, but some also react defensively and with a sense of frustration attached to it. Teacher1 calls the 'Thoughts' section the ''*could do better' bit*' and a '*target'*, explaining that the feedback from one of his SLT Blinks '*completely missed the point of the entire lesson'*. His frustration is evident, and he says he '*take[s] them with a bit of a pinch of salt…I haven't had any value out of them at all.*' Teacher4 appears to share this view, explaining that SLT '*feel compelled to give…a target or a question…but if it's not useful, maybe don't waste my time with it*' and HoD1 explains that '*because of the need to say something, then you say something that rubs somebody up the wrong way'*, recalling a member of her department's frustrating experience of receiving critical Blink feedback. Likewise, HoD3 notes that teachers in her department have '*queried sometimes the questions that they've put'*, not directly to SLT, but among themselves within the department, '*like "look what they've put*!"' Blink feedback is a form of knowledge generation, and, unlike formal lesson observations, is described as very much a one-way process; part of the teachers' frustration appears to be that they feel a judgement can be made without any opportunity for dialogue, hence the snap observation is done *to* the teacher rather than a more collaborative process. Surprisingly, though, there was also a perception that the *observer* was also not in full control either; as with lesson observations, there was a sense that the feedback is being given by the observers because they '*have to'* (HoD3) rather than it being genuinely useful for the teachers, recalling Foucault's (1996,

pp.233-4) suggestion that 'this is a machine in which everyone is caught, those who exercise the power as well as those who are subjected to it'.

External pressures as a driving force for surveillance

Interestingly, the idea of a lack of autonomy within 'those who exercise the power' was something also picked up on by Pupil3, who believes that:

> *there's rules for every school that you need to make sure that this is happening, make sure that that's happening, and even if it is, you need the evidence to say "we have done it, we have checked"...*

Like Pupil3, Teacher1 also feels that there is a sense of generating an 'evidence trail' (O'Leary, 2014, p.36) as a result of external pressures, highlighting, like Troman (1997), external inspection as a driving force for surveillance, and suggesting that the Blink system is a way that '*the SLT can evidence'…'that the teaching in the school is of a good quality'* rather than being a meaningful developmental exercise in itself. HoD3 also notes that the reason that observations are recorded centrally is because '*when we get inspected they're all there',* a fact confirmed by SLT2; generated knowledge is evidence. Clearly, there is a perception that external pressures are driving school culture to some extent. These views strongly resemble the findings of Cockburn (2005, p.377), whose teacher-participants 'clearly see the observation proves as a bureaucratic exercise with little genuine concern for teacher development', and some of O'Leary's (2013, p.707) FE participants' references to observations as: 'a 'tick-box' exercise that seemed more concerned with satisfying the requirements of Ofsted than their development needs'. There are clear tensions between stakeholders regarding the purpose and value of these types of surveillant activity. Ball (2003, p.220) explains that:

> We become uncertain about the reasons for actions. Are we doing this
> because it is important, because we believe in it, because it is worthwhile? Or
> is it being done ultimately because it will be measured or compared?

The ironic suggestion here is that such surveillant activity is actually undertaken, at least in part, to be seen – for the process of observation to be observed. Based on my interview data, lesson observations and Blinks appear to be multi-purposed – evidence gathering, measuring the school's teaching profile, and teacher development. O'Leary (2014, p.42) writes of the dangers of a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to observation, which arguably has the potential consequence of a perception of a system characterised by 'inauthenticity and meaninglessness' (Ball, 2000, p.8) as a result of a 'preoccupation with risk' (Page, 2017a, p.992). The ontological struggle of the teacher has already been discussed earlier in this chapter, but perhaps here we have a perception of an ontological struggle, or '*values schizophrenia'* (Ball, 2003, p.221; italics in original) within the driving force of the system itself, with external inspection (in this case, ISI rather than Ofsted) perceived as being its basis, while retaining an 'illusion of freedom' (Courtney (2016, p.627). Upon the breakdown of this illusion, significant frustration is evident.

Subject specialism

The other key frustration raised, however, relates to the observer's subject specialism. O'Leary (2014, p.33) describes issues of credibility regarding 'whether the observer had knowledge and experience of teaching the subject area of the observee.' Likewise in my findings, two teachers, interestingly both 'core' (DfE, 2014) subject teachers, raised their frustration at being told how to improve by a non-subject specialist in a 10-minute observation, with Teacher1 stating that it '*there is a frustration when people give me, people who aren't [subject] teachers, tell me how to teach [subject]*' (specific subject removed for

anonymity), and Teacher5 explained that his feedback has been '*contradictory to how I want to approach that topic or subject, because really, I think because of the [subject] specialism'.* It is perhaps significant that teachers of some 'non-core' subjects do not appear to feel under the same level of surveillance from SLT as those teachers of core subjects, with Teacher2 explaining that *'[HoD] left me to it, SLT have left me to it...honestly, I don't know why they just leave me to it! Honestly [laughs]! I could be doing anything*!' and HoD4 musing '*one of those things about being one of those unwatched subjects, is no one cares*'…'*We hold ourselves at the same level as English and Maths. But the rest of the world doesn't*'…'*no one's really watching…*'.

These comments are very much aligned with Perryman et al.'s (2011, p.185) findings – in their research their participants describe the intense 'pressure' upon the 'core subjects' of 'Maths, English and science [sic]', and explain that English and Maths departments feel that 'they are more accountable for the results and so on.' Subjects are 'hierarchized' (Bourdieu, 1998) and the arguably more 'valuable' (Bleazby, 2015) subjects therefore have perhaps greater risk attached to them, and consequently require greater intensity of surveillance in order to manage that risk. Thus, it can be suggested that teachers from different subject departments experience surveillance in different ways and to different intensities, with those subjects perceived to be more valuable being placed under the most intense managerial surveillance.

Validation

Again, as found in the previous section with formal lesson observations, despite their

frustrations at the system, teachers do like to be acknowledged for their work, want to know

that Management '*cares*' (HoD4) and want to see them take '*interest'* (Teacher2), echoing

Zepeda's (2009) assertion that 'the principal's presence in classrooms sends a positive

message to teachers that the principal cares'. SLT1 recognises this, noting that he wants to get

to a point where:

> *if somebody hadn't had a colleague coming into their classroom, then they'd*
> *start to get a bit pissed off about it quite frankly. I do! I mean quite frankly if*
> *nobody's going to show any interest in my teaching and the kids' learning,*
> *then I feel a bit, you know, down-beaten about it all.*

SLT2 also describes the importance of positive feedback, explaining that '*I'm hoping none of*

those things in that thoughts box are anything that are going to do otherwise but make

someone smile, and that's the whole intention'. Based on teachers' frustrations at critical

feedback described above, there appears to be a disconnect between this intention and the

teachers' perceptions of much of the feedback. However, many teachers also do note various

positive feedback that they have received, and the '*boost*' (Teacher3) it has given them.

Despite her criticism of Blinks, Teacher2 feels that on at least one occasion, her feedback was

a '*pat on the back'*: '*there was quite a nice comment from [SLT member], recently…So I was*

like, "ahh that's quite nice. I quite like that, that's all right"', and Teacher5 expresses that it

gave him '*a little bit of a lift'*; he says '*it's quite nice to get something positive. Yeh, I don't*

take criticism very well myself. It really goes to the soul, so ultimately just the positive is quite

nice'. Significantly, nobody suggested that the positive feedback lacked value due to an

observer not being a subject specialist, or the Blink being only 10 minutes long. SLT1 may

therefore have a point when he says '*I think people secretly wish that people wish more*

people did watch them…do the good stuff!' and there is an irony that teachers appear to be

frustrated by critical feedback, asserting that it lacks value, but that they welcome any positive

feedback, and readily attribute value to that.

Transparency

As we have already seen discussed earlier in this chapter, formal lesson observations are

perceived to be problematic because they are pre-arranged, the teacher under observation is

given advance notice, and the observation becomes a performance – enacted by both the

teacher observed, and the member of management observing. Almost all are both aware of,

and complicit in, the fabrication. However, the Blinks system is, to use Page's (2017b, p.6)

words to describe 'traditional' surveillance, 'designed to test reality' and 'concerned with

creating transparency', avoiding the '*skewed perception*' that SLT2 describes formal lesson

observations as providing. Page (2015, p.1039) finds that Headteachers believe that learning

walks provide 'a much more accurate measure of teacher competence' than pre-arranged

observations, a finding confirmed by O'Leary (2017, p.5) who notes that some senior leaders

and managers justify their value in 'capturing the "reality" of classroom teaching' and a

'realistic picture'. SLT2 echoes this consensus, even going so far as to say that Blinks, or

learning walks, are '*the only way I think you'd know what [a teacher is] like'* and describes

Blinks as:

> *seeing people on the ground day in day out, breaking down those barriers of*
> *closed doors, and "you're not coming in my classroom", creating a culture*
> *where anyone can just walk in at any time.*

If formal observations are occasional activities, operating as an artificial means of evidencing

the act of monitoring, Blinks function differently as a surveillant activity that could occur at

'*any time'* and are therefore designed to observe 'truth' (Page, 2017b, p.9). This is panoptic

surveillance in the sense that the observed does not know if or when this will happen, but must assume that they could be surveilled 'at any time in any classroom' (Page, 2015, p.1039) – the difference, of course, is that if and when it *does* happen, the teacher would be aware of the fact; surveillance is visible. While this is not exactly the 'continuous monitoring' spoken of by Bartlett (2000), Foucault (1977, p.201) reminds us that 'surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action', and teachers may therefore feel the need to be in a 'state of constant readiness' (Perryman, 2006; 2009; Courtney, 2016), previously attributed to external inspection, but now a result of internal processes such as this.

The teachers interviewed do not seem to like the fact that Blinks create 'transparency' (Page, 2017b, p.6); the literature notes the deeply personal nature of the classroom space for teachers (Clayton, M. K., 2001; Bissell, 2010; Alterator and Deed, 2013), and SLT1 describes a '*closed-door*' culture and attitude of '"*my*"' classroom. Blinks seem to metaphorically turn the walls to 'glass', to use an oft repeated metaphor in surveillance theory (Gabriel, 2005; 2008; Page, 2015). Teachers' comments imply that many of them would prefer to maintain the artificial façade proffered by pre-arranged lesson observations, and that the advance notice gave them the security of preparing a performance; to continue the glass walls metaphor, they would prefer for their classroom walls to remain opaque. As O'Leary (2014, p.81) asserts, one argument against 'unannounced drop-in observations' is that it removes the 'opportunity [for teachers] to showcase their knowledge and skills in the classroom'. Blinks seemed to entail more risk for the teacher as the teacher has less control over what the observer sees and therefore over the content of the knowledge subsequently generated – indeed, the very use of '*Blinked*' as a verb by participants suggests that something is being *done* to them. Both teachers and HoDs declared their delight when SLT turn up to Blink at the ideal moment – for Teacher3, this was the moment '*where I teach them a song*' and for HoD1 it was '*just as I*

was doing something really creative, which involved making snow – writing things, throwing things you know, that was great – that was really good'. Their pride at being seen doing something '*really good*' perhaps recalls the words of Pauric, in Skerritt's study, who sees learning walks as 'an opportunity to perform' and 'to raise your status in the school' (Skerritt, 2020, p.12); he sees such surveillant activity as 'an opportunity for validation'. However, if it was a less exciting moment, or a part of a lesson that the teacher was less proud of, they would see this as an failing; HoD1 goes on to explain that '*another time I wasn't – it was a bit of feedback or a bit of question and answer…something not very…*' and Teacher5 describes his first experience of being 'Blinked': '*I was going through the answers on the A Level practice we'd been doing. All I'm doing is going through the answers. It's good for them to get feedback, but it's not really a mind-blowing thing to watch, and there have been other times – you know, when I've been doing some mundane admin job…*'. HoD1 summarises that '*clearly it's very frustrating if you get Blinked at a very bad moment, if you're doing something really boring….Um, because I suppose you want to demonstrate all the good things you do in class*'. There is a sense here of wanting to perform, to fabricate, but struggling to do so, due to the Blinks being random and unexpected. The arguably disruptive nature of Blinks, and the inability to control them, suggests they are of a more molecular nature than prescribed and pre-arranged HoD observations.

Normalised visibility

There is clearly, as pointed out by Teacher2, a '*stigma*' attached to Blinks, but SLT2 explains that in time, being observed in any sense:

becomes another thing that you just do as part of your day-to-day practice.
And hopefully that then become normalised and the gravitas of that gets really
worn down and it just becomes something which you just do every day.

This aim echoes Page's (2015, p.2032) findings that 'far from the days of internal inspection of pre-identified lessons, teachers now worked within a context of normalised visibility where their performance was available to whoever was there to see it', yet Page describes a setting perhaps a little further on in its journey to 'normalised visibility' (Page, 2015, p.1032).

Writing from a Baudrillian perspective, Page (2017b, p.2) argues that 'performativity has intensified to such an extent that it has gone beyond the production of fabrications, producing teaching as a simulation instead' and suggests that 'the intensification of performativity has moved teaching from a second-order simulacrum – which retains a distinction between 'real' teaching and 'fabricated' teaching – to the third order of simulacra, pure simulation, a hyperreality that replaces 'real' teaching' (p.3). At the time of my research, there was still 'a distinction between 'real' teaching and 'fabricated' teaching' in my research site, possibly because Blinks were not yet frequent enough for teachers to see them as something integral to their day to day lives – they are still perceived as an event, rather than '*day-to-day practice*' (SLT2). Longer term, however, SLT1 explains that the aim is to have '*all doors open*' – frequent and normalised Blinks are a part of '*the school's drive towards glass-walls culture*' (HoD2) – this will be 'normalised visibility' (Page, 2015, p.1032). So whilst the teaching has not become a simulation *yet,* if teachers are already frustrated that Blinks observe the reality of teaching rather than a fabrication, how long will it be before an attempt at a continual fabrication becomes the hyperreal? And subsequently, how long before there is 'no differentiation between observed practice and unobserved practice' and before 'simulation has replaced what the profession once considered real' (Page, 2017b, p.11)?

Conclusion

This chapter has presented my conceptualisation of surveillance in this independent schools, through my diagram 'The Surveillant 360' (Figure 6.1), and has justified my approach to school hierarchy within this. I have also explored how teachers are surveilled by both SLT and HoDs, most notably through HoD observations and SLT 'Blink' drop-ins, and have outlined the impacts of this, which include suspicion, frustration, diminished trust, opportunity for defence against complaints from other stakeholders, and feelings of validation. Although there is no evidence of overt resistance here, routine resistance, in the form of cynicism, appears to be commonplace. Ultimately, this chapter has explored one aspect of my conceptualisation of a surveillant assemblage in schools, yet shown how other stakeholders are inescapably integrated within this.

Throughout this discussion, this chapter has also demonstrated how, through the lens of assemblage theory, the 'Surveillant 360' – i.e. teachers' perceptions of experiences of surveillance from surveillant stakeholders – involves multiple experiences, impacts, and multiple dynamics of power and resistance. Drawing upon Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorisation of desiring lines, dynamics of surveillance undertaken by management are ultimately seen as molar lines, due to the perceived difficulty of the function of surveillance undertaken by management (both HoDs and SLT) not to be judgemental to some extent; these dynamics are largely fixed and immutable, despite multiple subtle attempts at routine resistance. However, Blinks, in particular, as a quasi-disruptive entity, and whose consequences are harder to predict, suggests that the molecular is pressing upon the molar. The next chapter looks at the other components of 'The Surveillant 360', and demonstrates how they all work together as an assemblage in mutable ways.

CHAPTER SIX: DATA ANALYSIS 2

Chapter 5 looked almost exclusively at various types of observation from a management

perspective, as arguably the most prominent way in which teachers are surveilled. However,

as shown by 'The Surveillant 360' (Figure 6.1), teachers are surveilled in a multitude of ways

and by various stakeholders, who access, generate, and share knowledge about the teachers

under surveillance. Thus, Chapter 6 explores the ways in which teachers are perceived to be

surveilled by teachers' colleagues, pupils, pupils' parents, and the self, and often by multiple

stakeholders simultaneously. As in Chapter 5, the modes of surveillance discussed have been

selected based upon prominence in my data. Thus, the peer surveillance section discusses peer

observation and 'Book Look', the pupil surveillance section covers interaction with other

stakeholders and Student Voice surveys, the parent section details Parents' Evenings and

parental complaints, and appraisal and self-comparison are discussed in relation to

intrapersonal surveillance. This is, of course, not to suggest that these are the only ways in

which the teacher is surveilled by these stakeholders; the Surveillant 360 makes clear the

complex assemblage of surveillance at play, but only those most prominently discussed in my

data appear in the discussion below due to the constraints of the thesis, while other modes of

surveillance are briefly outlined in Appendix 4.

Perceptions and experiences of teacher surveillance by colleagues

Teachers are perceived to be surveilled by their colleagues – teachers on a broadly similar

'*level*' (Teacher3) to them, to use a hierarchical term – on a day-to-day basis. This type of

surveillance is usually comparatively informal, and my participants noted that it takes the

form of accessing knowledge by casually observing teacher behaviour inside and outside

department offices and staffrooms, reading each other's pupil progress reports, looking at each other's internal and external assessment data, and sharing/team-teaching classes. More recently, with the shift to remote teaching and learning, teachers also feel surveilled by their colleagues through their department's online shared area[41], and through their online learning platform[42], especially during the Covid-19 pandemic's periods of remote teaching and learning. Knowledge about teachers was also perceived as being generated by colleagues, as also noted by Page (2017a), through peer observation – both prearranged and by informally walking through classrooms – as well as by looking at each other's classes' books ('Book Look'), and simply from daily interactions. Finally, teachers can share knowledge about other teachers through complaints about one another, although this was rarely mentioned (only by SLT1), and did not appear to be a particular concern of teachers.

Peer observation

All the teachers interviewed readily discussed peer observation, and typically viewed it positively, although it was evident that its actual undertaking within the school was limited; it appeared to be something teachers talked about rather than that they did. Most of the teachers interviewed could recall a time when they had a peer watch them teach, or watched a peer teach – usually described as a '*peer Blink*' – but spoke of it as an isolated occasion, often encouraged by Management, and certainly not something yet embedded within the day-to-day culture of the school (as claimed by Page, 2017a). Peer observations were viewed very much

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[41] Many departments use a shared folder in Microsoft 'SharePoint' to share resources and lesson planning, as well as accessing shared data through this.
[42] As a result of the Covid-19 pandemic and remote teaching and learning, teachers and pupils started using Microsoft 'Teams' during the period in which my research was undertaken, upon which teachers and pupils could sometimes see aspects of each other's lessons. This replaced the school's own learning platform.

as developmental activities. There was a consensus, as also found by Hendry et al. (2014), that it is much more beneficial for the observer rather than the observee – that the benefit of peer observation is learning from watching others teach, rather than receiving feedback from an observer. Teacher1 explains that '*they're more useful for the person coming in than the person being observed*' and says that he thinks they should be longer observations, as '*it would be really valuable for me to go in and see a teacher teach for half an hour*'. Teachers 2, 3 and 4 speak of getting new ideas and inspiration from watching others teach; Teacher3, for instance, got '*a new idea*' and was '*inspired…to do something that could be a little bit different*' in her own teaching, commenting that by partnering up and watching each other teach, they were '*sharing best practice*'. These teachers clearly view peer observation as a 'collaborative' exercise (Shortland, 2004) and a 'springboard for sharing ideas and stimulating reflective dialogue' (O'Leary and Price, 2017).

Teacher3 also seems to feel a sense of control in peer observation, explaining: '*it was a Blink with a colleague, and I also went to observe her…I* chose *to observe her and we partnered up – we decided in advance what the target would be…I was doing something that I* wanted *to show her…*' (emphasis in original). This partnership is an example of 'reciprocal learning' as described by O'Leary and Price (2017, p.115). The stress upon it being *her* decision reflects the views of Towndrow and Tan (2009), who suggested that 'peer observation typically 'return[s] a lot of control to teachers'. Bearing in mind Wragg's (1999, p.62) explanation that 'The actual or perceived power relationship between observer and observed is not just a sociological concept, but rather a reality that needs to be recognised', it seems that Teacher3 feels empowered both as observer *and* as observed. With these benefits, it is no surprise that HoD2 notes '*we're trying to move towards a more 'learning from others' aspect to our observations*'.

Peer observations are not seen as solely learning from others, though – observer feedback was also discussed, and with regard to this aspect of observations, there is still a hint of judgement and implication of power relations within peer relationships. As with molecular lines, it is the 'relations' between staff rather than their roles or 'identity' that is 'determinative' (Windsor, 2015, p.161). Teacher2 clarifies that peer observation would be best within a department as it could be '*a bit scary across the school*' despite O'Leary's (2013a) finding that peer observations were perceived as less stressful than 'top-down' observations. She does not elaborate why, but her comments imply that there may be a perception of being judged. HoD4 notes that her staff might be afraid to '*critically feed back to the other*', and mentions one teacher who she thinks '*would just shy away from giving any kind of ideas or anything…she'd just say "yeh that was great!"*' and would need '*empowering*' in order to give valuable feedback, and Teacher4 agrees that '*people are hesitant to be too critical*'. This reinforces Hammersley-Fletcher and Orsmond's (2005, p.218) findings that some observers 'feel awkward' about giving feedback to each other, and suggests that, as Gosling (2002) explains, power relationships between reviewer and the teacher being observed can be far from equal. When framed as simply 'learning from watching others', teachers spoke very positively about the process, but there was often a sense of wariness attached to the offering of feedback from observer to observee, giving weight to Shortland's (2010, p.302) claim that peer feedback could be interpreted as 'critical, evaluative, judgemental, threatening, painful, competitive or personal' – the teachers here are perhaps aware of these dangers. Furthermore, whilst peer observation was generally seen as a very useful activity '*in theory*' (Teacher5), it was sometimes seen as unrealistic and impractical in practice. Teacher2 said that peer observation would be good to do '*in a nice lovely world*', implying that the activity is idealistic and not a realistic proposition, Teacher3 noted the difficulties of timetabling peer observation, HoD2

also commented on the '*time factor*' difficulty, and Teacher4 said: *'I get so busy I don't do them'.* Time was also an issue for Teacher5; he has only undertaken a peer observation when he has had to, for a management-driven exercise, and comments that:

> *I have one free a day, on average, at the moment…So to say – right, take some time off and…yeh, yeh, you can imagine, yeh. [laughs]…Yeh. So it's just time.*

For Teacher5, while he acknowledges benefits of peer observation as '*a better way to learn about teaching*', he also wonders if it is *'going to be worth the pain in the ass'*, and implies he would only participate in peer observation if he had to, if driven by management. His current classes are his priority, over opportunities for development:

> *You asked "would it be better for me to watch others than um be observed"…yeh, but would it be better for me to watch others than to make progress with my class? That's a different weighing up of priorities, yeh…Magic up more time…and then we'll see some good teachers!*

Although peer observation is typically linked in the literature to the 'enhance[ment of] students' learning experiences' (Hendry et al., 20014), Teacher5 sees peer observation as detrimental to his class's progress as he would have to miss lessons in order to find the time to observe others.

For some teachers, though, rather than a formal peer observation, they note that they are frequently observing their peers teach, and being observed teach by their peers, on a day-to-day basis – this type of casual observation is very informal. Some participants noted that team-teaching (HoD5) or sharing classes (Teacher4; HoD3) offered opportunities to attain insight into each other's teaching. Teachers appear much more likely to surveil the teaching of other members of their own department, rather than teachers from different departments, often through '*quite literally walking through each other's lessons*' (Teacher4), with HoD4 noting '*we walk into each other's lessons all the time…we just live in each other's rooms*'. HoD2

explains that for her department, this is largely due to the architecture: because *'[the way] the classrooms are structured in my department, we walk through classrooms all the time'*, and adds '*so we know what's going on'*, implying that teachers can attain insight into each other's teaching from this, echoing Page's (2017a, p.997) assertion that 'horizontal forms [of surveillance] are…enabled by architecture', although he refers to open-plan learning spaces rather than walking between walled classrooms. HoD3 also notes that the architecture, in addition to resource-sharing, plays a part in teachers informally seeing one another teach:

> *I'm in the middle classroom, and you can cut through…and the A Level textbooks as well, they sort of fluctuate between the three rooms so we're all sort of like – you do sort of pop in to each other's classrooms.*

And HoD5 says, similarly, '*we're always wandering out of each other's classes anyway. Very often with something else in mind, but you know, you look around and see what they're doing and stick around if you feel like it…'*. No teacher spoke negatively about this, however, despite the fact that this type of observation is framed as 'continuous and visible' and that it could take place 'at all times' (Page, 2017b, p.4). Teachers clearly do not see this as a threat – and in fact, likely because it is informal and so embedded into day-to-day practice and therefore normalised as part of the job, for many teachers it isn't perceived as surveillance at all.

Book Look

Although physically observing teaching is widely acknowledged by many of my participants as being the most accurate way to get an insight into a teacher's teaching, various other peer surveillance activities were also described. Management surveillance and peer surveillance overlap in 'Book Look', a surveillant activity in which pupil books are looked at by both

Management and other teachers, previously called 'Work Scrutiny' (SLT2 explains the name change as an attempt to remove its '*judgemental*' nature). There appear to be two main perceived aspects of Book Look – *within* departments, and *across* departments. *Across* departments is seen by most participants as a method of surveillance undertaken by management, and they commonly claim that is lacks value; Teacher1, for instance, cynically calls it a '*box-ticking exercise*' of '*no use at all*', and explains that he '*game[s] the system*' by ensuring there is '*lots of green pen all over it just to keep people happy*'. However, it is suggested by many that there is value in Book Looks *within* departments, where all members of the department have the opportunity to look at each other's books; as succinctly explained by HoD2, '*school wide Book Look – less useful…Department Book Looks really useful*'. Teacher3 describes it as a '*really useful and really positive*' experience, and HoD1 says: '*it's really good to look at another teacher's books. It's just – it's like watching another teacher teach*'. Again, as with peer observations, the value is commonly found in learning from each other. Teacher3 explains that especially when she first started, she '*learned a lot from looking at pupils' books*' and explains the value is dependent upon the relevance:

> *it's useful for me to look at my colleagues' books, who are working with me*
> *on the same year groups on the same course, what they've done…I get some*
> *ideas…I can give them ideas…we're all in it together and then we're truly*
> *trying to develop as a group.*

There is a clear sense of collaboration and 'reciprocal learning' (O'Leary and Price, 2017, p.115) here, although she prefers to look at other's books rather than give or receive feedback, stating: '*I just think that any feedback that I get from other members of the department, it's always the same sort of comments, we're all recycling the same comments*'. Teacher5 agrees that the activity is useful for development, but worries that it may not remain that way:

> *just seeing how someone organises everything is useful. I think um…again,*
> *it's been, so far, quite well-judged as a sort of sharing good practice, but it*

needs to stay as sharing good practice, rather than, again, having something punitive. Which again, I worry that it will develop in that direction.

Teacher4, however, feels that despite some uses, it already is an exercise in accountability, explaining that: '*I feel like the Book Look is more of a box-ticking exercise to check that a level of quality is occurring across the school'*. This teacher appears very aware of the 'tick-box mentality' (Forrester, 2011, p.8) that pervades a culture of performativity, and both latter two teachers are suspicious of the use of monitoring their work as a 'form of control' (Forrester, 2011, p.7); again, here we see further examples of routine resistance in the form of cynicism. Teacher3 even still refers to 'Book Looks' as '*book scrutinies'* despite the apparent name change, and Teacher2 acknowledges that during Book Look, '*I'm being monitored'*. Book Look is certainly still viewed as scrutiny to an extent, and teachers are surveilled both by management and by peers; although this type of peer surveillance is typically framed as development through reciprocal means, such surveillance undertaken by management leaves teachers, such as Teacher3, questioning the value: '*but then what happens? What actually comes out of it*?'

Perceptions and experiences of teacher surveillance by pupils

According to Mathiesen (1997, p.219), we live in a *synoptic* society which enables 'the many to see and contemplate the few'. While by no means on the same scale, the surveillance of the teacher by pupils can be argued to be another, smaller, example of the many surveilling the few. Page (2018, p.379) makes the link between the synoptic and education, explaining that 'synoptically, there is the recording of teachers by students on their mobile phones, uploading videos of teacher misbehaviour to YouTube or cyberstalking their teachers' Facebook and

Twitter feeds', but the practice of the many surveilling the few, or the traditionally powerless surveilling the traditionally powerful, does not always have to involve electronic technology. My findings show that teachers are surveilled in a multitude of ways by the pupils – again, often in conjunction with other stakeholders, as is often the case in a surveillant assemblage. Although it is worth noting that pupil knowledge in and of itself is not typically high status or used systematically, pupils access and generate knowledge about teachers through looking at the teacher's marking of their books, and through internal and external assessment results, linking their own performance with that of their teacher's. They also surveil teachers undergoing observations from management, as already discussed at length in Chapter 5, in a multi-layered situation where the pupils are surveilling the surveillance of the teacher; as found by Gallagher (2010, p.265), 'everyone…seemed to become caught up both in being surveyed and in surveying'.

Surveillant knowledge can be generated through pupils' experiences of teachers' lessons, and some pupils admitted to searching for their teachers on social media, as also pointed out by Page (2017a). Finally, the sharing of knowledge is shown to be extremely powerful, and influences change; pupils give feedback, either informally or in the form of surveys, the data from which goes to the teacher but also sometimes to other stakeholders, and pupil interaction with other stakeholders, sometimes in the form of both individual and collective pupil complaints, were also perceived to be ways of sharing surveillant knowledge. This section focuses on pupil interaction with other stakeholders, including complaints and student voice, as the most prominent modes of surveillance within my data. This section also draws upon social theory's framing of education as a commodity (as discussed in Chapter 2), to frame the pupils as middle-class 'consumers' of an educational 'product'.

Pupil interaction with other stakeholders

The teachers typically felt very watched by their pupils: '*I mean you're standing there and they're staring at you for an hour'*, explains Teacher1. Teacher1 and HoD4 both feel surveilled by the pupils '*all the time'*, and HoD4 adds '*they're judging us'*. Teachers experience 'sousveillance' – watching from 'below' (Mann, 2004). Indeed, in interviews, pupils confirmed that they 'reflexively monitor their school experience' (Devine, 2000) and judge the teacher based upon their experiences of their lessons. Pupils offered quite detailed evaluations of their teachers with little prompting – Pupil1 even suggested, somewhat ruthlessly, that '*most people base their opinions on [their teachers] within the first 30 seconds really',* suggesting how quick and lasting judgments can be made.

The surveillant knowledge accessed and generated by the pupil may be shared through interactions with other stakeholders. If the knowledge being shared is positive, or complimentary, it usually goes directly back to the teacher – '*I've had nice cards from pupils, saying you know "I've really enjoyed your lessons"'* (Teacher4) and '*it's…"thanks for the lesson", "that was a good lesson"'* (Teacher2). If negative, although some pupils will raise their concerns directly with their teacher (such as Pupil1), most appear to take a more indirect route of sharing surveillant knowledge. One such example of this is by sharing the knowledge with their parents, who may subsequently act as advocates for them. However, pupils might also discuss teachers with other teachers, simultaneously enabling peer surveillance among colleagues, and illustrating assemblage as functioning as different types of surveillance flowing together along flexible molecular lines; Teacher1 expresses that: '*my understanding of who the good teachers are, who the bad teachers are, generally comes from the pupils…The pupils talk about them. And I find that to be quite informative'*. Teacher3 gives examples of what pupils say about other teachers:

> *maybe like "gosh, she gives a lot of worksheets", or "they can't explain things", or "they can't control the class"…or…um…"they don't understand the course themselves"…*

More formally, though, and despite Wyness's (1999, p.362) claim that 'pupils are unable to formally complain about the form and content of their schooling', some pupils in this independent school share surveillant knowledge in such a way that it is framed as an official complaint, and this is usually made to another member of staff. HoD1 offers an interesting example of such an occurrence in her role as a teacher, and describes the impacts upon her personally:

> *Funnily enough I have just had an incident in which I felt very monitored by a pupil…she went off and told her tutor that I was picking on her…and I – well that I hate her. And of course that was very upsetting for me because I don't hate any pupil…So yeh, in that situation I did feel very monitored, I felt as though the class were kind of looking at me or –…Because the way it blew up afterwards…everyone was saying "oh yes Mrs [name removed] said, told you off three times and she didn't tell [name removed] off for doing"…so it became a bit public.*

With such lexis as '*upsetting*', '*hate*', and '*blew up*', this was clearly a very emotionally charged incident and seemed to have had a significant impact upon this member of staff. In her role as HoD, however, she did express that this incident was a useful learning point for her, and that in the future she would '*try to show a little more empathy*' for teachers who have complaints made against them, due to the significant emotional impact they can have.

In the description of the incident, HoD1 refers a few times to collective surveillance, noting '*the class*' were looking at her, '*everyone*' was saying things, and that it was '*public*'. It could therefore be suggested that it was the collective and public nature of the surveillance that gave it such intensity. This example of collective pupil surveillance was not an isolated incident, as SLT2 notes that pupils may go about '*rallying the troops*' to raise concerns about teachers, and it was evident that pupils frequently share surveillant knowledge with one another: '*if a*

teacher's been bad or if they've made a mistake or if they're being a bit annoying, then you

might discuss it with your friends, talk about it, yeh' (Pupil1). Like HoD1, Teacher4

recognises the intensity of collective pupil surveillance:

> *But it is funny because when there is a teacher which some students are*
> *unhappy with it spreads like a disease, and suddenly, magically, they're all*
> *unhappy…Sometimes I'll overhear it, especially in form time, and I'll ask*
> *about it. And sometimes they…they just seem to tell me directly…But it is*
> *amazing – I just find it astounding how quickly they turn on teachers*
> *sometimes…suddenly it's all that teacher's fault – 'they haven't taught me*
> *this'…*

The comparison between collective pupil surveillance and a 'disease' implies that critical

pupil surveillance is contagious in a way, and the simile perhaps encapsulates his perception

of this as a threat. The description of how quickly pupils '*turn*' on their teachers suggests a

fear about it happening at any time and with little or no warning, and suggests and ebb and

flow of power in a relationship undergoing 'endless negotiation and re-negotiation'

(Robinson, 2011, p.449) of a disruptive molecular nature. Due to hints of a potentially

subverted hierarchy here, there are suggestions of escape lines, or 'lines of flight' (Deleuze

and Guattari, 1987), but as hierarchy is ultimately retained, and the assemblage does not

dissolve or 'rupture' (de Miranda, 2013, p.106), molecular lines are a more appropriate

description. Teacher4's perception of blame perhaps recalls the comments of teacher

participant Eamon in Skerritt's (2020, p.11), who said in frustration '"everything is the

teacher's fault"', and also relates to the fears of teacher participant Orla in the same study,

who thinks that pupils are 'aware of how much power they hold and it's very negative' (p.13).

This 'power' is perhaps exacerbated in this school by the pupils' awareness of their own

middle-class status, and echoes Lareau's (2011, p.2) description of the 'robust sense of

entitlement' that has been developed by some middle-class children, who 'learn to question adults and address them as relative equals'.[43]

HoD2, though, describes a more positive, and much less emotionally charged incident, in which a group of A Level pupils made an appointment to meet with her in order to raise concerns about their teaching:

> *They had put together a bulleted list. I was incredibly impressed because it was completely non-judgemental, it was very factual, and they told me that they liked an individual [teacher]…But they felt that certain things were not happening in their A Levels that should be happening. And they said they felt very uncomfortable about raising this, but they wanted me to do something about it.*

Here, rather than viewing the pupils as a threat who '*turn on*' their teacher, the pupils are described as mature, honest and even impressive in their feedback. Furthermore, the discomfort felt by the pupils in raising their concerns suggests a reluctance to go against established pupil-teacher power relations, yet also an awareness of the power they hold as a collective, which is confirmed by HoD2's acknowledgement of the impact it has upon her: '*as a HoD, it has a much bigger impact on me when I hear it from the pupils than from a single set of parents*'. This 'power' held by the pupils, and their willingness to use it when they feel necessary, challenges prescribed, rigid notions of hierarchy, and suggests the work of disruptive molecular lines. While not being enough of a 'radical movement' to be seen as an 'escape' line, there is certainly some distortion of the teacher-pupil relationship, even if there is not a full hierarchical levelling effect (Windsor, 2015, p.164).

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[43] Interestingly, however, the Covid-19 pandemic and the shift from external examinations to Centre Assessed Grades later left pupils feeling that they now have *'no control'* and that the teachers are suddenly able to *'dictate'* grades, contributing to yet another fluctuation of power relations.

Student voice surveys

The previous section on pupil interaction with other stakeholders relates to student voice. As explained in Chapter 3, student voice is an extremely broad term, and often incorporates that which has been discussed in the previous section – here, it is discussed specifically in relation to school-driven or teacher-driven student voice surveys. The pupils were mostly very positive about student voice surveys. Although Pupil1 questioned the impact of whole-school surveys, seeing them, as also discussed by Taylor and Robinson (2009), as superficial and tokenistic, other pupils welcomed the opportunity to comment on their teachers, and voiced enthusiasm about sharing surveillant knowledge in this way. Pupil4, for instance, said:

> *I don't want to say [they're]my favourite thing – but I like filling out surveys*
> *but I really like filling out surveys knowing that they're anonymous, so I can*
> *really voice my opinion, instead of having to, almost, keep going over what*
> *I've actually said to make sure I don't offend anyone.*

For Pupil4, his enjoyment of completing student voice surveys appears to be in the fact that he can voice his opinion anonymously without worrying about the consequences, a view which is echoed by the pupil participants in Morgan's (2009) study. Likewise, Pupil5 likes anonymous surveys '*so you don't have to worry about what the teacher will say*', and even Parent4 believes that pupils should be asked to '*anonymously review their teachers*', the word '*review*' giving it a specifically evaluative focus. Page (2017a, p.992) describes a trend whereby surveillance has become 'simultaneously more visible and invisible' – the 'apparatus' of surveillance is more easily observable, but the 'practices' of surveillance are increasingly invisible and opaque (Lyon, Haggerty and Ball, 2014). In a sense, the same can be said here – the nature of pupil voice surveys is a very prominent and visible form of surveillance, but these pupils prefer to conduct their surveillance *in*visibly by remaining anonymous, which empowers them to say what they want without fear of repercussions.

Student voice surveys were not always discussed positively, however. Teacher5 has considered having pupils '*appraise*' his own courses, but isn't sure '*how honest*' their responses would be. Teacher2 says she's '*never done anything like class surveys*' and says that '*in a formal capacity…I think it's wrong…I think that's really weird*', explaining:

> *I don't know why…but I just feel it in my gut that that is weird…it's very dangerous I think, that sort of feedback, because it might become quite personal, I think if anything it, the pupil should be encouraged to give feedback to themselves…*

Her reference to student voice surveys as '*dangerous*' suggests that she sees them as a threat, and it relates to discourse of teacher control as shown by Devine's (2003, p.141) findings, in which teacher authority is seen as 'sacrosanct' and 'carefully guarded'. Devine (2003, p.141) finds a perception among teachers that if children are 'given a say', this might 'undermine the very status and position of the teachers in the school'; this seems to be a concern of Teacher2, who appears to view the pupils as the dangerous 'other', to use Foucauldian terms. The potential existence of 'lines of flight' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) – of 'breaking away from prescribed pathways' (Windsor, 2015, p.164) – is seen as a threat, even if in reality, this molecular, disruptive force is unlikely to compromise the assemblage but amend and possibility legitimate it. These views are interrelated with issues of power relations. While some pupils, such as Pupil5, automatically maintain molar lines and assert that hierarchically, '*the teacher is…higher than the students*', and that it isn't her '*place*' to comment on her teacher's teaching methods, others, such as Pupil1, enter a consumer rights discourse in stating that '*we're paying them [our teachers] to teach us*', *and* Pupil4 asserts that as he is a '*customer*' of the school, he can therefore '*voice [his] opinions*'.

Despite both Page (2015) and the OECD (2013) claiming that pupil survey feedback is unlikely to be used within teacher appraisals, Teacher4 discussed the school's recent inclusion

of student voice surveys as an optional part of teachers' annual Professional Development Review (referred to by many teachers as 'appraisal') in a similar way to that found by Morgan (2009; 2011) and says:

> *You feel in a certain sense that [pupils are] not professionals that understand the profession, so sometimes the feedback they might give – I'd be concerned that it would impact on you in a negative way but it would be just more critical than anything, without a grasp of what's…I don't know…I personally would [choose not to do that]. Just because I know I can get quite defensive and it would…get my back up and I would feel defensive, even if it was justified.*

Teacher4 is very aware of the potential negative consequences of encouraging formal student voice feedback, and so avoids it, like Teacher2 seeing it as somewhat threatening and constructing the pupils as the 'other'. He expects this type of surveillant knowledge to be '*critical*' and feels that it would make him '*defensive*', relating to Teacher2's concern that it might be '*quite personal*'. It is interesting that he would feel this way even if he knew the feedback was '*justified*', suggesting that his defensiveness would be about the challenge to power relations rather than the feedback itself. He also appears to be pleased that he has the choice over its inclusion, as he says he would not want to be '*pushed*' into it, perhaps reflecting the views of a teacher participant in Devine's (2000, p.29) study, who asserted that pupils 'should participate in decisions as a privilege rather than of right'. Teacher4 is arguably exercising his own 'right' to deny his pupils that 'privilege'. He does add, though, that: '*I don't think that means it's not a valid form of feedback to get. After all, they are the ones that dealing with us all the time…'.* He acknowledges the fact that the pupils are the ones '*on the front line'*, to quote Parent5.

However, there appears to be an 'us and them' tension implied here and a suggestion of potential conflict, with student voice posing a 'challenge to traditional power relations' (Rudduck and Fielding, 2006, p.220); power is perhaps perceived here as a 'zero-sum game'

(Foucault, 1982; Nelson, 2017) in which a teacher must relinquish power in order to allow for student voice, again suggesting a move away from rigid molar lines of desire. Although this is described by Mitra (2008, p.228) as a 'misconception', it is the perception of such that is limiting. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that such teachers as Teacher2 and Teacher4 might prefer to retain more rigid molar lines by pupils being '*silent* partners within the educational process' (Devine, 2000, p.29, emphasis added) rather than encourage surveillant flow along molecular lines by encouraging pupils to use their 'voice' as in a more child-centred approach.

Perceptions and experiences of teacher surveillance by parents

Although Vincent (1996, p.3) speaks of an 'imbalance in power' between parents – working class parents in particular – and 'educational professionals', power relations are very different in this fee-paying case-study school. School fees were found to be linked to surveillant activity in my interviews; the middle-class parents in this independent school were certainly perceived by stakeholders, including themselves, as having an element of 'purchasing power' (Nava, 1991, p.15) in a 'supplier-client' relationship (Bauman, 2005a, p.317), and wanting to surveil the product they were paying for, having been 'recentred as consumers' (Wyness, 1999, p.365). In my study, unlike Crozier's (1997), most parents positioned themselves as a customer, referencing the fees they are paying for a service; Parent1, for instance, says '*I guess you'd expect it [excellent teaching] – you're paying for it…obviously you are a customer here*', and Parent3 explains '*that's why you pay money for it*'.

As shown by Figure 6.1, 'The Surveillant 360', parents surveil teachers in a myriad of ways to ensure their child's future outcomes, and, despite not being physically present in the school

for the majority of the time, are perceived to be surveilling '*at all times'* (SLT2). The Marketing representative stated that *'there's a real appetite for wanting to know what's going on in the classroom',* and this starts before a child even began at the school, for instance at Open Events. During their child's time at the school, parents feel that they are able to access knowledge about the teacher through looking at their child's grades, linking results to the quality of their teaching, as well as by reading their child's reports. Parents attain insight into the teachers by looking at their child's books, and by checking the quality and accuracy of the marking. Some parents look up teachers on the internet, or, according to one teacher, make surveillant judgements based upon a pupil's success with university applications. Interaction with a teacher at Parents' Evening was seen by both teachers and parents as a way in which surveillant knowledge could be generated by a parent, as well as other interaction such as emails, phone calls and meetings. Many stakeholders explained that a parent can generate a great deal of surveillant knowledge about the teachers by discussing the teachers and teaching with their child, who pass on their own surveillant knowledge to them, and one parent even described a time when she had been an unseen observer of a lesson that she deemed unacceptable.

'There's no Ofsted but there's the parents', says HoD4, recalling a warning given to her when she began teaching in the independent sector, the comparison between parents and Ofsted implying that the parents are the most powerful surveillant stakeholder and akin to an inspectorate. This power was seen in particular through the act of sharing surveillant knowledge – this is done through interactions with other stakeholders, such as with parents via parental networks, or with other members of staff, but also through parental complaints, both individual and collective, of which all stakeholders spoke. Hence, the parents are an

important component of the surveillant assemblage. This section provides analysis of discussion of 'Parents' Evenings' and parental complaints, as key surveillant activities.

Parents' Evenings

Parents' Evenings can be described as surveillant activities in that the parent and teacher (and often the child) are interacting in such a way that the parent is able to not only access but also generate surveillant knowledge, with the teacher reporting to the parent the pupils' progress, and the parent usually having the opportunity to comment and ask questions. Parents' Evenings were spoken about fairly positively for most part, as '*useful*' (Teacher2), an opportunity to '*understand the children better*' (Teacher3), a chance for '*actual dialogue*' between teacher and parent (Teacher4) and even '*uplifting*' (Teacher 5) as they can sometimes provide a rare opportunity for positive feedback.

However, Swap (1993) has suggested that parents have a hidden agenda of checking whether the teacher 'really knows and understands their child' (Hornby, 2000, p.42), and this did come through to some extent in my data, although the extent to which this 'agenda' is actually 'hidden' is debatable. Parent4, for instance, says that '*you can tell in the language, how they're saying it, what they're doing whether this teacher is invested in your child and really wants them to do well'.* Parent4 appears to be checking up on the relationship between the teacher and pupil, as is Parent2, who explains:

> *what's really nice is you see that that teacher really knows your child…that's really nice to observe. Because I think at parent consultations they're not so much for us anymore – they're almost the teachers talking to [pupil name…– and we're almost passively observing it...*

Here, Parent2 suggests that despite the term 'Parents' Evening' suggesting the evening is 'owned' by, or 'for', the parents, actually it consists of a dialogue between the teacher and the

pupil, which is overseen by the parent. Rather than this consisting of the act of *checking* that the teacher knows their child though (Swap, 1993), this parent seems to hold the assumption that the teacher *does* know her child, and calls the act of watching '*passive*' rather than actively seeking out knowledge. There is a sense of reassurance of expectations being met here, also commented upon by HoD2, who notes:

> *I feel that the purpose of parents' evenings are very much about reassuring a parent that you have their child's progress in your – as a priority… ultimately they want to know that you have a plan and that you're organised and that you've got this.*

Teacher5 also comments on the level of reassurance a teacher may attain from Parents' Evenings, explaining they could conclude that: '*"this is a teacher that seems to know what they're doing", they could say "this is a teacher who has the finger on the button", or who "knows my child well".* This rhetoric of the need for reassurance is linked to the payment of fees in the following comment by Parent 2: '*you need some reassurance that teaching is where it should be … we're paying for it'.* Thus, Parents' Evenings can be viewed as an opportunity for risk management, through which the parent is checking up on the quality of the 'product' – namely, the education the parent is paying for on behalf of the child.

To attain this reassurance, however, parents must make a form of judgement, and my interviewees framed Parents' Evening as an interactive event in which power-tensions are played out. Hornby (2000, p.17) outlines two of the six main models of parent-teacher relationships[44] as 'consumer' and 'partnership', which are the most relevant to this study site. In the consumer model, 'parents are regarded as being consumers of educational services', as has already been discussed in relation to this school; and in the 'partnership' model, there is a

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[44] Hornby (2000, p.17) outlines the six main models of parent-teacher relationships as: 'the protective, expert, transmission, curriculum-enrichment, consumer, and partnership models'. It would clearly be naïve to suggest that each school or teacher approaches parent-teacher relationships in just one of these ways, but Hornby's list provides an interesting backdrop upon which to unpick teacher-parent power relations.

'sharing of expertise and control' (Hornby, 2000, p.20). Although some stakeholders do speak of Parents' Evening from a partnership perspective, such as in HoD2's assertion that it's all about '*trust, reassurance and relationships*' and in Parent4's use of the collection pronoun '*we*' in her discussion of a collaborative approach, the role of the parent as consumer is also played out at Parents' Evenings. The somewhat unstable, and occasionally even volatile, power relations, involving the shifting 'forces and flows' of molecular lines (Windsor, 2015, p.161) in this context sometimes leads to conflict. In contrast to Parent4, Teacher1 gives an example of the consumer model approach to the parent-teacher relationship, explaining that: '*parents will sit down and look at me and say "what am* I *going to do about it?"'* (emphasis in original). He links this attitude to the payment of fees, adding*: 'they're paying for a product…'* and explaining that '*I find that frustrating, these expectations that "I've paid X thousands of pounds, so therefore it's all down to you"'*. Inglis (2012, p.96) explains that some of her teacher-participants felt 'interrogated' by parents at Parents' Evening appointments, and notes that this led to a sense of 'discomfort'; these feelings are also expressed by Teacher1, who describes a Parents' Evening where he was questioned by a parent on why her daughter was no longer top of the class, interestingly presenting the child as the product of adult achievement:

> *She was very much – it was my fault, or it was my poor marking, or there was some reason why her little darling was not getting the full marks…I do get frustrated…again, it links into this negative discourse about teachers not being professionals, that, that they question, um, that I'm doing the right…thing.*

Teacher1's repeated description of the '*frustration*' he feels illustrates the tension between some parents and teachers in the context of a consumer model of a parent-teacher relationship, and is linked to renegotiation of power status and the work of molecular lines within the assemblage; as pointed out by Teacher1 himself, he feels deprofessionalised as a result. This

example of parent 'interrogation' (Inglis, 2012, p.96) appears not to be unusual – Parent4, for

instance, explains that *'sometimes some tough things need to be said…Questions asked from*

the parents or whatever…'. Social class plays a part in this renegotiation of power status.

Class is relative, and many independent school parents (who in this school, according to the

marketing representative, are middle and high income, and typically highly educated) may

have higher levels of deep-rooted cultural capital and habitus (Bourdieu, 1986) than the

teacher him or herself. As teaching is often viewed as a 'low status' profession (Vincent,

1996, p.114; Perry-Hazan and Birnhack, 2019, p.194), there is the suggestion here of a

perception parental superiority over the teacher.

As a consequence of the 'discomfort' (Inglis, 2012, p.96) and '*frustration*' (Teacher1) that

teachers may feel as a result of such consumer 'interrogation' (Inglis, 2012, p.96), a number

of teachers admitted to being dishonest in what they say to parents about their children,

supporting the findings of Crozier (1999). While Teacher3 says that she would be '*mainly*

honest' she also said that she tries to '*please the parents'*, and will '*always try to be positive'.*

Teacher1 more bluntly states that he '*tells parents what they want to hear'.* He explains:

> *Um, there's always that sense that…if a pupil is not doing well, then maybe*
> *it's somehow my responsibility…and I guess I feel that pressure even more in*
> *the independent sector…Because I'm very conscious that the parents are*
> *paying what I consider to be a large amount of money and they want to hear*
> *good things. Um…so yeh, I will gloss over to some extent, um, the truth about*
> *what's going on.*

Teacher1 illustrates Clark and Power's (1998, p.48) view that Parents' Evening can be seen as

a 'public relations exercise', and he adds '*I don't think I'm the only teacher that does this…'.*

HoD1 confirms this, by commenting that '*you have to be very careful of what you say to*

parents basically…Because some parents don't want to hear the truth'. This parallels teacher-

participant David's account in Variyan's (2019, p.1208) study of elite school markets:

'"parents have different responses when they hear things they don't want to hear…you have to watch your wording very, very carefully"'. Thus, a fear of repercussions from the powerful parental consumer makes teachers wary of being fully honest if there is a problem, for fear of being blamed. However, interestingly, even teachers' '*glossing over'* (Teacher1) the truth is noted by parents at Parents' Evenings, as explained by Parent3: '*you can also see the way the teachers phrase their answer, you know, whether they're truthful or not. Yeh. Sometimes they kind of sugar-coat and you can tell*', echoing a parent-participant in Crozier's (1999, p.323) study, who asserts that a child's failure is 'a reflection on [the teacher's] abilities, so maybe they make out the child is doing better than she actually is'. Thus, teachers, having some awareness of how the surveillant assemblage functions, may sacrifice their honesty and integrity in order to deflect any surveillant threat to their professional status, perhaps showing an example of the disruptive nature of molecular lines.

Parental complaints

The sharing of surveillant knowledge is sometimes shared via parental complaints. If a parent is unhappy with an aspect of their child's school provision, parents may complain directly to the teacher in question, or may take their complaint to a Head of Department, Head of Year, or SLT. A culture of parents 'watching' and 'critiquing' teachers (Hassrick and Schneider, 2009) is perhaps exacerbated by parents 'acting as consumers on behalf of their children in so far as they are overseeing the accumulation of the 'product'' (Crozier, 1997, p.190), particularly in the independent school. SLT1 notes that parents are very confident in making criticisms: '*Parents are not afraid of saying 'why have they got this teacher when they got that teacher last year; that teacher was much better?'*'; here, 'consumer rights are being

couched in terms of parental obligations' (Wyness, 1999, p.360), and parents are harnessing

not only their social capital (Horvat et al., 2003) as middle-class parents (Francis and

Hutchings, 2013), but also their role as fee-paying consumers of the school. Indeed, Page

(2018, p.383) highlights Veblen's (1994) concept of 'conspicuous consumption', which he

describes as 'the visible spending of money to convey messages about social status'.

This is very applicable to the fee-paying school, as by paying school fees, parents are able to

convey a message about social status to the teachers, with teaching seen by some (Vincent,

1996, p.114) as 'the low status profession'. As such, the parents here perceive themselves to

have powerful 'voice'. For instance, in regard to a teacher with whose teaching quality she is

not happy, Parent4 says '*I will have to say something because I cannot have that'*,

demonstrating the level of control and influence she believes she has. HoD5 even described

parental complaints as when a parent '*flare[s] off'*, suggesting something powerful and

perhaps even aggressive. A significant proportion of complaints are made by parents as a

result of comparative surveillance; parents make comparisons between pupils, classes,

teachers and schools (HoD2; HoD3), and complain if they feel their child is being '*sold short'*

(HoD5).

Other teachers try to understand the root cause of some complaints, and express that they feel

that parental complaints about teachers are often simply parents expressing concern over their

child. This once again demonstrates parental preoccupation with risk, and the '*panic*' (HoD2)

they might feel if the product that they have chosen does not appear to delivering to their

satisfaction. This '*panic*' due to fear of risk can especially be observed in unstable and

unprecedented circumstances, such as the rapidly changing face of education during the

Covid-19 pandemic, when teaching and learning became remote for a few months, and

grading became 'Centre Assessed'. HoD2 explains how, due to panic and uncertainty,

teachers in her department were *'individually inundated with emails from parents'*. Even prior to Covid-19, though, HoD2 says:

> *the parent is just wanting the best thing for their child. And they may be wrong, they may be getting the wrong information, but they are contacting me out of the position of, they are concerned about their child.*

HoD2 here is suggesting that the parent's complaint is child-focused rather than teacher-focused, and implies that the parent has every right to raise concerns in this way. Teacher 5 adds:

> *parents are quite quick to point the finger at the teacher responsible for the… well, although sometimes I wonder if they're just expressing a concern.*

He, like HoD2, reframes '*complaint*' as a '*concern*'. He explains that, '*put constructively*', if a concern is raised about a child, *'it fine-tunes your…focuses your support, let's say',* perhaps viewing the parent-teacher relationship as both a 'consumer' and 'partnership' model simultaneously (Hornby, 2000).

However, such is the power of parental voice, parents are seen to have significant influence over teachers and school systems through their constant surveillance, perhaps as a result of the need the teachers feel to 'satisfy the customer' (Crozier, 1998, p.128). Teacher3 expresses that '*I feel that we run around a lot trying to please the parents*', but this was not always described as productive. Teacher5 has already noted that as a result of a complaint from a parent, a teacher might increase the level of '*support*' given to a specific child, but the terminology '*fine-tunes'* and '*focuses*' suggests that this might be at the expense of the support offered to another child; thus a tension may arise between the aims of teacher, who wants what is best for *all* children, and the aims of the parent, who wants what is best solely for *their* child. Other teachers might offer a pre-defence for complaints. For instance, HoD2 says: '*there is a pupil that we have highly inflated her grade under intense parental pressure, even though…you*

know it isn't in any way realistic…' and explains that as a result of the parental surveillance she know the department are under, has taken meticulous care to '*documen*t' and '*minute*' everything as '*evidence*' in case of '*comeback from the parents*', much like teacher-participant David in Variyan's (2019, p.1208) study, who kept 'detailed notes' of all interactions with parents in an elite independent school – high-stakes appears to relate to high levels of documentation as the technology of truth-making.

In a similar vein, one department has seen fit to run exam-focused revision sessions all year long due to parental pressure, even though the HoD says it was '*counterproductive*' as it stops the pupils from '*working hard for themselves*' and that she doesn't feel it '*benefited anybody*'. She says '*we just did it because it…it kept the complaints at bay…it was something that ticked the box*' (HoD2). The implications of the Covid-19 pandemic upon grading have exacerbated teachers' fear of complaints from parents, with Teacher1 '*intensely nervous*' of the '*intense scrutiny*' he may face '*if a student receives a grade lower than they had hoped*' and admits that fears over parental comeback (possibly involving '*appeals*' or '*lawyers*'), '*may well impact the grades that I will be allocating to my pupils*'. In this case, this teacher is willing to potentially act dishonestly with regard to grade allocation in order to avoid customer dissatisfaction and its repercussions. This can be characterised as a form of molecular, disruptive energy.

Finally, Teacher3 notes that due to a parental complaint about the accuracy of her marking, which led to a meeting with her HoD and having to '*go through every book page by page*', she has learned to be '*careful*' because '*any mark made on a page, a parent could see and could complain about*'. As a result, she says, she overcompensates in order to '*cover*' herself, and says that's '*quite arduous*'…'*that's of no benefit to the children*' and that her marking is '*a note basically to the parents*'. HoD2 and Teacher3 here illustrate examples of conspicuous

practice (Page, 2018; Skerritt, 2020), using visibility as a method of defending themselves from, or even avoiding altogether, parental complaints. The above examples all show work undertaken by teachers for no benefit to the pupils – in fact sometimes, as explained by HoD2, it is to their detriment – but purely due to parental surveillance, and the fear of parental complaints. This is concerning, given that Department for Education cite high workload as the main reason for teachers leaving the profession (DfE, 2018), and suggests that, at least in this particular study site, unnecessary workload is generated as a result of parental surveillant activities.

Perceptions and experiences of intrapersonal surveillance

Forrester (2011, p.7) describes how educational institutions now promote 'the processes of self-monitoring, self-management and self-regulation' in a managerialist environment characterised by a culture of individual accountability. Page (2018, p.379) terms such 'self-surveillance' as 'intrapersonal surveillance', and explains that it is 'located within reflective practice, omnipresent within teacher training and professional development, enshrined within notions of educator professionalism' (ibid.). It is therefore no surprise that intrapersonal surveillance was found to be a key component of the school's 'Professional Developmental Review' (PDR) process, referred to by most participants as '*appraisal*'; an example of the intrapersonal working in combination with surveillance undertaken by Management. Intrapersonal surveillance was also especially prominent when teachers conducted any sort of self-comparison with their peers – an example of where the intrapersonal and peer surveillance converge. Indeed, one could argue that the intrapersonal draws together all other forms of surveillance from other surveillant stakeholders and internalises it. Even though I do

not include all modes of surveillance described by my stakeholders in the 'Intrapersonal' section of my diagram 'The Surveillant 360' (Figure 6.1), as I only included those of which my participants specifically spoke, one could argue that *all* surveillance of the teacher, of which the teacher is aware, contributes to their own personal self-surveillance and therefore their self-perception of their professional identity.

Every visible surveillant act has the potential to be viewed through the eyes of the teacher – teachers are constantly viewing themselves through the eyes of others and therefore conducting their own projected surveillance of themselves. Ultimately, this self-surveillance takes place even if nobody else is watching, such is the force of 'disciplinary power' by which 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1977, p.135) are produced, in 'a culture of perpetual self-regulation where teachers and their work are under constant (self) surveillance' (O'Leary, 2014, p.76). From this perspective, intrapersonal surveillance can then be seen to lead to what Page (2018) terms 'conspicuous practice'; teachers making their work 'intentionally visible' (Skerritt, 2020, p.8), and through which, arguably, attempts to convey a message about 'professional status' may actually have the effect of *de*professionalising the teacher.

Appraisal

The most prominent type of intrapersonal surveillance discussed by my participants was, in the words of most of my participants, a self-reflection process called '*appraisal*'. Although SLT1 explained that appraisal is no longer '*done*' in the school and they now have a '*Professional Developmental Review'* instead, almost all other participants, even including SLT2, used the term '*appraisal*', so this is the term which is used in this section and in my model 'The Surveillant 360'. Participants described a recent shift in appraisal from a

predominantly judgmental process, to one of self-reflection and self-development; thus, a shift from external surveillance of the teacher to intrapersonal surveillance. The revised appraisal process was seen as making teachers hold themselves '*accountable*' (HoD1), continually '*driving themselves towards improvement*' (HoD2), and '*improving [their] teaching*' (Teacher3). SLT1 explains that the intention of this approach is that: '*it's a sort of pressure and support to enable professionals to reflect on their practice and then improve their practice that I think ensures quality teaching*'; it is this self-reflection that appears important as part of intrapersonal surveillance. In this way, intrapersonal surveillance, as an ongoing process, appears to be formative, and it seems that the intention here, in a similar way to the construction of the 'self-improving school' (Hargreaves, 2010), is to generate a 'self-improving teacher'. From a Foucauldian perspective, this teacher will become fully self-accountable and self-surveilling, internalising disciplinary power to become a 'docile body' (Foucault, 1977). Teacher2 notes: '*There's always more that you can do…there's always something you could have done differently or slightly better…*', and Teacher1 sets himself very high expectations: '*unless they all get 9s, I failed in some way*'. The self-improving teacher is always seeking out improvement, but, as explained by Teachers 1 and 2, and as shown by 'The Diderot Effect' (Page, 2018, p.382), never achieves satisfaction, and therefore never feels that they have fulfilled their professional duty, feeling instead a sense of self-blame and guilt (Ball, 2003; Tickle, 1999) for their 'deficiencies' (Tickle, 1999, p. 126) rather than increasing in 'self-efficacy' (OECD, 2013).

However, some teachers view appraisal as having a summative quality, such as Teacher3, who speaks a lot about collecting '*evidence*' – which is also a term repeatedly used to discuss appraisal by the OECD (2013) – and Teacher5, who thinks it is a '*tick-box*' activity and claims that it is '*superficial*' rather than a '*sustained thing*', and suggests that teachers are not

'*making their appraisal targets part of their everyday life*'. Instead, he suggests, people do something '*for a week or two*', in order to attain '*evidence*' of meeting '*targets*' (Teacher3) – intrapersonal surveillance for monitoring purposes external to oneself. The link between intrapersonal surveillance and collecting evidence in a need 'to be seen' (Page, 2018, p.380) is illustrated by Page's (2018) concept of 'conspicuous practice'. Here, intrapersonal surveillance and external surveillance flow together along molecular lines within the surveillance assemblage and the teacher becomes complicit in their own surveillance, in order to 'convey messages about *professional* status' (ibid., p.383, emphasis in original). Ironically, however, the need to collect '*evidence*' (Teacher3) to prove work done is linked to a sense of *de*professionalisation – both in the literature and in my participants' discussions. Towndrow and Tan (2009, p.293), for instance, argue that appraisal leads to teachers being subjected to 'greater control and surveillance', and Tickle (1999, p.126) raises concerns that it can lead to the act of teaching being 'depersonalized'. In a not dissimilar vein, Teacher1 speaks forcefully about the requirement to evidence one's practice, and outlines '*the pressures that are put on teachers to* show *that they are doing the job*' (emphasis in original), explaining that this is an example of '*not being treated as a professional*', and that this lack of trust could potentially be a reason for him '*leav[ing] the profession*' in the future. Appraisal, then, as an example of intrapersonal surveillance, is typically discussed using the rhetoric of development and professionalism, but a focus upon collecting 'evidence' and a summative perception of the process can lead to a sense of superficiality and feelings of deprofessionalisation.

Self-comparison with others

The concept of teacher professionalism was commonly discussed in my interviews, and not only in relation to appraisal, but also in regard to other forms of intrapersonal surveillance. Teachers seemed preoccupied with not only their professional reputation in the eyes of their peers, but were also very concerned with how they perceived themselves, with Teacher3 noting that these two aspects of surveillance are '*interconnected*'. The importance of professional status was commented upon by Teacher1 when he talked about grades reflecting the quality of his teaching. He explains '*it's about being professional, rather than being scared of what SLT might think*', suggesting that it is self-surveillance that primarily matters here to him, and that he wants to see *himself* as a professional. He says that if his pupils attained poor grades, '*I'd take that quite personally…I'd worry that somehow it was me that let them down*'. Teachers appeared preoccupied about whether they are fulfilling their professional duties, and a rhetoric of professional responsibility became apparent. Teacher2, for instance, describes a sense of guilt: '*it's that sort of feeling that sometimes you're not doing the best by every single child*' and explains that she feels a '*sense of responsibility*' towards 'all *the children*' (emphasis added). Teachers are clearly placing themselves under intense self-surveillance and are often very critical about what they see, perhaps internalising the criticism they feel from the other stakeholders that surround them.

Some teachers drew their notions of professional status from self-comparison with others. Teacher3, for instance, describes a time when she was late entering assessment data:

> *just, comparing myself with the other [teachers]…in the department, I'd think, you know, I bet she's done it, I bet she's done it, I bet she's done it, why have I not done it? I've got to be on a level with them.*

Admittedly, she did also note that she felt under potential '*scrutiny*' from her line manager and peers for this, that even though nobody ever raised it, '*it would be noticed*', and that it

'*partly does matter to be what other people think of me*'. However, it was her own self-perception that seemed most important to her here. She explains that if she had not entered the data when she did,

> *I would have felt that I…not incompetent, but I would have thought…I…could…I have reasonably high expectations of myself, so I would have thought…I've fallen behind somewhere. Which was, which was the case actually – I'd fallen behind.*

She would have 'categorized' or 'sorted' (Page, 2018) herself negatively, in direct contrast to Teacher4, who, offering another example of intrapersonal social sorting (Lyon, 2003a), confidently notes: '*I know I'm a competent professional organized person*'. Lyon (2003a, p.3) notes that 'questions of identity are central to surveillance', and Teacher3's negative self-categorisation, in turn, would affect her own understanding of her professional identity:

> *I think of myself as a reliable person, and I myself, I'd have to alter my self-image, if I…if I, if it turned out I wasn't actually doing what I was supposed to be doing.*

For Teacher3, no monitoring from other stakeholders is required. She monitors herself and the extent to which she meets her own notions of professionalism, and if her work falls below her self-imposed expectations – if she isn't doing what she feels she is '*supposed*' to be doing – regardless of whether or not anybody else is watching, the fact that she is monitoring herself means that her relationship with her own professional identity is at stake.

Like Teacher3, Teacher5 also draws notions of professionalism from comparing himself to others – in his case, he compares his results to those of other classes, an activity which is enabled by use of a shared electronic assessment data spreadsheet:

> *other people's data is useful for us…So for example, suppose my students don't do well on a vectors task, I can look at what the other classes have got, and see, are my students falling adrift, or has everyone found that hard?*

He does note that there is an element of being '*monitored*' by others through this, and that in one instance when his results were '*ten points below…the parallel set*' it was '*stressful*', but again, as with Teacher3, his focus is very much upon the use of comparison as a surveillant activity through which to inform his own self-understanding. There is also an implied competitive edge to his discussion when he explains: '*I felt like the other tests had probably been compromised a bit in the other set, and that's why they were a bit higher than mine*', and adds that '*by the end of the year I was scoring better than the other class and that was that*'. This perhaps recalls Ball's (2003, p.222) assertion that we live in a 'new culture of competitive performativity', in which, in an educational context, 'colleagues became competitors and the watched become another set of watchers themselves' (Skerritt, 2020, p.13) in a 'competitive marketplace' (Skerritt, 2019b, p.154). Intrapersonal surveillance can therefore also include the surveillance of others in both a comparative and competitive sense, with the teacher's understanding of himself and his professional identity coming from how he sees himself within the context of his or her peers.

Conclusion

This chapter has described how teachers are surveilled by peers, pupils, parents and the self, as interrelated components of the surveillant assemblage, as demonstrated by my diagram 'The Surveillant 360'. It has also dealt with notions of hierarchy, in applying Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorisation of desire lines to the accessing, generating and sharing of surveillant knowledge by different stakeholders, and demonstrated hierarchical liquidity, especially in the case of pupils. The impacts of surveillance have been explored; for instance, peer surveillance can lead to developmental benefits, and aid quality assurance, yet add to

workload. Surveillance undertaken by pupils appears to lead to teacher stress and anxiety – power relations are disrupted and tension, conflict and feelings of defensiveness can arise. This is also the case for surveillance undertaken by parents, although teachers admit to also misleading parents about how their child is doing, and appeasing parents even if not to benefit (and sometimes to detriment!) the pupils, although some partnership benefits were noted.

Finally, interpersonal surveillance can lead to a teacher desiring continual improvement, yet also an inevitable sense of failure. Conspicuous practice appears a common impact of intrapersonal surveillance, and teachers may build or rebuild their own professional identity based upon self-comparison with others. It also, demonstrates how all strands of surveillance – different forms, conducted by varying surveillant stakeholders – can contribute to intrapersonal surveillance, which sits at the heart of 'The Surveillant 360'. Arguably, even when other layers of surveillance are peeled away, the internalising of disciplinary control means that the teacher continues to function as a 'docile body' (Foucault, 1977, p.135), and not always in the best interests of the pupils.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

Reflection upon research questions

Research question 1

My first research question was '*In what ways are teachers perceived to be surveilled in the independent school?*' My focus here was exploratory and was concerned with feelings, perceptions, and personal experiences. The word '*perceived*' here is crucial, and came out of my understanding that there is no single fixed system of surveillance, but that surveillance differs depending upon the perceptions and viewpoints of the subjects and objects involved. There was no single 'truth' to discover, only understanding, reflection and sense-making (van Loon, 2012, p.198), and to attain this I needed to engage closely with teachers on a personal level. My data was collected through interviews with different stakeholders, and initially illustrated in a diagram, 'The Surveillant 360' (Figure 6.1). This diagram conceptualises the ways in which teachers are perceived to be surveilled in this particular independent school, although the small sample size from each stakeholder group (5 teachers, 5 parents, 5 pupils, 2 SLT members and 1 marketing department representative), and my attempt to capture a 'liquid' constantly flowing system, does mean that my findings are a narrow snapshot of my case-study site. My analysis, as well as Appendix 4, offers more detail about the ways in which teachers are perceived to be surveilled; interviewees raised more than 30 different ways that they perceived teachers to be surveilled, in total, under my definition of surveillance as *a mechanism of formally and informally generating, sharing and using knowledge in order to contribute to the profiling, evaluation and development of teachers*.

The most commonly discussed form of surveillance was observation conducted by management – but teachers saw themselves constantly under surveillance from one another

too, as well as very intensely from the middle-class pupils and parents, the latter both of whom appeared to pose the greatest perceived threat to them as fee-paying 'consumers' of a 'product', whilst peer surveillance is described as perhaps the most beneficial. Interestingly, however, intrapersonal surveillance appeared to be the most intense of all, with teachers constantly critiquing their own practice, whether or not they felt anyone else was watching. All surveillance from other stakeholders appeared to contribute to a sense of intrapersonal surveillance, causing the intrapersonal and external to flow together, and resulting in teachers becoming more self-reflective, but there was also a shift – deliberate, according to SLT – of the external to the internal to create a type of self-improving teacher. This teacher would no longer need external monitoring, but would become fully self-accountable and self-surveilling, internalising disciplinary power to become a 'docile body' (Foucault, 1977, p.135). My data demonstrated that for some teachers, this shift was happening.

My main finding with regard to my first research question is that surveillance in this independent school does not function in discrete forms, but there is constant overlap of the ways in which teachers are surveilled, and by whom. This is constantly shifting within a complex flow of power relations; molar and molecular lines of desire are not dichotomous forces, but sit in degrees of alignment and tension with each other. I found Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorisation of desire lines a useful lens through which to view the concept of surveillant assemblage, as through this it becomes clear how surveillant hierarchies are rarely permanent, and how the surveillant assemblage is never fixed – it is characterised by liquidity, multiplicity and exchangeability. Ultimately, my research has demonstrated how different forms and sources of surveillance can 'flow' together within the assemblage, creating a 'swarming assemblage of connections' (Windsor, 2015, p.161) within a complex and multifaceted system. Surveillance of the teacher by management is perhaps the most

prescriptive 'flow', with limited flexibility to hierarchy or dynamics, and is thus perhaps best illustrated by Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) 'molar' lines, although SLT 'Blinks' also suggest an element of the molecular, which sits in tension with the molar. Peer surveillance, parental surveillance and pupil surveillance of the teacher all involve more complex hierarchies and greater potential disruptions, and, as it is 'relations' rather than 'identity' that is 'determinative' here (Windsor, 2015, p.161), are better illustrated by Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) molecular lines. My data did not suggest that there were 'lines of flight' – a complete 'breaking away from prescribed pathways' (Windsor, 2015, p.164). Although pupil surveillance of teachers was seen to be the most unstable and volatile forms of social relationship discussed, through the empowering act of 'sousveillance' (Mann, 2004), which disrupts and distorts traditional hierarchies, the pupil-teacher hierarchy is still ultimately retained, and the surveillance assemblage does not dissolve. These desire lines are contextualised, of course, not only by the independent school setting, where education is literally 'bought' as a 'product', but in a wider context of the increasing marketisation and privatisation of education.

Wu (2013, p.9) asks the ontological question: 'Do hierarchies exist in reality external to the observer, or are they merely the observer's mental models that do not necessarily correspond to the real world?' My research foregrounds that hierarchy is not an *a priori* system that simply exists; it is constructed through relationships and perceptions of these relationships. In the school setting, relationships are multifaceted and constantly changing, and my data contains a recurring narrative suggesting that hierarchy is constantly mutating and being reconstructed in different contexts. Page's (2017a) 'bottom-up' no longer exists in this independent school. I would therefore subscribe to Wu's (2013, p.9) claim that 'hierarchies constructed in studies, influenced or even determined by the observer's epistemology, are

never real' and consequently feel that Page (2017a) and Skerrit's (2020) focus on the vertical and horizontal needs reconsidering. It was for these reasons that I decided not to represent 'The Surveillant 360 (Figure 6.1) in terms of hierarchies, to avoid affording them *a priori* status. Page's (2017a) surveillant assemblage could perhaps be enhanced by encompassing Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorising of 'molar lines', 'molecular lines' and 'lines of flight', although in my own study, the latter – characterised by a 'rupture' (de Miranda, 2013, p.106) and an escape to something new and unrecognisable from the current assemblage – was not evident.

Page (2017a, p.999) describes what he terms 'compound surveillance', which he defines as 'areas of overlap…involving multiple levels and multiple parties', but, based upon my findings, I would argue that *all* surveillance of teachers is compound surveillance, as the overlap of surveillant stakeholders and modes of surveillant is simultaneous, complex and constant. In fact, multiplicity is part of what makes surveillance an assemblage, and my data shows that teachers are never surveilled in only one way, or by only one stakeholder. The sharing of surveillant knowledge with other stakeholders is perhaps the most obvious example of the interrelationship between different stakeholders, and the flow of both power and knowledge within this assemblage. Despite some parents suggesting a '360' appraisal system (Parent3; 4; 5), my research shows that teachers are already being subjected to 360 surveillance, from all angles, at all times, hence the appropriateness of my description of this assemblage as 'The Surveillant 360'.

Research question 2

My second research question was *'What are the impacts of the surveillance of teachers in this independent school context?'* This was more difficult to answer – again, because I was relying on stakeholders' perceptions and experiences, but also because the impacts of surveillance are often not tangible, and therefore difficult to capture and quantify. However, the main repeated themes, which I feel contribute to answering this question, included the following:

- Partnership between pupils/parents and teachers – the watching of teachers by pupils and parents sometimes serves to have a collaborative impact, as pupils and parents may have more say in teaching and learning. However, teachers may perceive this as a threat to their professionalism and autonomy. This is perhaps especially the case in independent schooling, where parents are literally paying fees for an educational 'product', but regardless of school sector, it is specifically the more middle-class parents that are seen as the threat.

- Performance-development continuum – there is a changing discourse whereby surveillance was traditionally associated firmly with performance management, but is now used as a tool for teacher development, although tensions arise when attempts are made to encompass both purposes simultaneously. As this independent school is not under the direct disciplinary control of Ofsted in the same way as state schools, it is possible that this affords the school greater opportunity to focus more on development than performance; however, it is clear that ISI (overseen by Ofsted) still plays a part in the perceived need to evaluate performance.

- Trust – surveillance is often equated with lack of trust, and was typically spoken about negatively. However, some teachers see the monitoring of their work as a way of actually

earning trust, through their work being evidenced. There is a sense that if their work is not seen, it holds less value.

- Education as a commodity – while it is fair to argue that the marketisation of education has led to an increase in surveillance, to monitor the educational 'product', it can also be suggested that the increased surveillance of teachers and teaching can lead to an increase in the perception of education as a commodity. This is so much so that some teachers themselves are aware of themselves being part of this product, and are therefore complicit in what Page (2018) terms 'conspicuous practice', ensuring that their work is always visible. In this independent school, teachers linked this understanding to the fees parents are paying.

- Continuous nature of surveillance – surveillance breeds surveillance. My findings demonstrate how the watching of a teacher can trigger further watching, from different surveillant stakeholders, in different ways, and surveillance can become continuous and relentless. This can be exacerbated by the preoccupation with 'transparency' (both literally and figuratively), and continuous surveillance becomes normalised.

- Resistance – as explained in Chapter 5, some teachers desire, and even attempt, resistance to the surveillance under which they perceive themselves to be placed. This is usually accompanied by such emotional responses as frustration and anger. Most commonly, teachers practise 'routine resistance' (Scott, 1985, p.256), through their cynicism of the surveillant activities undertaken. Resistance, as with surveillance, is shown to be multiple, and a challenge to hierarchy.

- Teacher identity and values – as a result of the normalisation of surveillance, teachers learn to perform for all those watching. Teaching is first a fabrication, but then has potential to become a simulation, whereby there is no distinction between 'real' teaching

and 'fabricated' teaching. Some of my interviewees expressed how they no longer put the needs of the children at the heart of their teaching, but, instead, how they themselves are seen by others – and in some cases, this can be detrimental to children's learning. In this, teachers may undergo a kind of 'values schizophrenia', to use Ball's (2003, p.221) terminology. Ultimately, though, within a system of relentless and normalised surveillance, my research suggests that external surveillance becomes less important as a form of disciplinary control – the external moves internal, and teachers learn to self-surveil and self-discipline.

Based upon the breadth of impacts of teacher surveillance in this independent school, it is clear that, as argued by Lyon (2001b, para.1.5), surveillance 'is not inherently sinister or malign'. In and of itself, surveillance is neither good nor bad – it is the impacts that need to be evaluated. Molecular lines – shown in particular by the destabilised hierarchical relationship between the pupil and teacher – are not necessarily negative either, despite teachers' perceptions of this as a threat. However, it is the ways in which the surveillant knowledge is *used*, and individuals' perceptions of such, that can cause significant detrimental impacts: 'the focused attention to persons and populations with a view to influencing, managing or controlling them … is never innocent either' (ibid.).

Contribution to existing research and implications for future research

This research exposes the complexities, relentlessness and multitude of ways in which teachers are surveilled, and indicates the many impacts – both positive and negative – of this. I contribute to existing research by developing Page's (2017a) application of Haggerty and Ericson's (2000) concept of the 'surveillant assemblage' to the school setting, and by using it

as a framework for significant empirical research. I diverge from Page's (2017a) work by making greater use of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorisation of desire lines within assemblage theory, and applying this to the surveillant assemblage in education, in indicating the dynamics of school power relations, and making clearer the difficulties in capturing unstable and ever-mutable school hierarchy. Although I am not the first to apply assemblage theory (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) to surveillance (see Haggerty and Ericson, 2000), or this to education (see Page, 2017a), my research takes the next step by generating empirical evidence to show how the surveillant assemblage functions in an education setting. Although Skerritt (2020) has begun valuable work on this, I am the first to include all surveillant stakeholders as participants, and my research offers the most comprehensive outline of ways in which teachers are surveilled to date. I also add to existing knowledge by situating my research in a sector rarely researched (other than as a comparison to state schools within a social injustice discourse) – an independent school – and therefore answering Skerritt's (2020, p.21) call to research surveillance in 'different types of schools'.

My thesis involves all local stakeholders, and so my findings offer an opportunity for enhanced stakeholder relations as a result of a greater understanding of the interrelationship between them. My findings offer the potential to pursue more democratic forms of accountability, with stakeholders taking a greater personal responsibility for the ways in which they generate, share and access knowledge. Indeed, my research could provide a starting point for further research into stakeholder relations and community accountability in schools.

It is my recommendation that policy-makers consider the potential impacts of different types of surveillance, and the ways in which surveillance can be perceived differently depending on the stakeholder. I include, here, not only policy-makers within schools, but also external

policy-makers in relation to the DfE and Ofsted/ISI. It is imperative that those driving systems of surveillance have an understanding of these systems, and the potential implications of such. Including my findings within initial teacher training courses would also have great value, as it would offer teachers self-awareness of the ways in which they may be surveilled, and possible consequences of this, as well as laying the groundwork for further reflection for those who become school leaders later in their careers, and who may eventually have control of some of the surveillant activities within schools. An awareness of 'The Surveillant 360' also offers an opportunity for teachers to discuss surveillant activity with colleagues and school leaders in professional conversations, and potentially question and critique the ways in which knowledge is accessed, generated and shared.

While I acknowledge that my findings are limited as they are not fully generalisable or transferable, and that my position as a teacher within the school settings raises ethical questions (which have been addressed in this thesis in Chapter 4), they serve as an important development in surveillance studies in education, and pave the way for others to probe further. In fact, Stake (1995, p.7) refers to 'modified generalisation' and Bassey (1999, p.51-4) to 'fuzzy generalisation', and I think this is an appropriate way of thinking about the contribution of my research – 'seldom is an entirely new understanding reached but refinement of understanding is' (Stake, 1995, p.7). Essentially, my work is 'adding to experience and improving understanding' (Stake, 2000, p.25). The field would benefit from larger studies in a wider variety of schools – and more research in the independent sector in general – and, ultimately, comparisons between school systems of surveillance, as also called for by Skerritt (2020). Due to the detrimental impacts of the surveillance of teachers demonstrated by my findings, further research into the ways in which teachers are surveilled,

and the impacts of such, is required, before the professional identity of teachers, and the functioning of teaching, are altered, perhaps irreparably.

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APPENDIX 1

EXAMPLE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (TEACHER)

Issue / topic	Questions	Prompts	Probes
	[note gender]		
Background context	What subject or subjects do you teach (if not already known?)		
	What is your role (if not already known)?	HoD, second in department, classroom teacher…	How long have you been in this role?
	How long have you been in teaching?		How long have you worked at this school? Do you see yourself teaching until the end of your career?
Teaching in general	Why did you decide to become a teacher?		Did your expectations meet the reality?
	What are the best things about teaching?		Why?
	What are the drawbacks of teaching?		Why? How does this affect you?
	Would you recommend teaching as a career to others?		Why/why not?
	Many claim there to be a current retention crisis. Why do you think so many teachers are leaving the profession?	I.e. more people are leaving the profession than being recruited – we are running out of teachers and jobs are harder to fill	What can be done to stop this?
	Many people describe teaching as a stressful job. Do you agree with this claim?	For example, in the media, in research	[if yes] What, about teaching, is stressful? What impact does this have on you? [if no] Do you think some workplaces are more stressful than others? Why?
	Do you ever feel under pressure in your job?	Burdened, stressed	Can you describe this pressure? Where/who does the pressure (most) come from?

	How do you know when you are doing a great job?	Do you know intrinsically, or does it depend upon someone else telling you?	
	Have you ever taught in the state sector?	I.e. not an independent school	[if yes] What have you found the main differences between the two sectors? (for you personally) Why did you decide to move to the independent sector? [if no] why have you chosen to remain in the independent sector? Any other reasons?
	What do you spend the greatest proportion of your working time on, aside from teaching the lessons? What do you prioritise?	For instance, marking, planning, inputting data, preparing homework tasks, responding to emails...	How long do you spend on it per week, approx.? Why do you prioritise this? What is the purpose of this? Why does it require so much time? Do you think this is a reasonable amount of time, or would you prefer to spend less time on it? What might the consequences of spending less time on this?
Top-down surveillance	I'm interested in looking at different types of surveillance that take place in independent schools. I want to find out what types of monitoring are taking place, and who by. I'd like to ask you some questions about your experiences of top-down monitoring. To what extent do you feel your teaching is monitored?	I.e. by those 'above' you on the school hierarchy, like HoDs or SLT Monitored – judged / scrutinised / checked up on Do you feel it is constant? Intermittent? Occasional?	In what ways do you feel that your teaching is monitored? In what ways is this positive? In what ways is this negative?
	How often would you say you have been observed this year by your HoD or by SLT?	For instance for appraisal, or as part of Blink observations...	Who has observed you the most?

			Is this more or less frequently than in previous years? What time of year did these observations take place? Which age groups?
	For these observations were you given feedback?	Written or verbal	Did you have a feedback meeting? Was the feedback useful? Do you feel that it improved your teaching?
	What do you think is the aim or purpose of top-down lesson observations?	To help develop you as a teacher? To check you are doing your job? For ISI?	Do you think these aims are achieved?
	'Blink' lesson observations were new this year. What has been your experience of them?		Have they been useful for you? How have they made you feel?
	Do you ever do anything differently when being observed?	Such as change the content or style of your teaching	If yes, why is this? How does this impact upon the pupils? In what context do you do things differently? E.g. does it depend on who the observer is?
	Do you feel that lesson observations should be graded?	Eg outstanding, good, unsatisfactory etc…	Why / why not? Have you been graded? How did it make you feel?
	What is your experience of 'Book Look'?	For instance, have you had books looked at? By whom? How frequently?	What feedback did you get? Did you get the opportunity to look at others' books? Was is a useful experience?
	Let's talk now about appraisal briefly. What do you feel is the role or purpose of appraisal?	I.e. to help develop you as a teacher… to check up on you…	What are your experiences of appraisal? How has appraisal developed you as a teacher?
	Is there anything you do differently purely because you know it is being monitored?	I.e. does it affect the way you mark, or teach, or set homework?	Why? What impact does this have upon you / the pupils?
	And finally, in this section, data.	For instance, every half term exam results…	What is the purpose of the data kept? To track pupils? To monitor you?

	How do you keep and use data in your department?		
	How do you feel on results day?		Why?
Peer surveillance	After DB's visit at the start of last year, it was suggested that peer observations take place between colleagues. This has become part of the Blink observations. What do you feel is the purpose of peer-observations?		
	Have you undertaken a peer observation?	I.e. observed another colleague of the same 'level' teach?	Why / why not? Was it a useful experience? Did you give feedback and if so what did you say?
	Have you been peer-observed?	I.e. been observed by another colleague of the same 'level' teach?	How was it arranged? How did you feel about being observed by one of your peers? Did you receive feedback? How did you feel about the feedback? Was it a useful experience?
	How aware are you of the quality of teaching of each of your colleagues?	a) those colleagues in your dept. b) colleagues outside your dept.	Where does this awareness come from? How might your colleagues know that you are doing a great job?
Pupils	As teachers, we spend most of our time with the pupils. How would you describe your relationship with your exam classes?	GCSE in particular	Why is this?
	Do you ever feel surveilled by the pupils?	I.e. monitored, judged, scrutinised, watched with a judgement	Which year groups in particular? Do you ever do things differently (e.g. excessive marking) more because the pupils expect you to, rather than because it aids their learning?

	Has a pupil ever given you any feedback about your teaching?	I.e. positive feedback, or a complaint, or a class survey?	Can you tell me a little bit about that? What impact did it have upon you?
	To what extent do you feel your pupils hold you accountable for the grades they get?	I.e. do they think it is because of you that they get a good grade, or blame you for a poor grade? Homework vs external exams	Why do you think this is? How does this make you feel?
	The new professional development system has pupil feedback as one optional suggestion. How do you feel about this?		Can you explain why you feel this?
Parents	How would you describe your relationships with your pupils' parents?	Your GCSE classes in particular	Why is this?
	How much do you think your pupils' parents know about your teaching?	I.e. what you are teaching them and how.	Why do you think this?
	Do you ever feel monitored by the parents of the pupils you teach?		Which year groups in particular? Do you ever do things differently more because the parents expect you to, rather than because it aids their child's learning?
	Has a parent ever given you any feedback about your teaching?	I.e. positive feedback, or a complaint? Directly or indirectly?	Can you tell me a little bit about that? What impact did it have upon you?
	How do you feel about Parents' Evenings?	GCSE in particular	Why?
	What do you feel is the purpose of reports?	GCSE in particular	Are you always completely honest when writing reports? Why / why not? Can a parent learn anything about you and your teaching from a report?
	Most of the parents at this school are paying high fees to send their son or daughter here. Do you think this has any impact of you and your	Does this affect their expectations / your work / your relationship with the parents?	How about the pupils? Are they impacted by having paid education? Who do you think is the 'customer' – the parent or the pupil, or neither? Why?

	teaching of their children?		
	How do you think systems of surveillance differ between independent schools and state schools?	I.e. the ways in which teachers are monitored or scrutinised, and the people that do this.	If you have worked in both sectors, what have been the main differences in surveillance between the two school types?
Conclusion	We're almost done. Before we finish, is there anything else you would like to tell me about your experiences of being surveilled in your role as a teacher?		Are there any other ways that you feel you are monitored that we have not discussed?

That's everything. Thank you so much for your time. I really appreciate it, and I couldn't do it without participants like you, so I'm very grateful.

This information will all be stored securely. I will transcribe this interview and start my analysis in April, once all my interviews are complete. Remember, you can also withdraw from this research at any time within the next two weeks, when I begin my data analysis. If you withdraw, any data pertaining to you will be deleted. Thanks again!

APPENDIX 2

INITIAL DRAFT OF CODING AND ANALYSIS GRID

My initial draft of my coding and analysis grid is shown below (see Figure A2.1). The only fully fixed aspect of this initial grid was the participant groupings, as these were the categories which I had interviewed. Next came semi-fixed hierarchical labels generated by my reading of the literature: 'top-down', 'horizontal', 'bottom-up' and 'intrapersonal' modes of surveillance. I treated these as semi-fixed because despite using existing literature to guide my exploration of my research site, I had to acknowledge that I might uncover something different than that discussed in existing research, and be prepared to shift my understanding of the surveillant hierarchy if so. For each of these semi-fixed hierarchical codes, I highlighted the data to code each mention of surveillant hierarchy – for instance, yellow was used to highlight any discussion of top-down surveillance. Provisional modes of surveillance, based on the existing literature, were listed, with a view to these being edited depending upon my findings, and I intended to subsequently note codes and then themes that emerged from the data with regard to my two research questions.

Fixed participant groupings	Semi-fixed hierarchical codes	Provisional codes – modes of surveillance	Emergent codes	Emergent themes (Q1)	Emergent themes (Q2)
Teachers					
	Top-down				
		Classroom Visits			
		Book Look			
		Blinks			
		Data			
	Horizontal				
		Blinks			
		Interaction with parents			
		Data			
	Bottom-up				
		Interaction with pupils			
		Data (results)			
	Intrapersonal				
		Professional Development process			
HoDs					

Figure A2.1: Initial coding grid, based upon hierarchical structures as found in the literature

Initially I had intended to code for each of my two research questions separately. However, I realised at this point that the two were not mutually exclusive and there was much overlap. My first research question was *In what ways are teachers perceived to be surveilled in the independent school?* and my second research question was *What are the impacts of the surveillance of teachers in this independent school context?* Due to the interrelationship of the various surveillant stakeholders and the way in which surveillant knowledge was simultaneously being accessed, generated and shared[45], I found the two research questions were inextricably linked, and it was not possible to code for one entirely separately from the other.

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[45] For instance, pupil's surveillance of a teacher's lesson quality might result in the sharing of surveillant knowledge between pupil and parent, and consequently a parental complaint to a member of Management, which might result in further Management surveillance of the teacher, as well as a myriad of other impacts throughout this process, such as stress, changing relationships between stakeholders, changing power relations, and issues of trust, to name but a few.

APPENDIX 3

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM - STAFF

<u>Participant information and consent form – Staff</u>

Researcher: Ms. Charlotte Unsworth-Hughes, University of Birmingham.

Thank you for considering allowing me to interview you for my research project. Please find below more information about my project and the interviews, and a consent form, should you choose to participate.

What is the research about?

My research project is being undertaken as part of a Doctorate in Education which I am undertaking through the University of Birmingham's department of Education. I am currently in my fourth year of this course.

My doctoral project is about the ways in which teachers are monitored in the Independent school sector, and the effects of this upon teaching and learning. With the permission of the Headmaster, I am using [School name] as a case study. I want to establish the systems of surveillance at play in this school, and explore the consequences of this; both positive and negative.

I hope that this research will help to inform educational and school leaders about ways in which teachers are monitored. I hope that the findings from my research will benefit not only [school name], but the educational sector in general. As part of my research project, I am intending to interview a selection of Staff, Pupils and Parents.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the University of Birmingham Research Ethics Board. It has also been approved by the Headmaster at [school name].

What will happen?

- My research project involves interviewing a selection of staff members. **You have been randomly selected/OR/you have been selected due to your role.** I would love to interview you about your experiences at [school name] and your opinions.
- Interviews will take place with me, one-on-one, in a classroom, and will take up to one hour. You can stop the interview at any time.
- Interviews will take place when convenient for you, whether that is before school, after school, at lunchtime, or in a free period at some point during the school day. I will make every effort to find a time convenient for you.
- The interview will be recorded on an audio recorder. I may also take some notes. After the interview has taken place, I will transcribe the recording (type it up).
- When I have collected all the data from all my interviews, I write up an approximately 50,000 words thesis, which you are welcome to read if you are interested!
- The school will not be named in any of the research outputs.

How will data be used?

- I might summarise things you say. I might also quote directly from your answers. I might compare and/or contrast your responses with those of my other participants.
- Your name will never be mentioned in my thesis or any published work.
- The recording and transcription will be kept for ten years after I complete my project, and then deleted (in accordance with the University of Birmingham's Code of Practice for Research).
- From the moment the data is collected, all data will be stored securely and I will be the only person to have access to the raw data.
- You may withdraw from the study at any time within the two weeks following the date of participation. If you choose to withdraw from the study, your transcript and data will be deleted as soon as possible.
- I am aiming to use this data in my doctoral thesis. There is also the possibility that it might also be included in future academic papers, news articles, other publications and presentations. As stated above, your name will never be mentioned in this.

Agreement:

By signing this form, I am agreeing that:

- I have read this information sheet and understand it;
- My participation in this research is entirely voluntary, and I understand that I am under no obligation to take part;
- I can stop the interview at any time;
- I can withdraw from the project at any time within two weeks after participation;
- I have had the opportunity to ask any questions;
- I understand that my personal data will be processed for the purposes detailed above, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 2018;
- Based upon the above, I agree to take part in this study.

Participant name (printed): _____

Participant signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher name (printed): _____

Researcher signature: _____ Date: _____

Contact details for any further questions or concerns:

Researcher: Charlotte Unsworth-Hughes, University of Birmingham.

Supervisor: Dr. Sarah Aiston, University of Birmingham.

Second Supervisor: Dr Joanne Cliffe, University of Birmingham.

APPENDIX 4

FURTHER NOTES ON TYPES OF SURVEILLANCE

Chapters 5 and 6 analyse in detail the ways in which teachers are perceived to be surveilled by each surveillant stakeholder with the most intensity. For research accountability purposes, this section briefly lists the other ways in which teachers are perceived to be surveilled, as shown in the 'Surveillant 360' (Figure 6.1), and includes a quotation from my data to illustrate.

Mode of surveillance	Example quote from a stakeholder
Administration submission	*'it would be noticed [if a teacher did not complete and submit a task]. It would be noticed by… by the Head of Department, definitely definitely would be, yeh'.* (Teacher3)
Appraisal	*'you're being monitored through that [appraisal], through your teaching and so-forth'.* (HoD1)
Complaints from colleagues	*'staff on staff'* (SLT2)
Complaints from pupils	*'They had put together a bulleted list. I was incredibly impressed because it was completely non-judgemental, it was very factual, and they told me that they liked an individual [teacher] … But they felt that certain things were not happening in their A Levels that should be happening. And they said they felt very uncomfortable about raising this, but they wanted me to do something about it'.* (HoD2)
Complaints from parents	*'Parents are not afraid of saying 'why have they got this teacher when they got that teacher last year; that teacher was much better?'* (SLT1)
Colleague interaction with pupils	*'Sometimes I'll overhear it, especially in form time, and I'll ask about it. And sometimes they... they just seem to tell me directly'.* (Teacher4)
Daily interactions with colleagues	*'I'm aware of another colleague who, um, there have been a few issues with, um, but that's not necessarily from observing them teaching, that's from er other coordinators, or other, kind of, erm, Heads of Year or something like that, who have spoken to me about issues… but I haven't seen them first-hand if that makes sense'.* (Teacher2)
Data: External examination results	*'Um…a couple of years ago an A Level kid didn't get the grades that they wanted. And was horrible, months, months of, months of picking through, 'right, show me your schemes of work, show me what you did in lessons, I want proof that you were teaching my child properly', kind of… kind of questioning. Horrible'.* (Teacher2)
Data: Internal assessment grades	*'I think the primary monitoring is probably my grades I think … it's very easy to compare, you know, classes… That's kept an eye on quite, quite thoroughly…'.* (Teacher5)
Data: Centre Assessed Grades	*'Change in how examination classes are going to be assessed affect the extent to which you feel scrutinised … it is certainly in the back of my mind that if a student receives a grade lower than they hoped, everything I have done for the past two years will be under intense scrutiny as pupils and parents (and we don't know where the appeals process will lead but possibly lawyers also!) will seek to justify a higher grade. This makes me intensely nervous and, if I am being honest in a confidential environment, may well impact the grades that I will be allocating to my pupils'.* (Teacher1)

Data: Mock examination results	*'I'm waiting, literally, because they're redoing some mocks, and see if things have improved for him. If they have I'm going to leave it well alone. If they haven't then I'll be coming in to say "excuse me, but this isn't you know – now I'm expecting the school to step up"'.* (Parent4)
Data: External moderation	*'And then immediately, the day of results, gushing emails and physically people came up to me saying 'the mark you gave me was this, the mark on my sheet is this. Why is there is a difference of this many marks?' And I just had to say there was always a risk of moderation, that was always part of the deal – we mark to the bet of our ability but you know it's that disappointment that you face with the kids, that was really hard'.* (HoD4)
Data: shared markbook	*'So that's not just how people monitor us, but it's how we monitor students, as we have to track – but then we can track that… but other people's data is useful for us as well, so we're all using it. So for example, suppose my students don't do well on a vectors task, I can look at what the other classes have got, and see, are my students falling adrift, or has everyone found that hard?'* (Teacher5)
Feedback from pupils	*'sometimes it [pupil feedback] will make me reflect on 'have I done the appropriate thing here?''* (Teacher4)
HoD interaction with teacher	*'You know through um how you conduct our meetings, departmental meetings and so forth, it gives you a good idea of what's going on because we have a T&L [Teaching and Learning] element to all of our meetings so that can sometimes give you a good insight as well…'* (HoD1)
HoD interaction with pupils	*'they felt that certain things were not happening in their A Levels that should be happening. And they said they felt very uncomfortable about raising this, but they wanted me to do something about it. I had also a similar thing from GCSE classes in the same year, where they raised it through their HoY. They did exactly the same thing, they went to the HoY with a written, typed up, bulleted list… the younger ones were slightly more judgemental…'. (HoD2)*
HoD interaction with parents	*'there is a pupil that we have highly inflated her grade under intense parental pressure, even though… you know it isn't in any way realistic. But at the same time, we have been completely honest and open with the parents, we've had dialogue open the whole way through, we have fully… um… communicated every step of the way how the progress of this particular pupil… … we have documented this, we've minuted it in our weekly meetings, and I've really tried to make sure that the individual teachers do not feel accountable for it'. (HoD2)*
HoD interaction with SLT	*he [SLT member] seems quite interested in what's going on'.* (HoD5)
Informal parental observation	*'there were a couple of boys there … who were quite difficult and tricky, and the [subject name] teacher literally lost the plot one day and up and went. I swear to you. Up and went. And I was like, did that really happen?'* (Parent1)
Informal self-evaluation	*'I can identify if I'm doing well'.* (Teacher4)
Internet search / social media	*'I wondered where they'd been before. Sometimes when you hear about teachers coming in, purely out of curiosity you think, I wonder where they were before, or whatever'.* (Parent3)
Lesson observations: drop-ins	*'And so I just thought to myself, "great, I've got a question that's really not that thought-provoking, and the technical data is gone… it's for you, it's not for me". And so it – that really compounded for me that there, it's sort of a positive spin on SLT-led exercise of sorts. ….. you've taken away data, rather than give it to me… so who is this for – you or me?'* (Teacher4)

Lesson observations: classroom visits	*'I think they're a check-up on staff. That is, I think they're dressed up as developmental ... we've been told again and again how it's developmental and not a punitive thing, or a potentially punitive thing... however, it's really hard to make them developmental really'.* (Teacher2)
Lesson observations: informally walking through lessons	*'[the way] the classrooms are structured in my department, we walk through classrooms all the time'* … *'so we know what's going on'* (HoD2)
Lesson observations: trainee teacher observation	*'when I've been asked to do observations, peer to peer observations, or even observations on NQT students, um, or PGCE students, um, it's quite hard to find a target that could be really really valuable'.* (Teacher1)
Lesson observations: learning walks	*'So, that is just conducted by me, and that's when I get bored and I just go round the school – I go for a walk and I just go and sit in classrooms, and I go and just – you know, try to become a child essentially. Um… no, no paperwork is filled out on that and genuinely I'm doing that, one to support staff by showing them that SLT care about what I'm doing, and that we're present'.* (SLT2)
Minutes of meetings	*[SLT read departmental meeting minutes] 'regularly'.* (HoD3)
Open Events	*'in talking to the staff that I met at the time I was looking, and I looked long and hard, and came here many times, they sounded like the kind of people who were actually interested in my kids and they would be taken care of here'.* (Parent5)
Parental interaction with other parents	*'I got together with other friends' parents, who actually wrote to a group of mums and said 'do you have this experience?' We all, you know, gave feedback, and that particular mum basically collected all the information and went to school ... a lot of parents complained, and therefore he's no longer here'.* (Parent3)
Parental interaction with pupils	*My son experienced very poor teaching in [subject] ... my son was telling me there was a problem. And I should have complained sooner I suppose, so I wasn't sure if it was just him finding it particularly difficult… but then I was hearing other parents talk about it and I just thought ooh – '.* (Parent5)
Parental interaction with HoD	*'I did have a situation where I wrote in to a Head of Department because I wasn't happy about something to do with a teacher. And felt that all it needed was a little word from the Head of Department to say… you know, this needs to happen'.* (Parent4)
Parental interaction with SLT	*'I've had a couple of things with [member of SLT], where, um, other teachers have been brought in…'.* (Parent1)
Parental interaction with teacher	*'parents will sit down and look at me and say "what am I going to do about it?" ... I find that frustrating, these expectations that "I've paid X thousands of pounds, so therefore it's all down to you'.* (Teacher1)
Parents' Evening	*'Um, there's always that sense that if a pupil is not doing [unclear] if a pupil is not doing well, then maybe it's somehow my responsibility. Um… and I think that there's a… and I don't think I'm the only teacher that does this… there's an element of perhaps glossing over to some extent, to tell parents what they want to hear. Um... and I guess I feel that pressure even more in the independent sector ... '.* (Teacher1)
Pupil books: informally looking through books	*'I do look through their books quite regularly, so as I wander through their classroom I'll pick up a kid's book so I do informal checks every so often'.* (HoD4)

Pupil interaction with other pupils	*'I've had experiences here of children um coming to SLT with concerns about a teacher, and almost rallying the troops… and saying 'yep, this is not just me, this is quite a few of us, our books haven't been marked…'* (SLT2)
Pupil interaction with HoD	'*as a HoD, it has a much bigger impact on me when I hear it [a complaint] from the pupils than from a single set of parents'.* (HoD2)
Pupil books: Book Look	*'it's useful for me to look at my colleagues' books, who are working with me on the same year groups on the same course, what they've done… I get some ideas… I can give them ideas… we're all in it together and then we're truly trying to develop as a group'.* (Teacher3)
Pupil books: marking	*'I had a complaint from a parent … I had to get all the books in, I had to go through every book page by page … and it did make me think, 'wow, anything that is left in writing, I've got to be careful. Any mark made on a page, a parent could see and could complain about'.* (Teacher3)
Pupil feedback (e.g. surveys)	*'I don't know why … but I just feel it in my gut that that is weird… it's very dangerous I think, that sort of feedback, because it might become quite personal, I think if anything it, the pupil should be encouraged to give feedback to themselves…'.* (Teacher2)
Pupil books: observation	*'you might produce a lesson plan that is bells and whistles, but – that produces a great deal of work that lesson, but if I look through the book and the book's empty for the rest of the term, then that suggests that – that somebody's trying to play the game'.* (SLT1)
Pupil experience of lessons	*'I've got this one teacher and he really just loves to lecture the class, for like a solid 55 minutes… and every time we're about to start something he's "actually, wait" and then we have to wait for 5, 10 minutes while he blabbers on about something else… and I just find that really irritating, I just want to get going'.* (Pupil1)
Pupil subject recruitment	'*our intake is very good, so we wouldn't have a good intake if they weren't enjoying it…'.* (HoD3)
Receiving complaints	*'I've had a lot of observations that have been about scrutiny, where I'm looking at members of staff that I may have received complaints about, multiple, and that's my first point of call – to get into a lesson to see what's going on'.* (HoD2)
Reports	*'[teachers] all read each other's to check that our... not like the full lot, but we all check each other's to check that we're all roughly on the same page, with the content of what we're saying'.* (HoD4)
Remote teaching – video lessons	*'While SLT have been quite flexible and reasonable about this change, any such teaching suddenly brings parents right into the classroom. Parents looking through set work and helping their children is a certain level of involvement, but the possibility that they will be nearby during calls or video chats adds in a much greater level of scrutiny at a time when everyone is already struggling to feel confident with this new version of teaching'.* (Teacher4)
Remote teaching: online learning platform	*'I would say that knowing my colleagues will be looking at my lessons (I am preparing lessons for use by colleagues in other classes) has made me focus on the quality of the work I produce. This is no bad thing but certainly the scrutiny of colleagues has had an effect on the work I have produced'.* (Teacher1)
Remote teaching: work-tracking spreadsheet	*'In terms of scrutiny, it does feel like I am being asked to ensure that everyone in the department is 'pulling their weight' ... our department remote learning tracking spreadsheet is geared toward communicating class progress through a topic and tracking pupil work so that we can cover for each other should any of us become ill. I have tried to steer away from the teacher scrutiny aspect at this*

	point as I feel we really must draw on trusting people's sense of responsibility toward their pupils right now'. (HoD2)
Self-comparison with others	*'comparing myself with the other [teachers]… in the department, I'd think, you know, I bet she's done it, I bet she's done it, I bet she's done it, why have I not done it? I've got to be on a level with them'.* (Teacher3)
Shared classes	*'with the two others, the sixth form teachers, so I guess there's like a constant dialogue going on, so I don't see it as though I have to monitor them. I know they're doing it and we're constantly discussing things, so I guess that's like an informal monitoring'.* (HoD3)
Shared online area	*'we can all access each other's [pupil work] on the computer when they do the work, so, erm, I mean sometimes I do that, sometimes I look and see what another colleague's done with their class, and just see what sort of, how they've approached that piece of course … and see what they've come up with'.* (Teacher2)
SLT interaction with other stakeholders	*'as a school leader, I talk to lots and lots of people, I talk to kids, I talk to teachers'…'you are "ears open" all the time' … 'builds you a picture'.* (SLT1)
SLT-SLT interaction	*'if it got to a serious, point where I thought the students were really lacking and not learning as they should do, then I'd probably follow um yeh I'd have to flag that to my superior and go through the channels through which you need to look at underperformance and things like that'.* (SLT1)
Teacher behaviour and engagement	*'I think if I'm 100% honest, I think the way in which I see colleagues behave and the way – the little things that I hear, the way they conduct themselves, the way that they attend and approach training, the way they approach uh briefing, even the little things that they do in and around the school, I'd be lying if I didn't say that that didn't give me an indicator on how they were'.* (SLT2)
Team-teaching	*'we team teach it! Both of us in the room at the same time. So it's not a formal observation but I get to see [his] interactions twice a week...'* (HoD5)
University acceptance	*'as long as they've got the grades to get into university, I'm happy, so if they've got an A and two Bs, and their benchmark said they should have got an A, I don't mind, as long as they've got the university they want'.* (Teacher1)

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS SENT TO PARTICIPANTS ABOUT THEIR PERCEPTIONS AND EXPEIRENCES OF SURVEILLANCE OF TEACHERS UNDER THE CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Questions to teachers:

- What impact has covid-19 had upon teacher scrutiny and surveillance?
- I wonder if you can tell me if, as a result of the shift to remote learning, you feel any change in the level of monitoring/scrutiny of your work as a teacher e.g. the work you are setting and marking (by SLT, HoD, parents, pupils, colleagues…)?
- Does the change in how examination classes are going to be assessed (school assessment rather than exam) affect the extent to which you feel scrutinised, and does the fact that parents are paying fees affect anything you are doing?

Questions to HoDs:

- What impact has covid-19 had upon teacher scrutiny and surveillance?
- I wonder if you can tell me if, as a result of the shift to remote learning, you feel any change in the level of monitoring/scrutiny of your Department, your work as HoD, and your work as a teacher (by SLT, HoD, parents, pupils, colleagues…)?
- Or has your own monitoring of members of your Department changed?
- Does the change in how examination classes are going to be assessed (school assessment rather than exam) affect the extent to which you/your Department feel scrutinised, and what impact does the fact that parents are paying fees have, if any?

Questions to parents:

- What impact has covid-19 had upon teacher scrutiny and surveillance?
- I wonder if you can tell me, as a result of the shift to remote learning, if you are more aware of work that is being set for pupils, or are monitoring it more, or if you have been in touch with teachers about the work that is set, etc?
- Also, what do you think of the fact that Upper 5 pupils will no longer have GCSE examinations in the usual sense, but school assessment instead, and how confident are you about this approach?

Questions to pupils:

- What impact has covid-19 had upon teacher scrutiny and surveillance?
- I wonder if you can tell me if, as a result of the shift to remote learning, you are more aware of the quality of work that your various different teachers are setting you?
- Also, how do you feel about the shift in assessment (from your GCSE examinations to school assessment), what impact does that have, and to what extent do you now feel that your teachers are accountable for your grades?