The slide to authoritarianism in English schools

Diane Reay

Abstract

The *Oxford Dictionary of English* defines authoritarianism as the enforcement or advocacy of strict obedience to authority at the expense of personal freedom, as well as a lack of concern for the wishes or opinions of others. In this paper I argue that there are growing signs of a move towards more authoritarian practices and structures in English schools. This trend is particularly evident in schools that have predominantly working-class and ethnically diverse students. I examine the history of mass English schooling, arguing that the seeds of authoritarianism were evident at the inception of state schooling, before considering The *Black Papers* of the 1960s and 70s, and the part they played in the demise of progressive education and a return to authoritarian precepts. Then I explore contemporary manifestations of authoritarianism, namely the academies movement, and the no-excuses behaviour policies adopted in many academies in working-class areas. It is probably unsurprising that there is a drift to authoritarianism in English schools because the last decade has witnessed a growth in authoritarianism across the political and economic landscapes and I attempt to make links between the education field and political and economic spheres. I conclude by assessing the implications for democracy of the growing trend of authoritarianism in both education and beyond.

Key words: authoritarianism; working-class education

History of control of working classes through schooling

From the conception of state education in 1870, the education of the working classes has always had an authoritarian tinge. The English educational system was designed to provide an inferior education for all but a narrow elite, producing different educational opportunities appropriate to one's station in life. A key, although largely unarticulated, objective was the self-protection of the upper and middle classes. In a desire to prevent any challenge to their own privileged positions, the emphasis was on inuring the working classes to habits of obedience.[1] In his survey of the rise of education systems in England, France and the USA Andy Green singles out England as the most blatant example of the use of schooling by a dominant class to secure control over subordinate groups.[2] He maintains that the growing middle-class commitment to working-class education in the late 18th and early 19th centuries 'was different in every conceivable way from their ideals in middle-class education. Rather it was a way of ensuring that the

 DOI: 10.3898/FORUM.2022.64.3.13

subordinate class would acquiesce in the middle classes' own class aspirations'.[3]

Adam Smith epitomised this English upper- and middle-class viewpoint regarding working-class education in *The Wealth of Nations* when he argued that: 'An instructed and intelligent people are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant one … less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of the government'.[4] For Smith, as well as the vast majority of politicians and intellectuals of the day, the schooling of the working classes was primarily to contain and pacify rather than to educate and liberate. This objective of moulding a working class that is biddable and docile never entirely disappeared from English education but has emerged with renewed force in the 21st century.

A brief historical hiatus in working-class education as training in subservience came in the 1960s and 70s with the growth of child-centred and progressive education. I was a beneficiary of that burst of fresh thinking. My teacher training in 1970/71 at St Mary's College in Newcastle was the best formal learning experience of my life, a year in which I was constantly challenged, enthused and made to question in a supportive, kind and generous environment. I experienced a pedagogy of inclusion, exploration, care and compassion that I later tried to apply in my own teaching practice.

Unfortunately, I began my teaching at a time when any version of progressive teaching was under assault. The *Black Papers* of the late 1960s and 1970s represented a backlash against child-centred approaches, and were a concerted attempt to turn back the clock on progressive policies such as comprehensivisation, project-based learning, collaborative group work and mixed ability teaching. They were written by what Lowe terms, 'the meritocratic elitists', a group of academics, educationalists and politicians, including a core group of white men who had been socially mobile out of the upper reaches of the working classes. [5] The *Papers*, sent out to every member of parliament, worked collectively as a trenchant polemic, defining the traditional position on educational policy in the face of growing comprehensivisation and a move to progressivism and more child-centred educational practices, particularly in primary schools. So, for example, in an article entitled 'The sleep of reason', A. E. Dyson, railing against group work, discussion and arts in schooling, asserted that: 'It should be equally clear that self-expression is valuable only when the self is worth expressing'.[6] However, the strong line taken across the five *Black Papers* in protecting the status quo in English education could also be viewed as an abandonment of the vast majority of working-class children who were failed by a traditional educational system. Furthermore, a consistent position in the *Black Papers* was eugenic – the belief that students were either naturally clever or naturally dull – and that the main task of the teacher was to recognise and reward superior intellectual ability, whilst instilling a sense of discipline into the dull so that they accept their natural talents (or lack of them).[7] This position was best exemplified in the second *Black Paper,*[8] with essays by Cyril Burt, Hans Eysenck and

Richard Lynn, who all argued that egalitarian and progressive educational policies were bound to fail because of the disparities in the heritability of intelligence according to race and class.[9]

The powerful impact of the *Black Papers* was very clear to me as a young reception class teacher in the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) in the early 1970s. Suddenly, women primary school teachers committed to child-centred and project-based teaching methods were receiving strong critical messages from more powerful male academics and politicians that their approach to teaching was soft, woolly and ill-informed. We were told that we were harming children rather than enhancing their learning. Even with the protection that came with working for a progressive education authority like the ILEA, I felt anxious and worried that my approach of trying to love every child in my class, and ensure that they flourished both as learners and as human beings, was wrong-headed and unworldly. The overall effect on myself and other female primary school colleagues was to both undermine and dispirit, and slowly but surely enforce a change in the way we taught. But more generally in relation to the overall field of education, the *Black Papers* heralded the demise of what were still embryonic progressive educational practices. Progressivism was halted before it reached more than a small minority of primary classrooms. Its impact on secondary schooling was even smaller.

This allowed a radical right-wing educational agenda to take hold. In 1978, Stuart Hall *et al.* described calls for heightened classroom discipline and the 'assault' on progressive methods as authoritarian state practices imposed in the face of an ideologically constructed crisis.[10] While the *Black Papers* set the stage, the intensification of the current wave of authoritarianism and 'zero tolerance' in English schools can also be traced back to the New Labour government which, as part of a 'so-called' drive to reduce inequality in education, introduced academies to replace schools in deprived areas of England deemed to be underperforming.[11] It also regularly expropriated radical right-wing rhetoric in its pronouncements on teachers and teaching. So, for example, in 1999, Tony Blair told a conference of headteachers: 'We must take on what I call the "culture of excuses" which still infects some parts of the teaching profession … rejecting excellence and treating poverty as an excuse for failure'.[12] A clear linkage was established among politicians and in the media, between progressivism, classroom anarchy and extreme left-wing politics.[13]

The current renewal of authoritarianism in English schools is not just about class and race, but also about generation, and the treatment of children in English education and society more widely. We too readily overlook the infringement of children's human rights. This is not an issue of our educational system going wrong. It has never been right. The central mission of a successful educational system should be to educate, inform and empower all children with the skills and knowledge to become

active, engaged citizens. Yet, throughout the history of state education, schooling has mainly been about reproduction rather than transformation, fitting students in with the status quo rather than enabling them to change the world for the better.[14] The primary purpose has been to ensure the educational system works to keep people in the social position into which they were born. As Lowe pessimistically concludes, in relation to the last 50 years, it is the voices of those who put the needs of the child at the heart of the educational process who have struggled to make themselves heard.[15] Instead, the radical right have dominated the educational agenda, regardless of the political persuasion of the party in government. Rather, the 'elitist meritocrats' have steered educational policy and practice. A primary motive for the first *Black Paper* was to defend a selective grammar school system on the grounds that it was in the best interests of working-class children, offering them a means of escaping their assigned social position. Today, offering escape to a few at the expense of the many is still the main policy response to educational inequalities.

As a consequence of this dominance, social mobility has come to be seen as the only logical answer to educational inequalities. The creed of social mobility has, in turn, given legitimacy to harsh disciplinary measures as a means of inculcating the right attitudes and qualities in working-class pupils. Punitive behavioural programmes are justified through claims that they enable poor working-class students to succeed. But despite widespread acceptance among policy-makers and the media that social mobility works, it does not. There exists a large body of academic research which shows that social mobility is stagnating in England.[16] But even if it did work, there are unacceptable, unjust, but largely ignored consequences of social mobility. It constitutes a form of asset-stripping of the working classes, depleting working-class communities of much-needed social, economic and cultural resources that come through having a rich, diverse mix.[17] Also, going back to the discriminatory language of the *Black Papers* (but also that of Boris Johnson)[18] it enables an uncaring political elite to divest themselves of responsibility for the vast majority of the working classes deemed to be too 'dull' to be socially mobile.

Ideological rather than evidence-based reforms

The chronic underfunding of our educational system and the political decision to run down educational infrastructure is, in part, fuelled by the right-wing conservative ideology that views any state funding beyond the basic essentials as excessive and inefficient spending.[19] It also fits in with right-wing ideological moves to denationalise everything the Conservative government can, including education and health.[20] This transformational, albeit reactionary, aspect of the academies programme, which Stevenson calls 'revolution from above',[21] harks back to the educational system before

the 20th century when educational provision was still mostly in the hands of charitable benefactors. The US charter school movement, especially in the more deprived areas, is dominated by philanthropists, businessmen and politicians from outside the local community.[22] Similarly, in England academisation is essentially a process of enabling rich private individuals (many of whom are either Tory party members or donors, and often both) to run state schooling at the taxpayers' expense. It has also largely stripped out local democratic involvement in schooling with many academy trusts seeing little or no role for parents or the local community in their governance.[23] As Baxter and Cornforth conclude from their research into six multi-academy trusts, 'the lack of coherent communication systems between different levels of MAT governance and communities raises questions about their ability to take account of local community needs and build future social capital in communities'.[24]

In the race to divest local authorities of power and funding, local democracy and any system of political checks and balances have been seriously undermined. We are dealing with the paradox of a government of right-wing, small-state, pro-private sector ideologues who are systematically shoring up more and more power to the state in order to ensure their own control and regulation of the public sector, even as they progressively deregulate the private sector. Between 2011 and 2018, government funding of local authorities fell by 49.1 per cent.[25] While the current policy objective of full academisation means that local government will have little more than a vestigial role in the provision of state schooling by 2030, the existing position leaves them with responsibilities but very little power. There has been a hollowing out of local authority educational governance as more and more services have been handed over to the private and third sectors. The result has been 'a fragmentation of services replacing the natural connections between high performing local authority support services and the education sector'.[26] Part of the impetus has been the right-wing belief that local authorities need to be trimmed back and divested of so-called bureaucratic 'excess'. A further motivation is the long-held view that the private sector is inherently better and more efficient than publicly run services. But whatever the reason, a major consequence has been an erosion of democratic input into schooling at the local community level that mirrors the erosion of democracy within them.

The institutionalisation of commercial behaviour programmes in schools

Just as the setting up of state education in the 1870s was part of 'a civilizing project',[27] so is contemporary English educational policy. The growth of academies has been accompanied by an increase in punitive behaviour policies. As Kulz argues, academies are part of a wider political 'turn to authoritarianism'.[28] A key component of academisation is the frequent use of hard discipline and the instatement of rigid

codes of conduct and student uniform regulations.[29] Like the US charter schools they are modelled on, academies often use overly controlling authoritarian teaching styles, and have an expanding control apparatus of behaviour hubs and isolation booths, all geared to manage poverty and deprivation rather than to tackle it.

Clarke *et al*. argue that, authoritarian behavioural policies in English education have become, in just a few years, a new 'evil episteme', a new norm(ality).[30] The *Teaching Like a Champion* industry is the most recent manifestation of the popularity of such approaches. [31] The programme, which adopts the language and values of the business sector, is now endemic in English as well as American schools. *Teach like a Champion* has become the latest bible in the teacher education reform movement. (When my son was training to be a teacher in the early 2000s, it was 'Get the buggers to behave'.) The books and associated behaviour programme have earned their author, Doug Lemov, millions of dollars. The underlying pedagogy is based on obedience, conformity and uniformity, promoting norms of unquestioning compliance as a way of enabling working-class students to achieve sufficiently well to gain entry to higher education.

According to Golann, such 'no-excuses' behaviour programmes develop 'worker-learners' – children who monitor themselves, hold back their opinions, and defer to authority – rather than lifelong learners who can take initiative, assert themselves and interact with ease with their teachers.[32] Such approaches are more about training than education, control rather than critical thinking.[33] Titcombe, writing for the Local Schools Network, states that exclusion and extreme punishment are becoming the norm in the English educational system.[34] And there is no shortage of examples of such an excessive focus on discipline. Titcombe cites one academy where 41 per cent of its pupils received at least one suspension in the year 2017/18.[35] The practice in one English academy, where children were made to chant 'silence is my natural state',[36] echoed Golann's findings in a US charter school where one 13-year-old girl complained: 'We're silent all the time. Silent even in clubs, silent in class, silent. Come out of the building, silent'.[37] But there are many examples of aspirational mantras designed to drum into working-class children the need for exemplary behaviour and yet more effort, with one academy I visited instructing pupils to chant 'I aspire, you aspire, we all aspire' at the beginning of every school day.

Yet, in my research conducted in academy schools between 2010 and 2016, working-class students argued that the strict discipline approach deterred rather than enhanced their learning. [38] Tania, talking about attending a performing arts academy half a mile from her home, said: 'I actually hated it, it was like a military camp, you had to walk in silence, chant these mantras, wear suits. The last straw was when one of my best friends was asked to leave for talking in the corridor'. Tania expressed incredulity about the way teaching and learning was organised in the school. She told me: 'I did try and talk to my head of year. I said "how can kids express themselves when there are all these rules?",

and he said "but this is what they do in Detroit, this is what they do in Harlem, and they get results". And I was like this is unbelievable what sort of results can you get when none of the kids are allowed to express themselves?'.

There is little recognition of either the substantial costs to students' well-being of such low-tolerance regimes or the much higher incidence of such programmes in predominantly working-class schools. As one teacher commented, 'it's usually the schools in the most deprived areas that have the most draconian rules'.[39] Golann, researching in the US context, drew attention to the harm inflicted on low-income, minority students, including a concentration on teacher-directed instruction and low-level skills, a narrow curriculum, marginalisation and the exclusion of low-performing students.[40] More recently, Uncommon Schools, a chain of charter schools in the US, decided to drop the SLANT behaviour technique promoted by Lemov (requiring students to **S**it up, **L**ean forward, **A**sk and Answer questions, **N**od their head and **T**rack the speaker) because of concern it was disadvantaging those who were already disadvantaged.[41] But particularly disquieting was Uncommon Schools' concern that the programme was principally discriminatory in relation to Black students.

Although only a small number of no-excuses schools in both the US and the UK have been successful in raising working-class achievement, the small number that have (for example Michaela School and Brampton Manor Academy) have been given extensive coverage in the right-wing press and much lauded. Yet, even in schools that are managing to raise working-class, ethnic minority achievement, there is a paradox in generating a cohort of successful working-class students who are simultaneously produced as docile workers.[42] We should all be concerned if the educational system is producing socially mobile adults who believe 'silence is their natural state'. Furthermore, it has become evident in the US context that many charter schools are infringing children's human rights, with a survey finding that 65 per cent of the 164 charter school discipline policies reviewed violated state law because they permitted suspension or expulsion as a penalty for any infraction in their discipline policy, no matter how minor.[43]

Affective regimes of fear, shame and humiliation

We are increasingly seeing in English education the manifestation of a new ruthless re-masculinised state, focusing on discipline and policing rather than caring and respect for those who are disadvantaged.[44] Hoskins and Janmaat found in their survey of six European countries that it was English working-class students who were suffering the most from an excessive focus on discipline as their schools prioritised highly managed disciplinary policies over a more liberal climate of open debate and discussion found in more advantaged schools.[45] Such schools have become sites for 'the politics of humiliation'.[46] If the working classes are responsible for their own educational failure

rather than there being structural causes such as economic inequalities and the unfair distribution of resources, then the logical conclusion is that, for educational inequalities to be reduced, what needs to be changed/refined/improved are the working classes rather than their circumstances. The result is rigid structures and extremely hierarchical relations, particularly in predominantly working-class schools.

A miasma of fear and mistrust hang over the contemporary educational system. At the core of behavioural policy regimes lie a number of fears – the fear adults have of large groups of children and young people, the fear the upper and middle classes have of the unruly working classes, the fear within mainstream masculinity of emotions seeping out of control. Such fears have a strong potency when they reside in those with economic and political power, and are being played out through systems of hyper-control in classrooms, particularly in the growing number of schools with economically disadvantaged pupils. The irony is that recent research in the US reveals 'little evidence to support the connection between no-excuses disciplinary methods and students' academic performance on standardized tests – and some evidence that these methods may undermine non-academic outcomes, such as students' social and behavioural skills'.[47] These practices may be presented as a means of raising working-class achievement but the underlying impetus is fear and disdain of the other. That disdain is manifold, but particularly vivid in one academy chain's use of 'zero to hero' cards that it expected all its pupils to carry around with them.[48] The connotations associated with being 'a zero' resonated with earlier research in which working-class children learnt to feel they were 'a nothing' in the educational context unless they achieved outstanding grades.[49]

Teach like a champion, learn like a servant: the political consequences of zero tolerance approaches

The continual suppression of student opinion – in particular that of ethnic minority or working-class students – has become a centrepiece of many academy schools' focus on authoritarian discipline.[50] This suppression is not only cruel in its consequences for children, there are also substantial negative results from subjecting children to a narrow, impoverished curriculum and pedagogy. We can see some of these consequences in recent statistics on the lack of critical thinking in English schools and the excessive emphasis on memorisation, and rote learning.[51] The unremitting focus on behaviour and discipline in many predominantly working-class schools positions independent thought and action as defiance, suppressing oppositional voices and challenges to the status quo.[52] The consequences are not only educational: they are also democratic. Any suppression of voice and independent thinking has implications for functioning democracy.

Gann argues that 'the model of schooling that a nation chooses reflect the values of the leaders who construct it'. [53] That was true when the educational system was established in 1870; it is true now. Unfortunately, the 'meritocratic elitists' are still controlling the educational system. English education is being reconstructed to fit the values of an elite, mostly privately educated group of men with free-market, small state beliefs, and neo-liberal values of competition, self-reliance and individualism. These are values that, at their most extreme, descend into the belief that 'the winner takes all', and 'everyone needs to stand on their own two feet' without support from wider society. As Giroux argues, neo-liberalism has put into place the conditions for a new kind of authoritarianism in which large sections of the population are increasingly denied the symbolic and economic capital necessary for engaged citizenship. [54] In the ongoing shift from a public service to privately run provision, English education is rapidly losing any sense of commitment to the common good, universalism, and an obligation to educate for democratic citizenry over and above preparation for the labour market.

Conclusions – democratic implications

The focus of this article is policy not theory, but any critical overview of the English educational system raises a number of looming spectres which resonate powerfully with Foucault's analysis in *Discipline and Punish*.[55] Discipline worked in the French penal system, and elsewhere across French institutions, by coercing and arranging individuals' movements and their experiences of space and time. This was achieved by devices such as timetables, drills and regular examinations. For Foucault, disciplinary power had three elements: hierarchical observation, normalising judgment and examination.[56] We have reached the disturbing position where Foucault's study, published in the 1970s, yields striking similarities with English schooling in the 2020s.

First, there are panopticons which surveille both pupils and their teachers, chief among which is Ofsted. Then there are a wide range of control techniques generating what Foucault termed a general culture of governmentality.[57] These include police officers increasingly being sent in to tackle social problems in schools in so-called 'poor' areas.[58] By 2021 the number of police officers deployed in schools had risen to 683, up from 280 in 2018, with schools in poorer areas being specifically targeted.[59] But actual police policing poor pupils is just one of the more extreme aspects of a battery of control techniques. The consequence is a pervasive governance of the soul in which pupils and teachers have internalised the judgmental, fear-laden, metric-driven, assessment-obsessed culture of English schooling. They have been reduced to Foucault's docile bodies,[60] with policing now sewn into the fabric of English schooling.[61] As Laub cogently concludes in his research on policing in South London: 'the new focus on police officers

in London schools, while budgets for social workers and teaching assistants have been slashed, shows how in the British austerity polity coercive and authoritarian state power is taking an ever more central role and how spaces of inclusion and welfare are being reimagined as sites of exclusion and punishment'. [62]

Democracy requires not compliant and coerced but questioning citizens. I would argue that withholding the tools for liberation, and for understanding and achieving engaged citizenship, is part of a deliberate strategy of a powerful, privileged, ideologically driven right-wing elite to exclude the working classes from any voice other than one that mimics their own focus on paternalism, hierarchy, free-market economics, patriotism and patriarchy. As I have indicated throughout this article, the schools with the harshest discipline policies are primarily in disadvantaged areas serving minority ethnic, mainly working-class students. And they are learning to keep quiet, be always obedient, not express their own opinions, and defer to authority. The English educational system is exacerbating rather than addressing the gaping democratic deficit that has opened up in the body politic.

We have also reached another crisis point in relation to the maintenance of a publicly run educational system. I would argue that the deliberate depletion of educational resources both in terms of staff and infrastructure is, in part, to enable the privatisation of English education. As Warwick Mansell concludes, 'the key concept to understand about the academies policy is that it has made possible private control of publicly funded schools'.[63] The policy of academisation, and in particular, the goal of full academisation by 2030, is essentially a policy of privatisation, but, as yet, without the legal right to make a profit, handing over the running of previously state-run schools to the private sector.[64] It is also simultaneously a process of corporatisation in which schools are increasingly run like businesses rather than public services.

The most recent CLASS report on working-class experiences and attitudes found that the most important values for their working-class respondents were compassion and mutual respect.[65] There was no valorisation of, and little value given to, competition, individualism and self-reliance. It is important to remind ourselves just how out of touch our governing elite is with the way many of us think, act and want to be governed. If the democratic deficit in schools and beyond is not to become a chasm we need the radical left-wing, socially-just equivalent of the *Black Papers*. The time is ripe for a series of *Rainbow Papers*. These would document the damage which existing structures and practices wreak on all children, but particularly those who are poor and disadvantaged. They would clearly articulate the values of fairness and compassion that underpin any educational system committed to realising the potential of all children. And they would map out the policies and practices required to establish an educational system that treats all children with dignity, care and respect, regardless of class, race, gender and dis/ability.

Diane Reay grew up in a working-class, coal-mining community before becoming a primary school teacher for 20 years. She is now a Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics and Emeritus Professor of Sociology of Education at the University of Cambridge. Her main research interests are social justice issues in education, Pierre Bourdieu's social theory, and cultural analyses of social class, race and gender. Her most recent book is *Miseducation: inequality, education and the working classes*, Policy Press, 2017.

dr311@cam.ac.uk

Notes

1. R. Johnson, 'Notes on the schooling of the English working class 1780-1850', R. Dale *et al.* (eds), *Schooling and Capitalist America: A Sociological Reader*, Milton Keynes, Open University, 1976.

2. Andy Green, *Education and State Formation: the rise of education systems in England, France and the USA,* Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1990.

3. *Ibid*.

4. Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations,* London, Liberty Press, 1785.

5. R. Lowe, *The Death of Progressive Education,* London, Routledge, 2007.

6. A. Dyson, 'Sleep of reason', B. Cox and A. Dyson, *Fight for Education: Black Paper 1,* London, The Critical Quarterly Society, 1968, p76.

7. J. Wood, 'Upward mobility, betrayal, and the Black Papers on education', *Critical Quarterly,* 62 (2), 2020, pp79-104: https://doi.org/10.1111/criq.12557

8. B. Cox and A. Dyson, *The Crisis in Education: Black Paper 2*, London, The Critical Quarterly Society, 1969.

9. Wood, 2020, *op. cit*.

10. S. Hall, C. Critcher, T. Jefferson, J. Clarke and B. Roberts, *Policing the Crisis*, London, MacMillan, 1978.

11. M. Clarke *et al.*, 'The banality of education policy: Discipline as extensive evil in the neoliberal era', *Power and Education*, 13 (3), 2021, pp187-204.

12. *Times Educational Supplement*, 29 October 1999, p14.

13. Lowe, 2007, *op. cit*.

14. Diane Reay, '"The more things change the more they stay the same": the continuing relevance of Bourdieu and Passeron's "Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture"', *Revista Española de Sociología (RES)/Spanish Journal of Sociology*, 31 (3), (2022), p2: doi: 10.22325/fes/res.2022.116

15. Lowe, 2007, *op. cit.*, p159.

16. R. Adams, 'Social Mobility in UK "virtually stagnant" since 2014', *The Guardian*, 30 April 2019. See also A. Eyles, L. Elliott-Major and S. Machin, *Social Mobility: past, present and future,* London, The Sutton Trust, 2022 and Goldman Sachs, *The Bigger*

Picture: UK social mobility - a tough climb, London, Goldman Sachs, 2022.

17. Diane Reay, 'The perils and penalties of meritocracy: sanctioning inequalities and legitimating prejudice', *The Political Quarterly*, 91 (2), 2020, pp405-412.

18. M. White, 'Boris the clever cornflake gets his IQ in a twist', *The Guardian*, 28 November 2013.

19. T. Helm, 'England's crumbling schools are a "risk to life", officials warn No 10,' *The Observer,* 14 May 2022.

20. N. Gann, 'Recapturing the castle: looking to the de-corporatisation of schools and a post-viral revival of educational values', *FORUM*, 62 (2), 2020, pp405-421.

21. N. Stevenson, 'Revolution from above in English schools: neoliberalism, the democratic commons and education', *Cultural Sociology*, 9(4), 2015, p543.

22. J. Golann and A. Torres, 'Do no-excuses disciplinary practices promote success?', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 42(4), 2020, pp617-633.

23. Sean Coughlan, 'Academy chain to scrap governing bodies', *BBC News*, 19 January 2016: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-35347602; see also Gann, 2020, *op. cit*., and W. Mansell, 2022, Education Uncovered website.

24. J. Baxter and C. Cornforth, 'Governing collaborations: how boards engage with their communities in multi-academy trusts in England', *Public Management Review*, 23 (4), 2021, pp567-589.

25. Association for Public Service Excellence, *Selling Services to Schools: facing the future,* London, APSE, 2020.

26. *Ibid.* p5.

27. Smith, 1785, *op. cit*.

28. C. Kulz, *Factories for learning: Making race, class and inequality in the neoliberal academy*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2017, p2.

29. C. Kulz *et al*., *Inside the English education lab: critical qualitative and ethnographic perspectives on the academies experiment,* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2022, p151.

30. M. Clarke *et al*., 2021, *op. cit*., p19.

31. D. Lemov, *Teach like a Champion 2.0: 62 techniques that put students on the path to college,* San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass, 2015; and D. Lemov, J. Hernandez & J. Kim, *Teach Like a Champion field guide: A practical resource to make the 49 techniques your own,* San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass, 2012.

32. J. Golann, 'The paradox of success at a no-excuses school', *Sociology of Education,* 88 (2), 2015, pp103–119.

33. Stevenson, 2015, *op. cit*.

34. Roger Titcombe, 'Exclusions and extreme punishments are becoming the norm in the English education system', *Local Schools Network*, September 2018: https://www.localschoolsnetwork.org.uk/2018/09/exclusions-and-extreme-punishments-

are-becoming-the-norm-in-the-english-education-system

35. *Ibid.*

36. Warwick Mansell, 'England's largest academy chain seeks to quell parental and student upset over "oppressive" disciplinary policies, including now-scrapped requirement for one school's pupils to wear behaviour cards around their necks', 1 February 2022, Education Uncovered: https://www.educationuncovered.co.uk/news/154226/englands-largest-academy-chain-seeks-to-quell-parental-and-student-upset-over-oppressive-disciplinary-policies-including-nowscrapped-requirement-for-one-schools-pupils-to-wear-behaviour-cards-around-their-necks.thtml

37. J. Golann, 'Conformers, adaptors, imitators, and rejecters: How no-excuses teachers' cultural toolkits shape their responses to control', *Sociology of Education*, 91(1), 2018, pp28-45, p40.

38. Diane Reay, *Miseducation: inequality, education and the working classes,* Bristol, Policy Press, 2017.

39. ITV News, 'Cambridge school pupils claim "draconian" rules shame them for having wrong socks or a button undone', 17 December 2021: https://www.itv.com/news/anglia/2021-12-17/cambridge-coleridge-parents-claim-schools-draconian-rules-shame-pupils-for-wearing-wrong-socks

40. Golann, 2015, *op. cit*.

41. J. Morgan, 'Behaviour management: the science behind Slant', *Times Educational Supplement*, 25 September 2020.

42. Golann, 2015, *op. cit.*

43. Advocates for Children of New York, *Civil rights suspended: An analysis of New York City charter school discipline policies*: https://www.advocatesforchildren.org/sites/default/files/library/civil_rights_suspended.pdf?pt=1

44. Stevenson, 2015, *op. cit*.

45. B. Hoskins and J. Janmaat, *Education, Democracy and Inequality: political engagement and citizenship education in Europe*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

46. Clarke *et al.*, 2021, *op. cit*.

47. Golann and Torres, 2020, *op. cit.*, p617.

48. Mansell, 2022, *op.cit.*

49. D. Reay and D. Wiliam, '"I'll be a nothing": Structure, agency and the construction of identity through assessment', *British Educational Research Journal,* 25 (3), 1999, pp343-354.

50. C. Kulz *et al.*, 2022, *op. cit.*

51. Andreas Schleicher, 'International summit on the teaching profession - framing the issues, 2016: https://www.slideshare.net/OECDEDU/international-summit-on-the-teaching-profession-framing-the-issues-58958880; J. Knight, 'England is bottom of the league when it comes to deep learning. And top for drill and practice. It's no

coincidence', *Times Educational Supplement*, 8 March 2016.

52. Clarke *et al.*, 2021, *op. cit*.

53. Gann, 2020, *op. cit*.

54. H. Giroux, *Terror of Neoliberalism: authoritarianism and the eclipse of democracy*, New York, Routledge, 2004.

55. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*, London, Penguin, 1977/1979.

56. *Ibid*.

57. Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality', translated by Rosi Braidotti and revised by Colin Gordon, in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: studies in governmentality*, Chicago, IL., University of Chicago Press, 1991, pp87-104.

58. Institute for Fiscal Studies, *2019 annual report on education spending in England.* London, IFS, 2019.

59. Nazia Parveen *et al.*, 'UK police forces deploy 683 officers in schools with some poorer areas targeted', *The Guardian*, 25 March 2021: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2021/mar/25/uk-police-forces-deploy-683-officers-in-schools

60. Foucault, 1977/1979, *op. cit*.

61. S. Ali, 'How policing is being sewn into the fabric of British schools', *The New Statesman*, 27 July 2021.

62. M. Laub, 'Policing authoritarian neoliberalism in South London', *Political Geography*, 90, 2021, p 8.

63. Warwick Mansell, 'How private interests came to run English schools and why it matters', *Educational Politics: Journal of the Socialist Education Association,* 144, 2021, pp2–7.

64. Gann, 2020, *op. cit*.

65. R. Jesse, *The UK Race Class- Narrative Report: Building solidarity across race and class to win progressive change and inoculate against the powerful few that seek to divide us,* London, CLASS, 2022.