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Real time movies versus frozen snapshots: Audits of everyday life in classrooms

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This essay aims to analyse two different forms of contemporary stories: pupils' and adults' audits of what goes on in classroom life. This was done by making a distinction between unofficial and official inspections. In the essay, I show that unofficial inspections are carried out by pupils, most likely with the aim of providing those of us outside the classrooms with real time movies to inform us about what takes place during life in classrooms. I go on to show that pupils highlight aspects of the complex everyday life in classrooms in a different way than the official inspections, which are performed by adult officials from agencies such as the Swedish Schools Inspectorate and are more likely to be understood as frozen snapshots. In analysing this issue, the stories of everyday classroom life, this essay highlights sixteen differences between unofficial and official inspections. These differences relate to who is carrying out the inspection, how the inspection was conducted, what the inspection focused on, when the inspection took place, and why. The analysis also highlight eight similarities between unofficial and official inspections. These relate to what was being observed, the benefit of the inspections and the motives behind the observation. The essay concludes with arguments regarding observations by unofficial audits supplementing and adding other qualities than the official

one, by indicating secondary and tertiary qualities of a different intentional depth.

> (…) we must not fail to ponder, as we watch, the significance of things that come and go in a twinkling – things like a student's yawn or a teacher's frown. Such transitory events may contain more information about classroom life than might appear at first glance[1].

Introduction

Over the last decade, what happens in the everyday arena of the school – the classroom – has once again become the subject of an increasingly comprehensive debate. A phenomenon that has provided material for debate (amongst public actors, researchers, teachers, politicians, and so-called literature natives) is how pupils, so-called digital natives[2] or Internet natives[3] who have grown up with the Internet and share digital literacy[4], use mobile phones to register and expose not only their own leisure time outside the classroom life, but their teachers' classroom management as well.[5] Part of that debate concerns the law against offensive photography.[6] The law states that taking photos or recording movies of someone in private areas (in schools referring to places such as locker rooms and lavatories) is forbidden, however using technical support to take photos of someone as part of official activities (such as teaching in the classroom) is allowed. Another part of this discussion concerns the online disinhibition effect[7] arguing that we might generally become less inhibited or limited by online communication. The main reason for online disinhibition is disassociative anonymity, meaning that our online actions are less connected to our

[1] Jackson, 1968, p. 177.
[2] Prensky, 2001.
[3] Dunkels, 2005.
[4] Lange, 2014.
[5] Samuelsson, 2011.
[6] Swedish Parliament: Brottsbalken, 2013.
[7] Suler, 2004.

persona[8] than interactions in real life. A second part of that phenomenon concerns what we know and what we would like to know, for example, things going on during lessons in school. This focuses on known certainties[9]. These are things that we know we know, also about life in classrooms, yet find difficult when discussing them. A third phenomenon more recently discussed is the need for and benefit of evidence[10] in achieving a change in the school system. One aspect that unites these three seemingly different phenomena is that they all illustrate divergent results that have been generated by some form of audit or observation[11]. For a long time adults, parents and teachers – digital immigrants [12] – had the sole right to spread stories from the classrooms. Such stories were, for example, inspection reports, research or biographies,[13] parts of a consumer culture. Since the advent of the Internet and YouTube, places for viewing, sharing, hosting, and the basic editing of online video[14] have become everyone's property and adults' sole right has been challenged by pupils' use of new technology and social media as contributors and producers to a participatory culture[15]. In light of this development it appears reasonable to think that one form of contemporary story about life in classrooms does not exclude another, provided that we want to gain as great an insight as possible into what happens in the contact between teachers and pupils in classrooms. The aim of this essay was to contribute to a deeper discussion regarding the concept of an inspection, the contemporary stories as results of audits conducted about life in classrooms, and the observer concept. This leads us to the purpose of this essay, which was to describe, analyse and discuss differences, similarities and qualities from unofficial and official audits of classroom life.

[8] Suler, 2004.
[9] Žižek, 2004.
[10] Hattie, 2009; Bohlin, 2010; Håkansson and Sundberg, 2012; Eriksson Barajas, Forsberg and Wengström, 2013; Enkvist, 2017.
[11] Swedish National Agency for Education, 2016.
[12] Prensky, 2001.
[13] Tranströmer, 1993; Ullman, 2016.
[14] Snelson, 2015.
[15] Burgess and Green, 2009.

In order to contribute to such discussion, a stipulative distinction is made between unofficial inspections (actions registered and exposed by the pupils, Internet natives[16]) and official inspections (actions carried out by employees, literature natives, and published by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate). In this essay, these two forms of audits, unofficial and official observations or inspections are analysed. This analysis entails highlighting sixteen differences, eight similarities, and three different qualities of each form of audit by using a constant comparative process.[17]

Resistance – a concept for change

A function of resistance or protest could be described as drawing someone's attention to the fact of existing shortcomings[18] in, for example an organization such as a school or in acts such as classroom management. Such action(s) could be described as intentional or planned resistance that are often separated from spontaneous resistance.[19] The latter is often attributed to children, youngsters, and pupils when their thoughts and/or actions are recognized as unwanted or an expression of deviation[20] from what is expected of them by adults or teachers. One philosopher who has had a great influence on thinking and reasoning about resistance in educational settings is Michel Foucault. One of his most discussed citations is "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet or rather consequently this position is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power."[21] He argued that resistance is one of the most important parts of a dynamic power process where change is the goal. This also means that power does not work without resistance.[22] Foucault's thinking about resistance could be linked to a criticism

[16] Dunkels, 2005.
[17] Bogdan and Biklen, 2007; Bryman, 2015.
[18] Hirschman, 2008.
[19] Øksnes and Samuelsson, 2017.
[20] Giroux, 2001.
[21] Foucault, 1990, p. 95.
[22] Caygill, 2013.

of certain perceptions of subjectivity as well. Those who resist reserve the right to be different.[23] This way of thinking is reminiscent of progressive educators' [24] understanding of resistance as a critical moment, a pupil's call to investigate whether it is possible to think and act in a different way from what is expected. This can be understood as a necessary test of personal and institutional boundaries. Another theorist who has had great influence on thinking and reasoning about resistance in educational settings is Henry Giroux, who undertook the task to understand actions often perceived as abnormal in a different way, where he thought resistance could be useful. Giroux thinks of resistance as hope for a radical transformation of an unfair practice that reveals or functions as social criticism.[25] In that sense Giroux understands resistance as a form or level of intentionality aiming for change and, like other researchers in critical theory, focuses on the potential of resistance expressed in the field of micro-political actions in schools and classrooms.

Unofficial and Official Audits

The unofficial and official audits differ from each other in several respects, these differences will be shown later on in the essay. They also differ amongst themselves. Earlier research [26] found differences in the intentionality behind unofficial audits, made by competent youths[27], exposed as YouTube movies. They could be categorised according to two principles, entertainment and enlightenment, with three different reasons for uploading movies on YouTube.se as shown in Table.1.

Table 1. Exposing logics for YouTube movies

Entertainment	Enlightenment

[23] Øksnes and Samuelsson, 2017.
[24] Abowitz, 2000.
[25] Giroux, 2001.
[26] Samuelsson, 2011.
[27] Brembeck and Johansson and Kampmann, 2004; James and Prout, 1990.

Disadvantages of others	Give publicity to unfairness
Irony	Illustrations of role models
Self-exposing	Protecting oneself

A search of youtube.se (conducted 31/07/2017 at 11:44), delimited to the search words "pupil," "teacher," and "teaching" yielded 2,270 hits. This is not to be understood as 2,270 unique movies. The same movie, in full or edited format, may appear in one or several of these 2,270 movies. However, for the purpose of this analysis, I selected movies from youtube.se featuring teachers. As shown in earlier research[28] there are movies on youtube.se depicting (a) angry teachers or (b) playful teachers. According to previous research, the perceived motivation for exposing teachers in movies was to inform the world of injustices in the classroom and to show role models, that is to say teachers whose classroom management was carried out in a desirable manner. The movies categorised as "angry teachers" show teachers who for example lose their tempers, are provoked, raise their voices and escalate conflicts with one or more pupils. The movies categorised as "playful teachers" show teachers who for example dance, sing or have fun with their pupils.

The example below, a 47-second movie called "Arg kille bråkar med lärare" (Angry boy argues with teacher) with 796,996 views (31/07/2017 at 11:43), shows the interaction between a pupil and a teacher regarding the pupil's mobile phone, which he is not allowed to use during the lesson. The movie starts with a shot of the teacher in front of a whiteboard. The teacher is talking to someone who at first cannot be seen in the shot.

> 0:01 Teacher: you know what, it doesn't matter, just because you're from Kiruna, you're not bloody getting any preferential treatment, we're reading now.
> 0:07 Pupil: I'm reading text messages.
> 0:09 Teacher: Yeah, but you're not allowed to do that, this is reading time.
> 0:10 Pupil: Yeah, but I...
> 0:11 Teacher: WE'RE DOING READING NOW!

[28] Samuelsson, 2011.

0:12 Pupil: Should I read this OUT LOUD then?
0:14 Teacher: Please do.
0:16 Pupil: Yeah, well...
0:17 Pupil: No.
0:17 Teacher: No, you won't, will you? [laughs]
0:19 Pupil: It's my private life.
0:20 Teacher: You know what, you know what, if you can't take it, then just leave the classroom.
0:22 Pupil: Oh, come on.
0:23 Teacher: You're well aware of the rules.
0:26 Pupil: Fine, I'll go outside.
0:27 Teacher: So much for the reading lesson
0:28 Pupil: Then that's better, that's for the better, then I can read what I want, can't I?
0:29 Teacher: No.
0:30 Pupil: Yes, I can.
0:31 Teacher: No, you certainly will not.
0:32 Pupil: I will.
0:33 Teacher: You will not read what you want, you will read the book that you have over there.
0:34 Pupil: No, I will go outside and read, and I can make a phone call, that's better than reading.
0:37 Teacher: This is ridiculous!
0:39 Pupil: Hey...
0:40 Teacher: I'll be talking to your mentor about this.
0:42 Pupil: Hey, hey, I'll report you!
0:44 Teacher: Hey...
0:45 Pupil: I'LL REPORT YOU!
0:46 Teacher: Fine, just get lost!

The movie ends with the pupil leaving the classroom, slamming the door hard behind him. The teacher observes the pupil and then returns to his desk.

The reason behind this movie could be compared with Snelson (2015) research which revealed that school-related vlogging was done for several different reasons such as: (a) because friends were doing so, (b) to connect with others, (c) a desire to alleviate boredom, (d) to document their experience, (e) for fun, (f) to build confidence or improve their speaking skills, or (g) share information.[29] She observed few examples of students vlogging during lessons without teachers knowing it. She also found

[29] Snelson, 2015.

examples of students vlogging as a way to feel or attain personal safety and privacy at school.

The Swedish Schools Inspectorate, which is a government agency, differentiates between (a) regular supervision, (b) targeted supervision, (c) initial inspections and (d) flying inspections. The analysis in this essay was based on inspections conducted by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate. I therefore argue that the mentioned inspections from The Swedish Schools Inspectorate have so much in common that they can be described as official inspections.

Table 2 is an example of an official inspection, more specifically the latest report published by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate after inspecting an upper secondary school for pupils with learning disabilities in central Sweden[30]. The contents of the activities were compared to official regulatory documents[31], and the Swedish Schools Inspectorate found the following:

Table 2. Overview of noted shortcomings in the activities, Swedish Schools Inspectorate invention

Area	**Type of intervention**	**Reporting deadline**
1. Teaching and learning	No shortcomings noted	
2. Particular adaptations and special support	No shortcomings noted	
3. Work placements	No shortcomings noted	
4. Assessment and grading	No shortcomings noted	
5. Security, a peaceful study environment and measures against offensive treatment	Reprimand	
6. Conditions for	Injunction	22/01/2016

[30] The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2015.
[31] Swedish Parliament: The Education Act, 2010:800; the Upper Secondary School Ordinance, 2010:2039.

learning and security		
7. Steering and development of the activities	No shortcomings noted	

A reprimand means that the Swedish Schools Inspectorate has found shortcomings; in this case the school's activities does not meet the corresponding provisions of the regulatory documents. The injunction means that the Swedish Schools Inspectorate set a deadline for when the observed shortcoming was to be corrected[32].

Based on these two examples, I will now describe differences and similarities between unofficial and official inspections.

Differences Between Unofficial and Official Audits

Let us start by considering who carries out the inspection. In table 3, 16 differences between unofficial and official audits are summarized, and described further in subsequent sections.

Table 3. The 16 differences between unofficial and official audits

	Official	Unofficial
1. The investigator	Literature natives	Digital natives
2. Tools	Pen and paper	Mobile phones
3. Focus	Processes and procedures	Critical events
4. When	Pre-inspection information	Continuously
5. Kind of inspection	Overt registrations	More or less hidden
6. Core values	Explicitly stated	Missing (open to interpretation)
7. Training	Formally trained observers	Non-trained observers
8. Experience	Outgroup/outsiders	Ingroup/insiders

[32] The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2015.

9. Approach	Top-down	Bottom-up
10. Influence possibility	Possible	Limited
11. Distance	Independent	Dependent
12. Anonymity observer	Non-anonymous	anonymous
13. Publication of inspection	Mass media	Social media
14. Purpose of inspection	Monitoring	Inform and change
15. Responsibility	Named	Anonymous
16. Responding possibility	Post-responding	Immediate

By looking at movies on social media – in the case of this essay, movies from youtube.se – it is possible to say that the majority of these unofficial inspections are carried out by pupils, digital natives[33] who have grown up with the existence of the Internet[34]. They were brought up during a culturally deconstructed everyday life, an era of preference-regulation[35]. During this era youth react to and compensate for insecurity with countermeasures.[36] By reading inspection reports and having discussions with school inspectors, it is possible, in the same way, to say that the official inspections are conducted by adults, literature natives, who were born before the emergence of the Internet, brought up during a culturally overly structured everyday life - an era of norm-regulation[37]. During that era youth responded and reacted against duty and adaptation standards[38]. The youths from this era are now adults employed by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate. This can be described as a *first* difference.

A *second* difference can be said to be the fact that the unofficial inspections are carried out using modern technology, such as

[33] Prensky, 2001.
[34] Dunkels, 2005.
[35] Ziehe, 2010; 2012.
[36] Ziehe, 2000.
[37] Ziehe, 2010, 2012.
[38] Ziehe, 2000.

mobile phones. Mobile phones are used to register what takes place during lessons and in school, unlike in the official inspections, which are mainly conducted using pen and paper. A *third* difference lies in what is being made public through the inspections. While the pupils' unofficial inspections focus on critical incidents and/or different happenings that depict the teacher's classroom management as playful or angry, the official inspections focus on procedures and processes.

A *fourth* difference originates in when the inspections are performed. The teachers are often informed prior to the sporadic official inspections conducted by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate, while both schools and teachers can be said in a way to always be subjected to the continuous unofficial inspections performed by the pupils. A *fifth* aspect that separate the inspections includes the fact that the unofficial inspections in many cases are carried out in the form of hidden recordings, against more or less unspoken criteria, unlike the official inspections which are performed as overt registrations, measured against criteria that have been more or less overtly specified to those being observed or inspected.

Furthermore, the *sixth* difference, which for outside parties concerns how to decide whether a set of core values has been used in the inspections, and if so, which core values. This is most often clearly and explicitly stated to us readers in official inspections. This reader service is most often missing from the unofficial inspections, in which the reader has to make their own interpretation of which core value(s) are applicable to understand the unofficial inspection. Another missing aspect constitutes the *seventh* difference. While the unofficial recordings are conducted by less formally trained observers such as children and youths, the official inspections are carried out by adults usually formally trained observers and auditors.

Another difference, the *eighth* one, concerns the perception and experience of the activities being inspected. The unofficial observers and auditors can be said to be insiders with extensive experience of participating in the practice depicted, unlike the

official observers and auditors who can be said to be outsiders with no deeper experience of participating in the practice. This can also be described as the unofficial observers taking a bottom-up perspective, while the official observers have a top-down perspective. This is the *ninth* difference.

In close connection to this, there is a *tenth* difference in regard to the teachers' possibilities of influencing what is exposed. This difference becomes clear in studies of youtube.se, for example where we can find teachers categorized as angry or playful, while a so-called "ordinary" teacher is not found at youtube.se and therefore gets no exposure at all. The teachers' possibilities to rectify the image presented of them are very limited when it comes to unofficial inspections, and somewhat greater when it comes to official inspections; this is without taking into account the complexity of the situation[39]. The *eleventh* difference concerns the distance to the activities that are observed, where the unofficial reviewers can be described as being in a position of dependency in relation to the inspected object, unlike the official reviewers who are very much independent of the people and the objects being recorded. In the latter case, the dependency relationship can instead be said to be the reverse. This means that when it comes to official inspections, it is easier to determine who the observer is than in the unofficial inspection where a person within the activity, a friend inside the group, can be the one who is more or less openly recording[40]. This is the *twelfth* difference.

The *thirteenth* difference concerns the dissemination of the results. The official reviewers publish their results in mass media and they thereby become recognisable, relatable and possible to respond to. The reverse applies to the unofficial reviewer, who shares the information on social media such as YouTube or Facebook, in many cases using an alias that is anonymous to the viewer, but which can be used to communicate by signing up for an account on the social media platform in question. There is

[39] Goffman, 2009; Cochran-Smith, 2015.
[40] Granström, 2004.

consequently a *fourteenth* difference, in that the purpose of the inspection can be said to differ. The unofficial inspection can be understood as a disclosure intended to inform and hopefully elicit a change, unlike the official inspection, which explicitly intends to monitor the adherence to applicable laws and regulations, with high claims regarding future improvements.

The unofficial recordings are quite often shared as movies between mobile phones, which means that it is not always the observer and recorder who is responsible for the exposure on social media. This can be compared to the official inspections, where the people involved are occasionally named, next to the signature of the Swedish Schools Inspectorate's Director General. In other cases, the report will at least name the person who is responsible for its content, either by commission or on behalf of the agency. This is the *fifteenth* difference in terms of publication. Another aspect of publication can be said to be the *sixteenth* difference, namely the possibility of responding to the inspection. In the case that the unofficial inspections are disseminated via social media, the viewer can respond immediately, by liking or disliking it, which others can see. This cannot be done in the same way for the official inspections, even if these too are noted in social media via bloggers. The comment function is also there, but more often has to do with the poster's interpretation of or message regarding the official inspection, rather than the contents of the inspection as such.

Similarities Between Unofficial and Official Audits

Let us start by considering what is being inspected. The *first* aspect concerns the fact that the object of study is teachers and the everyday work they carry out in classrooms. The teachers' work will be inspected and evaluated regardless of whether these inspections are unofficial or official.

Secondly, the inspections are carried out by exposing sequences or moments of a complex[41] and multifaceted practice without allowing teachers or pupils concerned an opportunity to comment or censor what is published. This second similarity applies regardless of whether the inspection has been unofficial or official. Another similarity, the *third*, is that the inspections, show aspects of life in classrooms that many people can relate to, which is why the recipients of the message often come to the conclusion that the school has remained as it always has been[42], as the result of everything being better in "the good old days."

The benefit of the inspection, whether unofficial or official, is that it constitutes a formative and summary description of what happens when teachers encounter pupils in the school or the classroom, which is the *fourth* similarity. The formative aspect can be understood as an opportunity for self-regulation as the result of anticipating an upcoming inspection, both for individual teachers and for entire schools, while the summary aspect can be seen as the result of what emerges through the inspections, regardless of whether they are unofficial or official.

Herein also lies a limitation, a *fifth* similarity, namely that results only become available after they have been published, and can therefore only be related to and discussed as psot-events, regardless of whether the inspections were unofficial or official. This also means that we are, more or less, still lacking real-time accounts of what takes place during the lessons in school. The latter remains true regardless of the benefit of these inspections. In unofficial and official inspections alike, it appears reasonable to assume that the respective reviewer feels that they are adding something to our collective knowledge of what happens in an encounter between teachers and pupils in school and in the classroom. This can be said to be a *sixth* similarity.
The results, whether they come from unofficial or official inspections, consequently often form the basis of mass medial and political debates, which could be argued to be a *seventh*

[41] Goffman, 2009; Cochran-Smith, 2015.
[42] Jackson, 1968.

similarity. The inspections, whether they are unofficial or official, will thus constitute a part of a constantly ongoing democratic process. Another similarity, the *eighth* one, is that the teachers, pupils, or anyone else for that matter can access and comment on both unofficial and official inspections through blogs, on Twitter and other forms of social media, or through essays and other printed material.

Based on the above analysis of differences and similarities it seems reasonable to consider the qualities of various inspection formats. Such considerations are made below, in the conclusion of this essay.

Qualities of Various Audits Formats

The above analysis has indicated sixteen differences and eight similarities between unofficial and official audits or observations. It appears reasonable to say that one form of audit does not exclude another, provided that we want to gain as great an insight as possible into what happens when teachers carry out classroom management in schools. Or, put differently, provided that we wish to have a basis as broad and deep as possible for discussion and decision-making in regard to life in classrooms and its contents. All is well as long as we are not saying that either of the groups are disqualified from expressing their opinion or sharing their audits on these complex and important activities, nor arguing that the inspections, descriptions and perspectives of one group are more accurate than those of the other.

In my understanding, by virtue of being different, the unofficial audits made by digital natives[43] or Internet natives[44] complement the official audits made by literature natives. By virtue of being different, the unofficial audits display aspects of everyday classroom life, which, other than as verbal accounts, we would

[43] Prensky, 2001.
[44] Dunkels, 2005; 2012.

not otherwise be privy to beyond the everyday school arena. These verbal accounts have traditionally been described in memoires or tall tales, but can now be shared on social media, such as the blogosphere. By virtue of their differences, both the unofficial and the official inspections contribute a basis for evaluation and discussion regarding pupils, teachers, and life in classrooms. They also contribute a basis for a qualified discussion on the results of the audits and their specific qualities.

These are qualities that, in this instance, regarding the contents of the inspections can be discussed from a historical perspective. In the 17th century, the distinction between primary, secondary, and tertiary qualities or properties became generally accepted.[45] Primary qualities referred to geometrical/mathematical properties such as shapes and movement, which could be weighed, measured or calculated. These qualities were considered objective and independent of the observer. Secondary qualities referred to sensations and feelings, for example of pleasure or discomfort, based on a perception of the world. Secondary qualities were considered subjective and dependent on the sensory apparatus of the observer. While the primary qualities were seen as inherent attributes of the object, the secondary ones were considered to exist only in the mind of the observer. Tertiary qualities referred to conceptually complex or spiritual qualities of a more or less markedly complex figurative nature[46], which were also dependent on the sensory apparatus of the observer. According to Naess' reasoning regarding experiences, these tertiary qualities could be things like melancholy, kindness and magnificence, which were not accepted as qualities of nature or the environment, as they are placed within the human being. Naess furthermore asserts that there are differences in terms of intentional depth between primary, secondary and tertiary qualities. This is based on the sensations or feelings being projected onto the objects by a human subject. Via the unofficial audits that are published and disseminated through social media, we again have an opportunity

[45] Locke, 1975.
[46] Naess, 1981.

to share something that was previously less visible, something with a greater intentional depth.[47]

In light of that the unofficial audits can be said to contain primary, secondary and tertiary qualities, unlike the official inspections, which continue to be based to a greater extent on primary qualities, the unofficial inspections can be said to have a different and perhaps deeper impact on us, as we are given an opportunity to use more of our senses to interpret what is happening in the meeting between an individual teacher and a pupil or class. They can also be said to affect us differently as they depict visually what we would otherwise need to read or extract from textual descriptions[48]. This also provides us with a broader base for considering matters that were previously only communicated verbally. Depending upon how we understand the world, we can determine what we think about the value of either one or both these forms of inspection.

Qualities, in this instance, regarding the contents of the audits can also be discussed from a contemporary perspective.[49] To start with unofficial audits, sharing information and documenting their experience[50] can be understood as resistance[51] towards things happening as part of everyday life in classrooms and the way a teacher carries out classroom management. In line with this, it can also be understood as enlightenment,[52] aiming for a change of which "giving publicity to unfairness" and "illustration of role models" are two examples. Enlightenment draws attention to existing shortcomings[53] in the everyday life that goes on in classrooms. Reaction to unofficial audits will teach pupils in what way their observations and movies are

[47] Naess, 1981.
[48] Tranströmer, 1993; Ullman, 2016.
[49] Ziehe, 2000; 2010; 2012.
[50] Snelson, 2015.
[51] Foucault, 1990; Giroux, 2001.
[52] Samuelsson, 2011.
[53] Hirschman, 2008.

perceived as different from what was expected, even though they contain known certainties[54].

To sum up I would argue that unofficial and official audits, by virtue of their similarities and differences, are intended to provide us information outside of everyday classroom life by depicting somewhat different aspects of complex activities[55] such as the everyday life that goes on in classrooms. Real time movies in line with the law against offensive photography[56] could perhaps arouse reactions and be harder to absorb, even if they show known certainties[57] of power and resistance[58], than frozen snapshots. I would therefore argue that unofficial audits complement and provide additional qualities to the official inspections. The unofficial audits contribute with new aspects, indicate secondary and tertiary qualities, and have a different intentional depth[59] than the official audits. This intentional depth is necessary to create a qualified basis for a continued discussion of audits, classroom management, inspections, life in classrooms, qualities, teachers, as well as social media such as YouTube movies. And it is also a reminder that transitory events captured in YouTube movies by competent youth with digital literacy[60] contain valuable information about everyday life in the classroom than may appear at first glance.[61]

[54] Žižek, 2004.
[55] Goffman, 2009; Cochran-Smith, 2015
[56] Brottsbalken, 2013.
[57] Žižek, 2004.
[58] Foucault, 1990.
[59] Giroux, 2001.
[60] Lange, 2014.
[61] Jackson, 1968.

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