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community services, etc.) seem on closer inspection to be a re-invention or ramification of old social divisions.

The separation between working and living is at best a superficial estrangement, an apparent tearing asunder of what can never be kept apart. And it is at this deeper level too that we can more clearly see the underlying unity ~~between work-based and community-based conflicts~~ (Hargrey 1978 p. 35)

experience to be normative thus discursively construct working-class parents as ill informed and less or inappropriately involved in their children's education. Concomitantly, headteachers of urban, predominantly working-class comprehensives, as well as headteachers of popular, high reputation schools, are increasingly talking of 'the need to attract more middle-class parents'. There is a danger that the working-class parent

went to Gorse and I don't know maybe he got into the wrong company or whatever, and he started skipping school and things like that, he didn't turn out to be very good and he didn't even do his GCSE ... so it's not necessarily about whether the school is good or the result is very good because it depends on the children [4].

and:

The second one is doing better than the oldest one, she's quite bright, the second one ... but it's not the school, it's the child. it's not down to ... you can't blame the school. (Mrs Stockwell)

These are examples of a paradoxical theme in a number of working-class accounts

1. The following table shows the number of students who have been referred to the principal's office for disciplinary reasons in the last year. The data is presented by grade level and gender.

Grade	Male	Female
1	12	8
2	15	10
3	18	12
4	20	15
5	22	18
6	25	20
7	28	22
8	30	25
9	32	28
10	35	30
11	38	32
12	40	35

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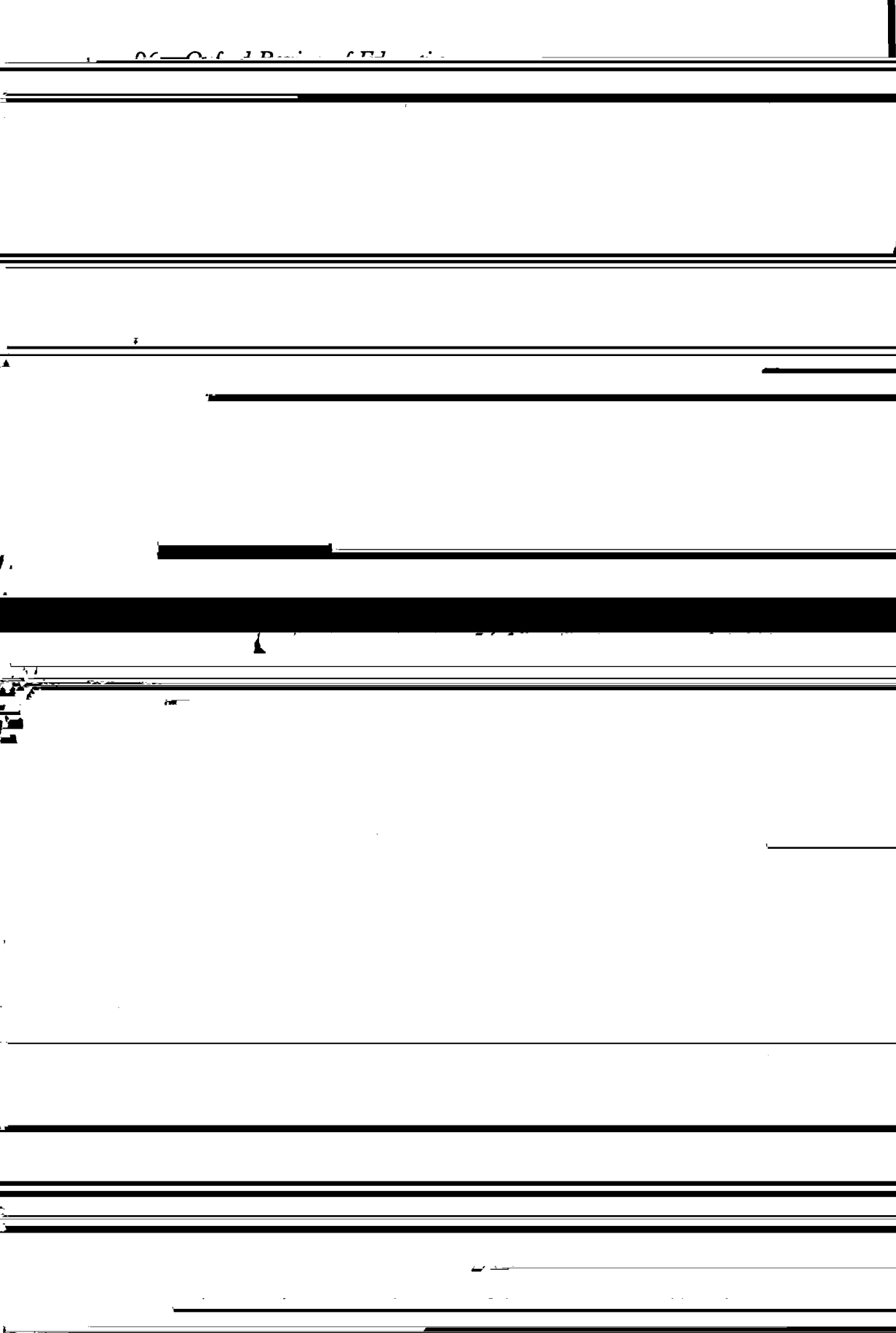
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entering your child for a selective secondary school examination is to date too far a

can be viewed as a rational mixture of pragmatism and defensiveness in the face of endemic, working-class academic failure. Both she and her husband left school without any qualifications. For parents whose own educational experiences have been shaped



CONCLUSION

There is much more to be done with the sort of analysis begun here. One way of approaching the issue of the working-class's relationship to education is to turn it metaphorically on its head. Instead of accepting middle-class norms which implicitly

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