Identities, Educational Choice and the White Urban Middle-classes

Background

At the beginning of the 21st century we are witnessing growing class polarisation within the most economically advanced societies (Blanden and Machin 2007). This growth in inequalities is underpinned by two major trends. First, the disappearance of collective institutions capable of counteracting the effects of global capitalism, a process involving the repositioning of the universal values associated with the idea of the public realm (Ben-Ner 2002; Adnett 2003). Second, processes of individualisation (Beck 1992) and the imposition of 'a sort of moral Darwinism' that 'institutes the struggle of all against all and cynicism as the norm of all action and behaviour' (Bourdieu 1998: 4). One of the main challenges to such trends lies in a continuing commitment to, and defence of, the public sector, particularly by the middle-classes who are not its main beneficiaries. However, Sayer (2005) stresses the need to recognise the conundrum the middle-classes are caught up in, forced to address the difficult question of how to balance ideals against social privilege and tactical imperatives for social reproduction.

Recent research (Ball 2003; Vincent and Ball 2006) engages directly with this conundrum and has begun to uncover frequently overlooked conflicts and tensions within middle-class identities created by education choice policy. This research, focussing on the decisions that middle-class parents are increasingly forced to make, weighing up their principled moral and political beliefs against doing 'what's best' for their children, has begun to problematise what Mike Savage (2003: 536) calls 'the unacknowledged normality of the middle-class'. Savage argues that this unacknowledged normality 'needs to be carefully unpicked and exposed'.

There is also a growing body of literature that stresses the need to expose the unacknowledged normality of whiteness (Back 2002; Frankenberg 1997; Giroux 1999; Hill 2004). We have drawn on both areas of research in order to better understand the contribution that educational choice makes in white middle-class identifications and identity formation.

'Choice', along with 'the market', remains a core driver in educational policy and other public service reforms in European countries (Justesen, 2002), including the UK, despite many well-debated problematic dimensions and ramifications (e.g. Ball, 2003; Power et al, 2003; Shwartz, 2004). The notion of choice is also the context for a continuing exodus of the white urban middle-classes from state secondary education in England. However, the focus of this research is a very different section of the white middle-classes, those who are actively choosing the type of schooling (inner city comprehensives) that most white middle-class people avoid.

Objectives

1. To contribute to contemporary theorising on social class that is extending the scope and analytical framework of social class through a close investigation of interests and identities.
2. To examine the identity work of white middle-class parents dealing with dilemmas of ethical choice, and the part played by gender and ethnicity in such identity work.
3. To investigate the impact on children's identities and identifications of parents appearing to act against self- interest and how their perspectives relate back to parents' self perceptions.
4. To investigate the extent to which such identity work is related to a wider sense of identity and identification that transgresses contemporary notions of the middle-class self through an exploration of the psycho-social basis of principled choices.
5. To examine ethnographically tensions and affinities between familial and wider social interests and ideas of community and the common good among the middle-classes.

How and to what extent each objective has been met will be addressed in the results section below.

Methods

We interviewed at least one parent from 125 white middle-class households, (180 parent interviews in total), who have chosen inner city comprehensive schooling, in three UK cities; 63 families in London, 30 in Riverton, in the South West and 32 in Norton, in the North East of England. We strove to include a number of fathers as well as mothers in our sample, also ensuring that there was a balance between families with daughters and those with sons. Those middle-class parents who 'work the educational system' by choosing and getting high status comprehensive schools at the top of league tables, a majority in both Ball's (2003) and Butler and Robson's (2003) samples, were only a small minority in our sample. At the time we carried out the fieldwork, 90% of the comprehensives the London families sent their children to were performing at or below the national average, while comparable figures were 86% in Riverton and 88% in Norton. This is because our main target group are middle-class parents committed to comprehensive schooling as an educational principle; those who deliberately eschew 'working the system to their advantage'.

Ethnographic interviewing practices (Brewer 2000) that allowed for a judicious mix of open ended questioning and careful prompting and probing were used. We followed the biographical interpretative method outlined in Hollway and Jefferson (2000:53) in order to elicit significant personal meanings and narratives of identity. Of particular importance were educational biographies, not only because of the insights that the past can shed on the present, but also to examine how far narratives of self and family accorded with collectivist commitments. We also collected rigorous demographic data (see tables 1 to 5 in Appendix 1). This was important because we were interested in exploring the extent to which the main sample could be mapped on to existing models of intra middle-class differentiation (Savage et al 1992; Power et al 2003). In addition we interviewed 68 middle-class young people (39 young women and 29 young men) from our 125 households, 28 in London, 20 in Norton and 20 in Riverton. 41 of these were 18 or over at the time of the interview. They were interviewed in order to explore their identities and identifications and the extent to which these are constructed in accord with or against the orientations, commitments and dispositions of their parents.

The research drew on a number of conceptual approaches, including: contemporary adaptations of Bourdieu's social theory (Ball 2003; Butler with Robson 2003;

Grenfell and James, 1998; Reay et al 2005; Savage et al 2001; Skeggs 1997, 2004); contemporary theorising on principled choices, in particular Andrew Sayer's (2005) work on ethical and moral dispositions and Margaret Archer's distinction between commitment and preference (Archer 2000); and psycho-social approaches (Hollway and Jefferson 2000; Frosch et al 2002) that allow for an analysis of how anxieties are defended against by white middle-class parents investing in a different notion of 'the best' for their child to that of majority middle-class opinion.

Results

1. **Contribution to contemporary theorising on social class**

Our analysis both challenges and complements existing theories of the middle-classes. While it appears to undermine Gouldner 's (1979) thesis of 'a culture of critical discourse' among the middle-classes (in which they are able to critique current arrangements and develop radical alternatives) findings provide support for, while adding to, Butler with Robson's (2003) conceptualisation of middle-class metropolitan *habitus*. Within the metropolitan habitus our data suggests there are a number of mini-habituses (Bridges 2006) with a range of neighbourhood and educational trajectories, and relationships to locale. There are also a number of distinctive relationships to middleclassness itself, ranging from the long established, secure middle classes to those who are recent arrivals and consequently manifest less of a sense of security and belonging in relation to middle class identity.

Temporality and space then are key to understandings of class identities. In common with recent work on the London white middle classes (Butler with Robson 2003; Vincent and Ball 2006; Ball and Vincent 2007; Butler and Hamnett 2007), the research highlights the importance of spatial dimensions of class identity formations and complex differentiations within 'the urban'. However, a key development lies in the extension of understandings of class identities and school choices beyond an existing focus on London to include comparison with other metropolitan areas. The white middle-class families across all three locales share the left-leaning, pro-welfare dispositions of Butler and Robson's (Brixton) and Vincent and Ball's (Stoke Newington) families. A majority were public sector employees, 75% in Norton 60%

in Riverton but only 52.42% in London where there was a high percentage (42.74%) of private sector 'creatives'(writers, journalists actors, photographers). Yet, as we detail below, there were also complex and nuanced geographical differences.

A powerful theme in our data was habitus as a sense of place (Hillier and Rooksby 2005). The families in the three different locales whilst sharing many things in common had slightly different middle-class identities and identifications. Whilst there are considerable areas of overlap in terms of cosmopolitan dispositions and left-leaning, pro-welfare tendencies, there were regional differences. The London families gave a stronger sense of sophistication, taste and distinctiveness compared to the Riverton families who displayed habituses that were culturally distinguished in similar but less rarified and more bucolic ways. In contrast, in Norton there was a degree of conservatism and overt defensiveness in regard to privilege that was largely absent in the two other locales. The Riverton and London families were more likely than their Norton counterparts to have a history of active engagement in highly politicised movements developed in support of communitarian objectives e.g. the miners strike, Rock Against Racism, and Women & Gay rights campaigns.

We have aligned these ways of understanding class in terms of space and place with notions of habitus as history (Reay 2006; James et al 2007). We were able to identify further internal differentiation based on a degree of establishment within the middle-class, and to make links between class histories and differing family practices and psycho-social dispositions. For the families in the study, past actions – even across more than one generation - continued to reverberate and frame current choices, whether these represented some form of break or continuity with family history. We see habitus as a product of early childhood experiences and socialisation within the family. Family habitus varied according to the degree of establishment within the middle-class. Those we call 'the established middle-class' tended to be more confident of children's academic success regardless of school league table position. There were high degrees of certainty that they could make the choice of inner city comprehensive schooling work. First generation middle-class parents from working class backgrounds were less certain and more anxious. As one mother commented 'I feel I need to put in masses of my own time and effort to make sure this works'. We

also see habitus as a dynamic aspect of self that is continually re-structured by individuals' encounters with the outside world. In particular, for a number of parents who had themselves had negative experiences of private schooling, the power of these restructurings became evident as these parents consciously chose very different educational and social trajectories for their children.

School choices were frequently justified with reference to family educational histories, but in different ways which appeared to be related to intra middle-class groupings (Reay et al 2005). On the one hand, several of the established and second generation middle-class families made school choices that were a conscious reaction to the perceived narrowness (socially and/or academically) of the parents' own schooling. On the other hand, particularly amongst the 'first generation' middle-class families, the choice of an ordinary state school sometimes reflected a wish to reproduce in microcosm the trajectories of the parents, with a desire on the part of parents that their children should have to compete in ordinary circumstances for their success and should experience something of the same climb they had themselves made as part of their own upward mobility.

2. **The identity work of white middle-class parents dealing with dilemmas of ethical choice, and the part played by gender and ethnicity in such identity work.**

Our research suggests that a future-projected, strategising, capital-accruing self that epitomises conventional notions of middle-class subjectivity is often at work in educational decision-making. From the predominantly or all white areas of Norton to predominantly multi-ethnic localities in London , attending socially mixed urban schools was seen to provide white middle-class children with cultural capital that would enable them to flourish as productive and good citizens able to function within a globalised society. These diverse schools are seen to provide character building experiences and comprise a cultural resource 'for the production of the ethical self' (Skeggs 2005). At the same time, ensuring a critical mass of other white middle-class children was particularly important in the North East (Crozier et al 2008) but was also a key issue for a majority of parents in London and Riverton.

Attending a multi-ethnic urban comprehensive is often regarded as an investment which, though it would appear to be a risky strategy, is seen to offer a particular and valued resourcing of the middle-class self. Here 'the other' becomes a mode of 'experiential learning' (Simpson, 2004) for the white middle-class child where they can learn to interact with people from a wide range of backgrounds and come to know that poverty, and social problems exist. However, as Bridget Byrne (2006) found in relation to white London mothers and primary schools, seeking a social mix is not the same as social mixing. And although children rarely made close friendships with their class and ethnic 'others', this form of socialisation through 'social mix' was often viewed acquisitively as a kind of capital or currency (Skeggs; 2004:107). Children are acquiring instrumentally relevant skills and attributes that they can use in the global market.

This process in which the 'multi-ethnic other' becomes a source of multicultural capital, also positions these white middle class parents as a symbolic buffer between the pathologised white working classes on the one side and the traditional white middle-classes, criticised for their separatism and racism, on the other. We can see a privileging of the white 'multicultural' self through the pathologising of 'the other'. These progressive white middle-classes are laying claim to very different white identities to those of the other two groups. As we have argued (Reay et al 2007), they represent themselves as 'a darker shade of pale'. The analysis then speaks to and offers fresh insights and a new perspective on the growing UK research on whiteness. It also provides a different perspective on theories of cosmopolitanism in which cultural difference is celebrated as a key aspect of a particular kind of urban middle-class lifestyle. Instead of valorising cultural difference per se, these families are celebrating what Jon May (1996) calls 'a controlled and managed form of difference' in which there are clear boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable differences.

Most of the parents in our study were firmly secure in their privileged sense of self: they believed their children were educationally superior and would do well. (There were 574 references to the word 'bright' across our interviews with the 125 families. In all cases it was respondents rather than interviewers using the term, and nearly all the occurrences were parents talking about their own or other middle-class children).

For some of the more established middle-classes this self confidence was regardless of the school and strongly suggested a sense of security and a knowledge that any shortfalls in schooling could be compensated in other ways. However, in a majority of cases parents took a more interventionist role and were intent on managing 'the risk' they had taken in sending their children to these schools. They were vigilant therefore to ensure protection for their children: checking and helping with homework; buying in extra tuition, particularly in London; paying for out of school activities and using both formal and informal connections to call the school to account when they feel it to be necessary (Crozier et al 2007; James and Beedell, 2007). In line with earlier work on parental involvement in education (Reay 1998; Crozier 2000;Vincent 2000; Vincent and Ball 2006), we found it was primarily mothers who were engaged in the work of managing the risks of children attending urban comprehensives.

For the white middle-class families in our study 'taste' strongly correlated with social position (Bourdieu, 1986) and the consumption of 'high' culture was bound up with their middle-class sense of self: hence lessons in dance, drama, music; trips to museums, art galleries and the theatre; cultural holidays abroad, which the schools did not provide, were a priority. They invested heavily to ensure their children acquired the cultural capital needed for social reproduction: or as Lareau says "cultivating culture" (2003).

3. The impact on children's identities and identifications of parents appearing to act against self- interest and how their perspectives relate back to parents' self perceptions.

In general, children echoed their parents' narratives about the choice of secondary school and about the issues surrounding it. There were strong echoes between most parents and their children on topics such as the pros and cons of private education and the quality of education in the chosen school. Despite occasional episodes of social and/or academic difficulties, most young people ended up making positive assessments of their experiences of school, including the benefits of a socially diverse educational environment (Williams et al, 2008 forthcoming). The vast majority of the children were in the top sets and in Gifted and Talented Schemes. All the 41 young

people over 18 (apart from two boys) did well academically, going on to study at Russell Group or redbrick universities. 6 young people (15%) went to Oxbridge.

It was common to find shared adult/child 'family stories' which drew upon the same (positive or negative) incidents or experiences in relation to school choices when being presented to others. Generally speaking, the levels of stress and anxiety engendered by processes of school choice was lower for children than for parents, although on entering school many were, predictably, a little intimidated by the size and diversity of the secondary school.

Social class distinctions were important in most of the children's accounts of school experience and friendships, but were usually expressed via visible markers like style, accent, attitude and appearance. Most children were reluctant to stereotype or generalise about other people on the basis of social class and ethnicity. Terms like 'chav', 'charver' and 'emo' were quite common, but children wished to convey they knew that these sorts of generalisations were partial and inadequate for summing up the characteristics of others. The percentage of Black and ethnic minority children in schools, which differed dramatically within and across the three cities, appears to have had a strong effect on children's sense of themselves in the world. In schools with a small proportion of BME children it was as if ethnicity was invisible.

Partially in response to the transition to large secondary schools, most children in Norton, and many in London and Riverton, retained and further developed friendships and networks with their middle-class peers. In many families, the loss of (or the prospect of losing) primary school friends was the most critical issue in secondary school transition, and therefore a pivotal topic in family discussions. In a few cases transition was viewed as an opportunity to 'shed' one set of friends and develop a new, albeit similar, circle of friends. Some children had developed different personas for in and out of school, including the use of different accents in different settings. Some children talked about feeling 'in between' in terms of their class and social position. Most of the parents had deliberately chosen socially diverse comprehensives because they wanted their children to develop qualities of resilience and worldliness. As one mother explained 'his school keeps him real'. However, many of the parents claimed that an unanticipated benefit was the boost in terms of confidence

and self-esteem their children experienced. As one father claimed 'its very good for her self-esteem being in the top sets for everything'.

Gender issues emerged more powerfully in relation to children than their parents. (Williams et al forthcoming). Parents were making their educational choices in the context of debates about crises in masculinity and boys' educational underachievement and their fear of schools which embodied 'problem masculinities' increased their anxieties for their sons' secondary school careers. The form of masculinity encouraged at home values creativity and studiousness, and although this form of masculinity was recognised and valued by parents and teachers in the school context, it set these boys in opposition to the dominant masculinity of their peers. Parental anxieties tended to focus more on sons than daughters and it appeared that parental fears fed into their sons' anxieties and increased the stress caused by parental pressure to succeed and their sense of isolation from their male peers at school. The need to be different (or in the words of one parent, 'extra') appeared to be a double-edged sword offering academic but not social success within the school.

4. An understanding of the psycho-social basis of principled choices.

A strong theme across the data was the affective aspects of class (Reay forthcoming). Family narratives revealed frequently overlooked anxieties, conflicts, desires and tensions within middle-class identities created by education choice policy. All the families were dealing with the psychic costs and tensions of having different notions of 'the best' for their child to those normative within white middle-class culture. As one mother succinctly pointed out, 'Not everyone can have what is best because the best is an exclusive thing'. However, rationales for choice of urban comprehensives were couched as much in pragmatic terms as moral and political ones. While across the sample parents expressed a sense of regret at social inequality and many felt that by supporting their local school they were making a commitment to the local community, parents who spoke passionately about the ethical reasons for choice were in a minority. Rather, for a majority of the parents it was the psycho-social consequences of choice that dominated their narratives. Feelings of pride, guilt,

anxiety, and ambivalence, visceral aversions, and the markings of taste contributed to the experiences of being white and middle-class in socially diverse comprehensive schooling.

There were varying degrees of commitment and ambivalence to comprehensivisation articulated through a psychosocial affective spectrum. At one extreme, a tiny minority of confident, relaxed parents who knew their child would do well wherever they went to school, and, on the other, the highly anxious, often mothers, who felt compelled to micro-manage their child's comprehensive school experience. However, for the most part, even those parents strongly committed to notions of 'the common good' and comprehensive schooling had high levels of both anxiety and ambivalence about their chosen course of action. Degrees of anxiety and defendedness across the sample were related to levels of risk involved in making 'non-normative' choices for 'people like us', and these in turn were connected to, although not determined by, levels of economic, social and cultural capital. The data revealed the ways in which the provocation of anxiety at both individual and collective levels can result in a splitting between 'good' and 'bad', 'us' and 'them' at the levels of schools, students and communities, and showed that the white middle-classes sending their children to urban comprehensives were struggling, with varying degrees of success, to resolve the tensions between desirous openness and sublimated elitism.

Parents expressed a complex mixture of pity, sympathy, disgust and fear, towards the working class 'other' but had more positive responses to their ethnic other. There were strong spatial aspects to parents' perspectives (Reay et al forthcoming). In London the 'other' was often a minority ethnic other, who was both recognized and represented as having similar attitudes and aspirations to the white middle-classes and thus seen to be of value. There was a degree of mutuality, respect and the identification of common interests. In Norton, with a far lower percentage of minority ethnic pupils in the secondary schools, and to a lesser extent in Riverton, there was primarily a focus on the working class other who was, for the most part, denigrated by parents and labelled as 'locals', chavs or charvers. In particular, for our Norton middle-class parents living in a city where the middle-classes constituted only 8 per

cent of the city population the figure of 'the chav' was over-determined in disproportionate and emotive ways that revealed underlying anxieties, fears and, at times, a barely disguised disgust.

Although the majority of parents expressed an anxiety about the white and black working class, nevertheless, their association with the 'model minority' (Leonardo 2004) who were seen to have similar values to themselves represent the acceptable face of working classness. This conscription of the other as a source of learning was undoubtedly a genuine empathy for some, but could also become superficial and detached as many maintain their distance. Sympathy was tempered by high vigilance against damage to their children's prospects. A surprising and important finding was how often parents viewed the others' disadvantaged circumstances as a cultural rather than a structural issue. Dominant discourses of individualisation, meritocracy and self-responsibilisation seem to have had a powerful influence even on this left leaning, pro-welfare fraction of the middle-classes.

5. The tensions and affinities between familial and wider social interests and ideas of community and the common good among the middle-classes.

In 58% of the London families (36 out of 62 families) at least one parent was currently serving or had served as a school governor. There were 11 chairs of governors (these were all secondary apart from a mother who was chair for a primary school). Of the 20 primary school governors 75% were mothers. Of the 23 secondary governors 61% (14) were mothers. However, the figures in Norton and Riverton were lower, as was the proportion of mothers. In Norton 22% of families had a parent who was a school governor, and of these 9 parents, 4 were mothers and 5 were fathers. In Riverton 43% (13 out of 30 families) had a parent who was a school governor, of whom 7 were mothers and 6 fathers. For a majority of these families becoming a school governor was rooted in a desire to make a civic contribution, and it demonstrated a commitment to the wider community. However, it also very clearly constituted an additional way of managing the risks in sending children to inner city state schooling (Reay et al, forthcoming). Other than being a governor there was surprisingly little civic engagement across the sample, despite nearly all the parents describing themselves as left of centre politically. London had the most politically

active parents (22%), including three Labour party activists, a chair of the local neighbourhood society, a couple who were campaigning against a local Academy, and two members of CASE. But for the most part civic engagement and activism lay in the parents' past histories, and many talked about their disillusionment with politics, and in particular, New Labour, although almost all talked about their commitment to the welfare state. Across all three locales parents held broadly 'Centre-Left' and soft 'Green' positions. In the face of the primacy ascribed to the market by New Labour, the fervour with which communitarian ideals were once pursued by the parents has mostly given way to pragmatism and a pessimism about the possibilities of political action.

However, there was a significant minority of white middle-class families - 14 in London and 2 in Riverton - who demonstrated a strong 'vocabulary of association' (Jordan, Redley and James 1994: 43). Some 13 of these 16 families included at least one parent who had been a governor. These families had a commitment to a local community that was broader than 'people like them' and they expressed strong views that it should be the focus of civic responsibility with local schooling as a key community project. However, for the majority of the parents there was more provisionality, and the happiness of their children was deemed paramount. Their commitment to local comprehensive schooling was conditional on the individual educational success and emotional well-being of their children.

Activities

To date we have delivered 30 papers at conferences and seminars. These include:

- one at AERA 2006;
- 9 at BERA conferences (2005-7);
- 3 at BSA conferences (2006-7);
- 2 at ECER (2006-7);
- one at the Royal Geographical Society (2006);
- one at the Gender and Education conference (2007);
- one at the European Research Network About Parents and Education, Cyprus 2007;
- one at the International Sociology of Education Conference (2008)

Outputs

To date the project has generated ten publications. We have five peer reviewed journal articles, two in *Sociology* (Reay 2005; Reay et al 2007), one forthcoming (Crozier et al 2008) in *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, one forthcoming (Reay et al 2008) in *Sociological Review*, and one forthcoming (Williams et al 2008) in *Gender and Education*. There is one book chapter (Reay 2007) published in Lois Weis (ed) *The Way Class Works* New York: Routledge. A further four papers are under consideration. We have completed a book proposal for Palgrave as part of the Social Identities Programme Book Series and an abstract for an edited collection also part of the Social Identities Programme Book Series. The team has also produced three working papers.

Impacts

As well as presenting a paper to the Hansard Society, we hosted a dissemination conference in October 2007 attended by over 60 delegates, including 4 CASE members and a number of London Headteachers. We contributed to a TLRP Seminar Series on Transitions at University of London. We have had both national (Guardian March 2005; TES October 2006) and local (2 in the NorthEast and I in London) press coverage.

Future Research Priorities

The success of white middle-class children in urban comprehensives demonstrates the credibility of the comprehensive school for the middle-classes. What this does not tell us is how their striving for success has impacted on the experiences of working class children in those schools; one of the schools was described by a parent as 'two schools in one'. So an important research priority is to research the experience of class and ethnic difference for working class students within the current context of neo-liberal policies and school performativity.

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Appendix 1

Table 1: Social class backgrounds– to nearest whole percentages (numbers in parentheses).

	Mothers	**Fathers**	**Parents**
Working class by occupations of own parents	**24** (30)	**24** (30)	**24** (60)

Middle class by occupations of own parents	**73** (91), of which (42) were established middle class and (49) 'new' middle class.	**55** (69), of which (32) were established middle class and (37) 'new' middle class.	**64** (160), of which (74) were established middle class and (86) 'new' middle class.
Not known	**3** (4)	**21** (26)	**12** (30)
Total	**100** (125)	**100** (125)	**100** (250)

Table 2: Parents' highest qualifications– to nearest whole percentages (numbers in parentheses).

	Mothers	**Fathers**	**Parents**
Degree or equivalent	**55** (68)	**59** (74)	**57** (142)
Postgraduate	**33** (42)	**18** (23)	**26** (65)
Qualifications 'below' degree	**12** (15)	**23** (28)	**17** (43)
Total	**100** (125)	**100** (125)	**100** (250)

Table 3: Incomers or Indigenous to the area

	Mothers	**Fathers**	**Parents**
In-comers to the area	**76** (95)	**63** (79)	**69** (174)
Indigenous **to the area**	**23** (28)	**20** (25)	**21** (53)
Not known	**1** (2)	**17** (21)	**9** (23)
Total	(125)	(125)	(250)

Table 4: Schools attended (Note a) by parents in the study – to nearest whole percentages (actual numbers in parentheses).

	Mothers	**Fathers**	**Parents**
Secondary Modern	**4** (6)	**4** (6)	**5** (12)
Grammar	**36** (46)	**27** (34)	**32** (80)
Comprehensive	**21** (26)	**14** (17)	**17** (43)
State boarding	**0** (0)	**4** (5)	**2** (5)
Other state schools	**8** (11)	**13** (16)	**11** (27)
Private schools	**27** (33)	**27** (34)	**27** (67)
Other schools Note (b)	**2** (3)	**10** (13)	**6** (16)
Totals	(125)	(125)	(250)

Note (a): Where parents attended more than one type of school they have been allocated to the category representing the greatest portion of their schooling. Note (b): The cases in this row are where we have insufficient information to categorise in the terms of Table 1.

Table 5: Summary of parents' state and private school attendance ('other schools' omitted). – to nearest whole percentages (numbers in parentheses).

	Mothers	**Fathers**	**Parents**
State	**73** (89)	**70** (78)	**72** (166)
Private	**27** (33)	**30** (34)	**28** (66)
Totals	**100** (122)	**100** (112)	**100** (234)