INTRODUCTION

Jane A. Van Galen

> *Nowhere is there a more intense silence about the realities of class differences than in educational settings.*
>
> —bell hooks

What does it mean to speak of social class in the United States at the beginning of the twenty-first century? In times when the social terrain between the "haves" and "have-nots" has grown ever wider, how can renewed consideration of social class deepen our analyses of educational reform—reform that has been invoked in the name of global economic competitiveness and opportunity? Why, even as we've come far in our understanding of race, ethnicity, and gender in schooling, do we seem to be late to class?

The authors in this volume, who found such questions particularly compelling, present theoretical, empirical, and pedagogical perspectives on social class and schooling in the United States. In compiling this collection, we hope to provoke a critique of the assumptions of "classlessness" (Reay, 1998) within which educational reform and education research has too often been constructed, toward the eventual goal of generating dialogue about the new meanings of "class" in U.S. schools in a rapidly shifting economy.

We believe that we have been late in coming to these conversations. As Sherry L. Linkon (1999, pp. 2–3) has observed, "the principles of inclusion and recognition that have been so important in creating spaces for gender studies, black studies, queer studies, and ethnic studies [in educational settings] have generally not been extended to class." Within the litany of "race class and gender" among critical scholars, class analyses

1

are by far the least developed. Apart from a long tradition of study of the schooling of poor urban children of color, educational researchers have paid relatively limited attention to the complexities of social class in shaping educational experiences in the "new economy" of knowledge and service work (Brantlinger, 1993, 2003; Brown, 1998; Chafel, 1996; Faulkner, 1995; Grant and Sleeter, 1996; O'Dair, 1993; Van Galen, 2000, 2004; Weis, 1990; Zandy, 1990).

While the academy is relatively silent about class, public discourse about the purposes of schooling actively denies its existence. As state and federal policy resonates with promises of opportunity if only individuals learn more, neither students nor their teachers have access to alternative interpretive lenses for explaining and navigating the constraints of their shared institutional lives. As Julie Bettie (2003, p. 195) observes, "class is largely missing as a category of identity offered by popular culture and political discourse in the early twenty-first century United States. Class is not a central category of thought, making it difficult to have a cultural or political class identity."

How, then, do we revive conversations about class? Marxist analyses and functionalist justifications no longer seem to work, but scholars have been less clear about how to conceive of class within newer theoretical perspectives. As Susan L. Robertson (2000, p. 19) observes, scholarship on class is confounded by

> . . . profound economic, political, and intellectual changes marking our time. The numerical decline of the old manual or "working class", the emergence of new forms of "post-Fordist" production, the shift in employment and investment from production to consumption, together with the new intellectual currents centred around feminist/identity politics and the individualism of neoliberalism, have all worked to challenge the sovereignty of class and dislodge it as a fundamental analytical tool in social theory. . . . It has become unfashionable in academic circles to talk about class, as if class suddenly no longer mattered and the historic concerns of class theorists—such as inequality—have disappeared.

The authors in this volume have worked to illuminate what few in their research settings could even have named: the shifting landscape of social class in the lives of young people and their families, and in the work of their schools.

This book was crafted against a backdrop of unprecedented policy work that presupposes that schools can equalize opportunity for all (Aronowitz, 2003, p. 25). State and federal educational policy reverberates with confidence in the inherent fairness of life outside of school; stan-

dards-based reform policies promise that after a long history of sorting and stratification, schools, will, at long last, bring poor and working-class children into opportunity limited only by their own ambitions.

Yet the promise of personal and global prosperity toward which young people are encouraged to aspire is contradicted by basic labor market data: the most rapid job growth is not among high-tech, high-wage sectors of the economy, but rather among low-wage service-sector jobs, few of which require high levels of education or skill (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2000). Recent volatility in technology sectors and in the stock market, outsourcing, and the rise of contract work have left even highly educated workers experiencing an unprecedented sense of economic vulnerability (Berhnhardt et al., 2001; Ehrenreich, 1989; Perucci and Wysong, 1999). Even as academic and political interest in social class may have waned, movement through and within the rules of a new economic landscape has become turbulent for many families.

As recent social theorists have noted, the lived experience of class runs more deeply than economics. As M. Zweig (2000, p. 11) succinctly notes, "Class is about the power some people have over the lives of others, and the powerlessness most people experience as a result." If power does matter in the shifting landscapes of economic stratification, the challenge of closing achievement gaps (and ultimately, economic gaps) between poor and working-class children and their more privileged peers would not be a matter of simply enabling the lower-achieving students to "catch up" in competitiveness for a diminishing number of middle-class jobs. Instead, in times of volatile wealth and eroding job security across class lines, those with the power to do so are likely to position their own children at the winning ends of ever-more uneven playing fields (Brantlinger, 2003; Lareau, 1989, 2003; Lareau and Shumar, 1996; Reay, 1998). Quite simply, if children who currently are not doing well in school begin to do well, those for whom schooling *now* works would find ways do even better. While business leaders and policy makers may have envisioned a generally stronger and smarter workforce for a global economy coming from school reform, middle-class parents sensing their own economic vulnerability are likely to infer that in a rapidly changing and very competitive labor market, their *own* children had very well better become stronger and smarter than everyone else.

As Pierre Bourdieu (1984, p. 133) notes:

> When class factions who previously made little use of the school system enter the race for academic qualifications, the effect is to force the groups whose reproduction was mainly or exclusively achieved through education to step up their investments so as to maintain the relative

scarcity of their qualifications and, consequently, their positions in the class structure. Academic qualifications and the school system which awards them thus become one of the key stakes in an interclass competition which generates a general and continuous growth in the demand for education and an inflation of academic qualifications.

In this volume, then, scholars will examine the educational experiences of poor, working-class and middle-class students against the backdrop of complicated class stratification generated by a shifting global economy. Together, the chapters will explore the salience of class in understanding the social, economic, and cultural landscapes within which young people in the United States come to understand the meaning of their formal education in times of shifting opportunity.

The Chapters

As readers consider these individual chapters and the collection as a whole, we hope to generate dialogue in several areas.

Coming of Age in the Shifting Landscape of Class

First, the collection offers intriguing glimpses into the meaning that young people make of schooling as they come to terms with their relative power and status, even as they are likely to have little fomal understanding of the myriad ways in which their lives are shaped by class stratification. In the new economy, class has been rendered nearly invisible. As Valerie Walkerdine (2003, p. 241) has observed, "We no longer have a large manufacturing base which provides the pivot for an understanding of class stratification based on class divisions. What used to be the working class is now dispersed into service industries based on individual contracts, piecework, home work and work in call centres, with jobs for life having disappeared."

Unlike the lads of Paul Willis's (1977) classic study of working-class youths in an industrial community, young people today cannot frame their sense of the meaning of school within alternate, oppositional identities. Today, young people growing up at the margins of the economy do not face the more stark tensions between identities as workers and aspirations toward "more"; instead, the children and grandchildren of factory workers are more likely to embark upon career paths such as those that culminate, after years of shuffling documents, in their appointment as assistant manager of the night shift of the copy center. Meanwhile, those who in previous generations may have assumed that the professional positions were theirs for the taking are now more likely to contract

themselves (and in the process, reinvent themselves) through a series of shifting corporate alliances and career changes.

How then, do young people coming of age in today's economy come to understand who they might become? As Ellen A. Brantlinger notes in her chapter, whether consciously or not, identity *is* shaped around social class markers, and in the shifting landscape of the new economy, even middle-class students experience commodification, alienation, and exploitation in the processes through which social distinctions are generated and sustained.

A number of chapters in this volume, then, consider the ways in which poor, working-, and middle-class students form identities of possibility, even while explicit identities of class may elude them. Deborah Hicks and Stephanie Jones draw us into the lives of young girls on the far social fringes of their communities, weighing the invitation to venture further into the alien but communal terrain of literacy. In the work of Luis Urrieta Jr. and of Jill Kayoma and Stephanie Jones, we encounter ambitious, talented, and academically driven working-class students of color whose sense of self is crafted within daily interactions with more privileged peers, many of whom assume that they have already earned the right to disdainfully exclude the lower-status students by virtue of their superior academic and social accomplishments (Bullock, 1995, p. 125). In the chapter by Richard Beach, Daryl Parks, Amanda Thein, and Timothy Lensmire, we observe working-class youths who have earned a place in a program for students with academic aspirations, struggling with acknowledging the privileges of their whiteness while at the same time grappling with their class oppression.

In each of these chapters, we see poor and working-class students tallying the relative costs of loyal identification with their economically vulnerable families, against the untested hope that schooling can, and will, serve the interests of people like them. Meanwhile, in Brantlinger's recasting of her previous work on class, we see the "winners" also coming to slowly understand that while they may be on top, they have precious little idea of how to navigate the rules of a game that are no longer stable nor clear, even though they had thought that success in school would have assured them of their capacity to succeed "as a constantly changing successful entrepreneur of oneself" (Walkerdine, 2003, p. 241).

We see these young people living out the central questions of class, always at the intersections of gender and ethnicity and geography, yet rarely able to name the myriad ways in which their lives are shaped by cultural and economic influences that operate well beyond the reaches of own agency.

Writing of girls at the center of these social confluences, Julie Bettie (2003, p. 190) observes: "Girls sorted through all of this and began drawing conclusions about what is or is not 'for the likes of me and my

kind' as friendships were increasingly organized by race/ethnicity and class as girls began to formulate identities based on the possible futures they imagined for themselves."

While academic attainment is certainly a part of the construction of a possible future, the complex social fabric of school and community offers much more powerful messages of what one is entitled to imagine for oneself. For children coming of age in decaying industrial towns, in isolated rural communities, in schools in which "the haves" display clear and exclusionary advantage, much more than rising test scores would be needed to invigorate the imagination.

Because identify is formed within particular social spaces, these chapters suggest that we can learn much more about the formation of class identities by also considering more carefully the geographic and cultural contexts of schooling, Most of the studies in this volume were conducted in diverse urban settings, in which relative privilege is always visible to young people. Whether to suggest things that might be possible for themselves, or to underscore the seemingly insurmountable social distances between themselves and others, young people in metropolitan areas have regular encounters with individuals from broad class backgrounds. One can imagine the "coalition building" advocated in Noblit's chapter taking place in vibrant metropolitan areas, in which young people will have daily encounters with those living very different lives. Yet as Van Dempsey reminds us, most poor and working-class students live in small towns and rural areas, and the social cohesion and relative homogeneity of these communities may simultaneously mask the their relative disadvantage while also narrowing the range of possible futures to which they might aspire. What might we better understand about stratification and opportunity by becoming more mindful of the cultural geographies within which identities are formed?

And finally, how might we imagine ways in which repressive educational structures might be circumvented? Might we imagine new possibilities for pedagogies of the poor and working class through which young people might come to imagine new possibilities for themselves and for their communities? The authors of these chapters offer a foretaste of possible new frameworks for exploring class, in part by reconsidering what it might mean to envision schooling as a genuine instrument of possibility.

Social Mobility: Probing the Fractures in the System

While clearly documenting the numerous ways in which poor and working-class students come to understand the limits of what is "for the likes of me and my kind," the chapters also offer intriguing glimpses of fractures within the system, as we encounter those for whom schooling seems to be working

as an avenue of social mobility. We are long overdue for scrutiny of the experiences of the "ones who got away" (Reay, 1997, p. 20) in spite of the obvious constraints of schooling and the economy. While we have amassed considerable data about achievement gaps between more privileged students and their less-privileged peers, we know relatively little about the experiences of those for whom education has opened doors. While each of the authors in this volume would concede that social mobility through schooling is very much the exception rather than the norm, each would also likely concede that we can understand more about oppressive social structures when we better understand the limits of their reach.

We venture cautiously into this discussion, for as Brantlinger wisely cautions, we must distinguish between social mobility that genuinely does mark fractures in the system and other forms of mobility that merely foster mythical ideologies of opportunity for those who work hard. For too long, Brantlinger observes, success stories have been used to merely "bolster and mystify" divisive relationships between more privileged and subordinate students, as the successes of a few are then turned against their many peers.

Yet these chapters complicate each of these positions, and closer scrutiny of the schooling of the young people in these chapters suggest rich terrain for further study.

Across these chapters, for example, we see much more than the individual ambitions of particular students. We see, instead, students being supported by quietly subversive teachers, by educational programs built to counterbalance formal school structures, by the advocacy of parents (their own and others), and by community activists offering young people alternative narratives for understanding the work of their schools. We simply do not see students making it through the complicated social structures of school on their own merit alone.

As we meet these young people who are poised to circumvent the limits of their lives and their schooling, we most often do so in places other than the traditional classroom. Beach and his colleagues write of a rare and rigorous college prep program created for students in a working-class high school. Urrieta powerfully documents the processes by which some poor and working-class Chicana/o students are actively recruited into educational structures that will provide material and symbolic capital for their educational success. In his work, the synchronized advocacy of community activists, teachers, and parents enabled students to imagine new possibilities for themselves. Kayoma and Gibson write of support systems created explicitly to enable students to construct identities other than those ascribed to them by higher-status students and by teachers and that enable them to envision success in school on their own terms. Hicks and Jones, in their after school literacy program, invite young girls to more

closely read their communities and their formal schooling and to imagine other possibilities for themselves.

Other chapters suggest more possibilities. Both Fields-Smith and Kroeger portray families exercising agency that includes action for the collective good, and their work enriches a literature that too often represents parent involvement in single dimensions. These chapters suggest (as Noblit notes in his chapter) that teachers and parents might well move beyond adversarial relationships to explore potential alliances in the interest of creating better schools for all children.

Yet there is more beneath the telling of these stories than mere inspirational accounts of attaining the American Dream. Instead, these stories collectively reveal how complicated the work of upward mobility is. For example, it's clear that the resources available to the successful students in these chapters are simply not available to all who might benefit from their supports. In defining recipients of these resources as distinctively talented, school structures that sort on the basis of race, class, and gender remain unchallenged. In Urrieta's chapter, for example, access to the advocacy of teachers was often dependent upon allowing oneself to be defined as smarter and otherwise "different" from one's peers, complicating the development of a healthy ethnic identity. Often too, the strategies used to facilitate the success of students are merely borrowed from the strategies long invoked by middle-class white students and by their parents, strategies that obviously intensify the competition for limited resources but do nothing to broaden the discourse about why resources are so limited in the first place. One might ask the parents in the Fields-Smith chapter, for example, if rather than stepping into the traditionally supportive and subservient roles of parent involvement, African-American (and other) parents might also negotiate new roles for themselves—roles that Kroeger suggests will be essential if schools are to serve diverse populations well.

Clearly, then, in some schools, poor and working-class students are being invited to the game, and in others, the very rules of the game are being subject to greater scrutiny by students who enjoy the advocacy of mentors and advocates. Yet it's clear that this is not enough. The "game" itself continues as privilege defends itself. The rules still favor more privileged students, and the costs of the game are still extraordinarily high for poor and working-class students.

For all of the obvious limitations of the avenues to mobility represented here, these chapters also suggest that there is much more going on "beneath the radar" that warrants our collective curiosity. We see here the potential of extra-institutional structures, of student support groups that enable the formation of alternative identities, of the alternative renditions of parent involvement, and of community cultural

brokers who name the obstacles that they have faced in pursuing possibilities that schooling itself did not open to them. We need to understand these possibilities.

In these chapters there also are glimpses of how the very structure of school itself might be otherwise.

Poor and Working-Class Pedagogy

While we have come to envision varieties of feminist pedagogy or of critical multicultural education, we are harder pressed to imagine schooling in which poor and working-class students recognize themselves in the curriculum and discover their voices within the pedagogy. In these times in which the purposes of formal education have been narrowed to preparation for work in an increasingly competitive labor market, it has become difficult to imagine how school might serve deeper purposes of justice and equity. What alternatives can we imagine? What would the ends of such a new pedagogy be? As the authors of this volume attest, we cannot simply settle for enabling more students to attain individual mobility; nor can we settle simply for more working-class students acquiring the analytic and intellectual capital of middle-class peers. These questions point us toward questions of a pedagogy of class.

Critical scholars have long embraced a political project of critical pedagogy for public schooling. Lynch and O'Neill (1994, p. 313), however, question the very assumption that government-sponsored schools that now serve the interests of the powerful will ever become sites of emancipatory curriculum and pedagogy. Apart from isolated pockets of critical practice, there is little evidence that years of academic writing of the possibilities of a Friere-ian model of learning have led to significant changes in the schools of poor and working-class children, and while we might continue our advocacy for more politicized forms of schooling, we might also expand the conversation to consider additional possibilities.

In pursuing these projects, we must first acknowledge that focusing on the schools of lower-status children can never be enough, for as Noblit writes in this volume, "From race we have learned that what must be changed is whiteness, from gender we have learned that what must be changed is patriarchy, and from class I will argue we learn that what must be changed is hierarchy." Maike Ingrid Philipsen and Brantlinger each write in their chapters that we must imagine a pedagogy of privilege in which "the haves" come to realize how they benefit from the hierarchies that suppress the accomplishments of poor and working-class children.

How, then, to begin? The chapters in this volume suggest that we might explore two interconnected avenues: The first is to pursue what we have begun here: to examine extraschool structures and supports that are

working to open new ways of creating meaning out of the formal structures of school, and the second is to explore what a pedagogy of class itself might entail.

LOOKING MORE CLOSELY AT WHAT IS THERE. As academics have examined schools for evidence that classrooms are invoking particularly politicized forms of curriculum and pedagogy, we are perhaps missing more subtle ways in which teachers work on behalf of poor and working class children. Michael Apple (1995, p. 146) suggests that in early efforts within critical research traditions to cast teachers as powerless agents of capitialist forces, scholars have missed the potential in teacher's "resistance" to formal and informal mechanisms of stratification. He notes: "Just as blue- and white-collar workers have constantly found ways to retain their humanity and continually struggle to integrate conception and execution in their work . . . so too will teachers and students find ways, in the cracks, so to speak, to do the same things. The real question is not whether such resistances exist . . . but whether they are contradictory themselves, whether they lead anywhere beyond the reproduction of the ideological hegemony of the most power classes in our society, whether they can be employed for political education and intervention. . . . Our task is first to find them."

Resistance is evident in many of the chapters in this book. Noblit suggests that we look more carefully at the ways in which teachers invoke caring and relation to shelter students from the harshest manifestations of school reforms. Urrieta writes of teachers who actively resisted stereotypes of Chicano/a students to formally designate some as "smart" and worthy of extra school recourses. Facing prescriptive literacy curriculum in the schools in the neighborhood in which they were working, Hicks and Jones created alternative literacies in their after school program. In few of these examples did teachers invoke explicitly political motivations; in none did the curriculum formally politicize the work of the school. Yet perhaps, while some may find these efforts incomplete, there are lessons in many schools about ways in which quiet resistance is working on behalf of children.

RETHINKING A PEDAGOGY OF CLASS. Yet quiet resistance cannot ultimately be enough, and we must continue to press our understanding of what a pedagogy of class might involve. Beach and his colleagues reference the work of scholars such as Renny Christopher (1999) or Sherry L. Linkon (1999) who have begun to write to broader audiences about working-class pedagogy. Ironically, this work is being done mainly in the college classroom, where relatively few poor and working-class students will ever be found.

This work is complicated in part by our confused discourse about class. Unlike race, ethnicity, and gender, Lawrence MacKenzie (1998) posits, class identity is often not considered to contribute to cultural pluralism. "Why? Because non-middle class identity is *supposed* to be invisible; it is viewed not as a cross-cultural asset but a condition to be repaired" (p. 103, italics in original).

He elaborates: "From what I've seen, life for many poor and working class students is erosively perplexed by the clinging, deep-rooted suggestion that their class identity is a badge of cognitive failure, an identity that an individual of sufficient merit can and should leave behind—and that one's parents, if clever and enterprising enough, and unless they're first-generation immigrants, should have already left behind. The message is this: Working class students must remediate their identities, and most of them will receive little or no respect until they do" (p. 100).

Arguing instead for a "pegagogy of respect," MacKenzie admonishes educators to move beyond conventional approaches to multicultural curriculum, to move beyond required reading on race, class, and gender to think about "what might be learned from the groundskeepers at work outside the . . . window, the electrician remodeling the library's lighting, the heating engineers. . . ." (MacKenzie, 1998) and the relationships between all of these and the professional staff of schools. In the very halls of educational institutions, he argues, are the seeds of powerful lessons on class hierarchies.

Challenges to imagining a more deliberate pedagogy of class clearly remain, and resolving them is beyond the scope of this volume. Yet the lives of the young people in these chapters illuminate many of these challenges. Students who might once might have grown up understanding the inherently contradictory interests of bosses and workers from the artifacts of their parents' union involvement, now have little or no access to discourse about worker interests. Public deliberation about the need for higher academic standards is disconnected from labor market data that predicts that most students will face low-wage work involving only minimum cognitive skills. The tensions inherent in making success in school contingent upon assuming an identity that distances oneself from family and community, make it clear that broader conceptualizations of academic achievement are necessary.

We imagine a pedagogy of class that will be created not by middle-class academics, but with members of the community who can name the "in between-ness" of the upwardly mobile. We envision work by community advocates who can envision alternative routes to mobility that sometimes challenge the structures of school, and sometimes sidestep school altogether. Cultural brokers with one foot firmly in the community and the other working with and beside the school may someday make the rules of success more clear and more subject to critical scrutiny.

Someday, middle-class students may understand that becoming educated obligates one to examine one's own privilege.

And, we believe, a pedagogy of class may well also contain the lessons of thousands of committed and caring teachers who have long served students well.

Carrying the Project Forward

As we've compiled this volume, we found ourselves asking ever more questions about the scholarly work that remains to be done at the intersections of social class and schooling. As we considered the next steps, we were reminded of Bettie's accounts of high school girls imagining only limited futures for ourselves, as we realized that the imagination of even middle-class scholars can be limited by the contexts of work and of our lives. We will work in these final pages to stretch our imaginations, in part to imagine decentering our status as middle-class intellectuals as we wonder about ways to move forward.

First, we want to imagine multiple ways of capturing the life trajectories of young people from all economic backgrounds. While we've learned much from reading and rereading these works, we fully realize the limitations of point-in-time studies such as these for understanding class dynamics. Given what we know about the complex intertwining of K–12 schooling, higher education, labor markets, idiosyncratic circumstances, and structural obstacles to mobility, we find ourselves wanting to look far beyond the end of the book to see how things turned out for the young people whose lives are represented here. We want to know where their lives have taken them, and we want especially to know what they will come to understand about the many possible permutations of "turning out well." But such is not the nature of educational research, that we can place ourselves in the position of chronicling life trajectories. We believe that if we are to understand social class, we need research that follows young people through the milestones of their lives. Examples such as Michael Apteds's series of "7 and Up" films, or Lois Weis's (2004) project revisiting students in young adulthood that she first interviewed when they were in high school, suggest the richness that we're missing in our more limited conceptualizations of educational research.

Second, we continue to try to imagine schooling in which class stratification is named but not reproduced. How do we imagine the possibilities of poor and working-class pedagogy, in which class is finally named and analyzed? How do we conceive of education in which poor, working-class, and more privileged students all come to better understand how social class has been at very core of their imaginations of who they might be and become? We believe that these questions can only be addressed by

scholarly work done in collaboration with public schoolteachers, and with parents and community activists who serve as advocates for young people. We need to better understand what schools are now doing "beneath the radar," whether as quiet resistance or as explicit practice, which disrupts the day-to-day work of schooling. We encourage our colleagues to imagine ways in which such scholarly partnerships might be realized.

Finally, we want to imagine how our work might become part of a project in which class is named in broader social settings. What would studies look like that foregrounded class, and from there, went on to considerations of gender, sexuality, and ethnicity? Or, as Noblit so cogently argues, might we "start" with either race or gender (or disability or sexuality) and then eventually come to the place where the oppressions of class can be seen and named? Drawing from critical race theory, what might we learn about educating young people for the political work of coalition building and local activism? What if our work went beyond analyses of the schools to projects of social change?

We trust that this volume is *a* beginning.

References

Allison, D. 2001. A question of class. In R. Coles, R. Testa, and M. Coles (Eds.) *Growing up poor: A literary anthology* (pp. 77–78). New York: New Press.

Apple, M. 1995. Ideology and power, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

Apted, Michaels. "7 and up" film series: *Seven Up/7 Plus Seven* (1964); *21 up* (1971); *28 up* (1985); *35 up* (1991); *42 up* (1990); *49 up* (2006).

Aronowitz, S. 2003. *How class works: Power and social movement.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bernhardt, A., Morris, M., Handcock, M. S., and Scott, M. A. 2001. *Divergent paths: Economic mobility in the new American labor market.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Bettie, J. 2003. Women without class: Girls, race and identity. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

———. 1986. The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of theory and research in the sociology of education.* New York: Greenwood Press.

———. 1990. *In other words: Essays towards reflexive sociology.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bullock, H. 1995. Class acts: Middle-class responses to the poor. In B. Lott and D. Maluso (Eds.) *The social psychology of interpersonal discrimination.* (pp.118–59). New York: Guildford Press.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2000. Employment Projections. Table 4: Employment and total job openings, 1998-2008, by education and training category. [on-line]. Available at http://stats.bls.gov/news.release/ecopro.t04.htm.

Brantlinger, E. A. 1985. Low-income parents' opinions about the social class composition of schools. *American Journal of Education,* 93 (3), 389–408.

———. 1993. *The politics of social class in secondary school: Views of affluent and impoverish youth*. New York: Teachers College Press.

———. 2003. *Dividing classes: How the middle class negotiates and rationalizes school advantage*. New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Brown, L. M. 1998. *Raising their voices: The politics of girls' anger.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Chafel, J. A. 1997. Societal images of poverty: Child and adult beliefs. *Youth and society,* 28, 432–63.

Christopher, R. 1999. Teaching working-class literature to mixed audiences. In S. Linkon (Ed.) *Teaching working class*, (pp. 203–22). Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Ehrenreich, B. 1989. *Fear of falling: The inner life of the middle class*. New York: Harper.

Faulkner, C. 1995. My beautiful mother. In J. Zandy (Ed.) *Liberating memory: Our work and our working class consciousness* (p. 203). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Fine, M., and Weis, L. 1999. *Unknown city*. Boston: Beacon.

Grant, C. A. and Sleeter, C. H. 1996. *After the school bell rings,* 2nd ed. New York: Falmer Press.

House of Representatives. H.R. 1. The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. Text available at http://edworkforce.howe.gove/issues/107th/education/nclb/nclb.htm.

hooks, b. 2000. *Where we stand: Class matters*. New York: Routledge.

Katz, M. 1975. *Class, bureaucracy, and schools: The illusion of educational change in America*. New York: Praeger.

Lareau, A. 1989. *Home advantage: Social class and parental intervention.* New York: Falmer Press.

———. 2003. *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lareau, A. and Shumar, W. 1996. The problem of individualism in family-school policies. *Sociology of Education* (extra issue), 24–39.

Linkon, S. L. 1999. Introduction: Teaching working class. In S. L. Linkon (Ed.) *Teaching working class* (pp. 1–11). Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Lynch, K. and O'Neill, C. 1994. The colonisation of class in education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 15, 307–24.

MacKenzie, L. 1998. A pedagogy of respect: Teaching as an ally of working-class college students. In A. Shepard, J. McMillan, and G. Tate (Eds.) *Coming to class: Pedagogy and the social class of teachers* (pp. 94–116). Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook Publishers.

National Center for Educational Statistics. 1999. NAEP 1998: Reading report card for the nation. NCES Report 1999-459. United States Department of Education: NCES.

Nunez, A., Cuccaro-Alamin, S., and Carroll, C. D. 1998. First generation student undergraduates whose parents never enrolled in postsecondary education. U.S. Department of Education: National Center for Education Statistics. NCES 98-082.

O'Dair, S. 1993. Vestments and vested interests: Academia, the working class, and affirmative action. In M. M. Tokarczyk and E. A. Fay (Eds.) *Working-class women in the academy: Laborers in the knowledge factory* (pp. 239–50). Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Perrucci, R. and Wysong, E. 1999. *The new class society*. Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Reay, D. 1997. The double-bind of the "working class" feminist academic: The success of failure or the failure of success. In P. Mahony and C. Zmroczek (Eds.) *Class matters: "Working class" women's perspectives on social class* (pp. 18–29). Bristol, PA: Taylor and Francis.

———. 1998. *Class work: Mothers' involvement in their children's primary schooling*. London: University College London Press.

Riley, R. 1999. New challenges, new resolve: Moving American education into the 21st Century. The Sixth annual State of American Education Speech. Long Beach, CA. February 16, 1999.

Robertson, S. L. 2000. *A class act*. New York: Falmer Press.

Van Galen, J. 2000. Education and Class. *Multicultural Education,* 7(3), 2–11.

———. 2004. Seeing classes: Toward a broader research agenda for critical qualitative researchers. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 17, 663–84.

Walkerdine, V. 2003. Reclassifying upward mobility: femininity and the neoliberal project. *Gender and Education,* 15, 237–48.

Weis, L. 1990. *Working class without work: High school students in a deindustrializing economy*. New York: Routledge.

Weis, L. 2004. *Class reunion: The remaking of the American White working class*. New York: Routledge.

Willis, P. 1977. *Learning to labor*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wexler, P. 1996. *Critical social psychology*. New York: Peter Lang.

Zandy, J. 1990. Introduction. In J. Zandy (Ed.) *Calling home: Working class women's writing*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Zweig, M. 2000. *The working class majority: America's best kept secret*. Ithaca: ILR Press.