Schools and Families: Reproduction of Class Hierarchies through Education in Pakistan

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Abstract

Children's expectations of education and career are largely determined by their early educational influence and family socio-economic backgrounds. There is a long history of sociological research in the Western world that recognizes the impact of educational system and family socio-economic background on the reproduction of class hierarchies. With an insight from the studies in the Western world, this paperexamines the possible effects of educational settings (multiplicity of school systems) and social class backgrounds on the reproduction of social class inequalities in Pakistan. The paper uses, and analyses data obtained from class 9 and 10 students (aged 15-16) of three distinct educational settings (public schools, elite private schools and ordinary private schools).Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social and cultural reproduction, the studyfinds that the three types of school constitute distinct fields of education and provide a different schooling experience to their students. The findings also indicate that both school type and family-based endowments (cultural capital) train the elite and professional middle-class children to make up places at the top of the economy and condition working class children to accept their lowly status in the class structure.

Keywords: cultural capital, habitus, class hierarchies, social reproduction, educational settings

Introduction

Pakistan is a highly stratified society inhabited by multi-cultural, racial and ethnic groups. Ethnicity, clan, biraderi(kinship networks), gender, caste and class system are the key basis of such social stratification (see Malik 2015; Ullah 2013; Qadeer 2006; Saigol 1993). Some of social scientists, political bureaucrats and educationists argue that more than one education systems in Pakistan cater to therequirements of this pluralistic and vertically stratified society (Ullah 2013). Thissmall number of social scientists and educationists support multiplicity of educationsystem for providing more choices and opportunities (Malik 2015). This paperchallenges the rhetoric of 'more choices and opportunities' and argues that

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the peopleat the helm of affairs establish(ed) more than one education system to 'ensure transfer of their power and privilege to their children by providing them quality education in elite schools (Malik 2015:2) and wasting the talent of lower middle and working classes pupils in poorly funded and poorly functional public schools. This paper, thus, presents initial thoughts and analyses to see the relevance of educational inequality as a social problem in Pakistani context. The paper will contribute significantly to the academic debate on how multiplicity of school systems and family-based endowment (cultural capital) sustain social class hierarchies.

We, in this paper, have attempted to outline the historical trajectory of education in Pakistan. It then gives a succinct account of the government rhetoric of establishing an egalitarian education system and the actual practices in Pakistan. It sheds light on how private schooling maintains the status quo in Pakistani society. In the findings and discussion part of the paper, we turnto explain how family based-endowment (cultural capital and dominant *habitus*) facilitates the elite children in their engagement with schooling and possible success in the field of education. The paper, in short, concludes that prevalence of more than one education systems in the country reproduces social class hierarchies.

Historical Overview of Education in Pakistan

Indeed, one cannot give a clear picture of educationin Pakistan without associating it with the British colonial rule in Indian sub-continent. Like other colonies, the British colonizers introduced modern English education in the sub-continent to convert the local elites into loyal subjects of the colonial power and its values.The colonial administration established two kinds of school in the subcontinent. The colonial rulers introduced 'chiefs' colleges'and 'European or English schools'for the hereditary aristocracy and the newly emerging professional class respectively (see Rahman 2006; Khattak 2014). The purpose of such schools was to create an educated local elite class who share the values of the British colonizers. Thus, the aim was not to educate the entire colonized population but to form a 'group of people who will be punctual, honest and loyal to the colonial government' (Victor 2010: 172). This class of educated local elites learned English language and adopted the colonizers' dress code and ethos to support and please colonizers. This ultimately established them as separate class within the colonized population. The colonizers used this class as a 'servant class' in their administration and government, an effective tool to transfer their ethos and values to the rest of the colonized populations (see Kassem 2006; Victor 2010;

Malik 2015). This class of educated local elites performed as the mediators between colonizers and colonized. This community of the local eliteswas exactly what the colonizers tried to create among the colonized population through the introduction of their strategic education policy (Victor 2010).

The Muslims, except the economic elites, resisted the British colonial rule and the modern secular education which colonizers wanted to establish in subcontinent for creating loyal subjects. Majority of the Muslims saw modern secular education as a threat to their faith and identity. They (Muslims), except a small group of local elites, preferred to educate their children in *Madaris*[1](Kassem 2006). *Madrassah* education aimed to inculcate religious knowledge and safeguard Islamic identity and local cultural values from the influence of secularization. The existence of parallel education systems created hierarchies, creating *Madaris* graduates as the 'Other' of the local elites. Nevertheless, the local elites themselves were the 'Other' of the colonizers as colonizers always tried to keep a distance from the local elites as well as the rest of colonized population (see Victor 2010). These practices and strategies continued until the division of subcontinent into two independent states-Pakistan and India.

Pakistan achieved independence from British colonial rule in August 1947. The regions comprising Pakistan were relatively backward in all respects, including in education (Bengali 1999). The newly established state of Pakistan lacked institutional infrastructure and was inhabited by poor and ill-educated population. Immediately after the creation of Pakistan, Muhammad AliJinnah-the founding leader of Pakistan-stressed for embracing modern secular education which had earlier been resisted or which was not easily accessible to the majority Muslims, particularly poor and rural population (see Kassem 2006). However, the state did not have the institutional infrastructure and the resources to serve the rhetoric of the leadership. With limited resources, some state schools were established in the urban centres of the country to equip people with scientific and technical knowledge for running the economy and administration of the country (see Ullah 2013).

Thestate schools were, and still are, *Urdu*-mediumand geared to give scientific and technical education to the people so that they play their part in the various branches of national life (industries, offices, banks, business etc). This also aimed to instill into them the highest sense of honour, integrity, responsibility and selfless services to the nation. It can be argued that these schools catered to the need of the newly emerging middle class, especially in urban centres. Pakistan, by and large, inherited the colonial education system and practices. The ruling

aristocracy continued their children's education in English medium schools inherited from the British colonizers (Rahman 2006). Further discussion on the topic has been done under the title *Elite English Medium and private Schools as Mechanism of Social Reproduction*as detailed discussion here may distract the focus of the study as well as that of the readers.

We deem it mention here that the government of Pakistan, since its independence on August 14, 1947, established numerous education commissions (i.e. Commission on National Education: 1959) and national education plans such as National Plan of Educational Development: 1951-57; First Five-ear Plan: 1955-6) to make educationa public good (see Bengali 1999). From 1947 to-date every government education policy and five-year plan recognizes education as a public good (See National Education Policy 2009; Ullah 2013). Since independence, education is positioned in dominant discourses as the new panacea for the masses and educational credentials as the fairer method of social selection for society's important positions.

The Constitution of Pakistan in its articles 37 (b) 38 (d), and 34 sets out a broad-based egalitarian view of education. The National Education Policy 2009, which came in the light of a series of education policies dating back to the very inception of the country in 1947, clearly writes that education is a categorical imperative for individual, social and national development which should enable all individuals to reach their maximum human potential (see Government of Pakistan 2002,2003). In order to eradicate social exclusion and ensure social mobility for the underprivileged classes, various education commissions were periodically appointed by the government to review and recommend measures for establishing an integrated national education system. Most of these commissions 'suggested the need for an egalitarian and a just education system' (Khattak 2014: 93). Despite public rhetoric and government of Pakistan official commitments to the provision of egalitarian and quality education to all, public schools in Pakistan are the most deficient and backward in Asia (Ullah 2013). The Economist Intelligence Unit (2007) in its assessment claims that Pakistan's education system is among the most deficient and backward in Asia, reflecting the traditional determination of ruling elites to maintain their hegemony. The National Education Policy Document 2009 acknowledges the lack of commitment to achieving the egalitarian goals of education due to which drop-out rates and persistent gender and rural-urban disparities in education continue to be high (NEP 2009). The state-run schools have been heavily criticized for their poor quality of education (see Ullah 2013; Jones 2001; Malik2015).Researchers (Malik 2015; Rahman

2006)have persistently pointed out that government schools have stuffy classrooms and lack washroom/toilet facilities for students. There is always a shortage of reading materials and teachers. Teachers have poor or no commitment and mostly lack pedagogical training (Khattak 2014).

The prevalence of issues in public education, ranging from outdated curriculum to physical facilities has been acknowledged both by government and donor agencies (UNESCO 2004). National education policy very vividly highlights that due to the poor standard of public schooling, economic elites send their children to privately run English medium schools that offer foreign curricula and examination systems (National Education Policy, 2009). Rahman's (2004) study in major cities of Pakistan concludes that the public schools provide education to lower-middle and working-class children only (Rahman 2004). Thus, the disadvantaged classes have no other option than to educate their children either in public schools or Islamic *Madaris* (see Rahman 2006; Ullah 2013; Malik 2015)

It is important to mention here that English-medium schools or elite English medium schools, even after the political independence from British rule, retained their existence and their goal of imparting high-quality education to the privileged classes and reproducing Western culture andvalue systems in Pakistan. The inherited 'chiefs' colleges' and English schools as well as the newly established private schools adopted aristocratic view of education and continued educating the ruling class children only (Khattak 2014; Ullah 2013). Children of the lower orders have been strategically excluded by both social and economic sanctions (see Malik 2015; Curle 1966). These elite educational institutions have always been protected by the ruling class (Rahman 2004; Malik 2012; Ullah 2013; Khattak 2014). These institutions receive more government funds than public schools (Khattak 2014) for the provision of high-quality education to the privileged classes with the main emphasis on English language, a symbol of superiority and an effective tool for educational success. English language is believed as the gateway to a lucrative job in government and private organizations (Ullah 2013).

This brief overview of education shows that the ruling classes in Pakistan ensure the transfer of their 'power and privilege to their children by providing them with quality education in elite-English-medium schools' (Khattak 2014: 92). The ruling class, from the very inception of the country, followed the strategies used by the British colonizers andadopted the colonizers' philosophy of maintaining an educational apartheid system- a system in which only the chosen

fewwho are born privilegedcan acquire good education credentials. Thus, the people at the top of the class structure provide good quality schooling to their children that enable them to maintain wealth and privileges (see Bourdieu 1977).

The cursory glance at education in Pakistan also implies that 'Pakistani educational scene is polarized according to socio-economic classes' (Rahman2004:24). Different social categories receive different education. Islamic *Madaris* attract very poor students who would not receive any education otherwise (see Ahmad 2015; Rahman 2004). Similarly, the working and middle classes are geared to public education. Private schooling in general and elite private schooling are the privileges and advantages available to the elite only (Ullah 2013).This means that the establishment of egalitarian educationhas never been attempted in true spirit (see Ahmad 2012; Khattak 2014; Malik 2015; Rahman 2004, 2006). State apathy towards public education seriously disadvantages working and lower middle classes' children in the competition for educational credentials.

Theoretical Framework

We draw on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social and cultural reproduction to understand inequalities in educational and occupational opportunities in Pakistan. Thetheory of cultural reproduction is concerned with the link between original classmembership and ultimate class membership, and how this link is mediated bythe education system (Sullivan 2001).According to Bourdieu (1984), inequalities are recycled through education system. He considers educational systems as a key factor in the perpetuation and reproduction of social structures (Swartz 1997). The primary means in which education determines an individual's social status, class, values and hierarchy, is through the distribution of cultural capital. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that success in the education system is facilitated by the possession of cultural capital and dominant *habitus.*

Cultural capital is one of the three types (economic, social and culture) capitals that Bourdieu talks about (see Skeggs 2002; Ullah 2013). According to Bourdieu, cultural capital 'can be seen in three forms: in the *embodied*state-the disposition of body and mind that is how one acts and looks; in the *objectified* state-in the forms of valued cultural goods; and *institutionalized* state-popularly in the form of educational qualification/credentials' (Bourdieu 1986 cited in Ullah 2013: 113). Bourdieu explains that cultural capital consists of familiarity with the dominant culture in a society, and especially the ability to understand and use educated language. The possession of cultural capital varies with social class, yet the education system assumes the possession of cultural capital. This makes it

very difficult for working class pupils to succeed in the education system (Bourdieu 1977).

Education, thus, is a form of cultural capital which can be acquired through time, effort and money and which can be exchanged for a prestigious and profitable career (Swartz 1997). Thus, cultural capital can be acquired through education,but more easily so by students already possessing large amounts of cultural capital throughinherited wealth and/or position (DiMaggio 1982). Educational settings are also responsible forreinforcing the social class system or hierarchy through the classification systems(Naidoo2004).It can be argued that, in addition to economic capital, cultural capital assumes central importance in the process of social reproduction because inequalities in cultural capital reflect inequalities in social class.

To substantiate our argument of social reproduction with Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, this paper creates an argument that parental cultural capital is inherited by their children; children's cultural capital istransformed into educational credentials which are a major mechanism of social reproduction inthe emerging capitalist economy of Pakistan. Bourdieu (1977) argues that the children of the affluent class are more likely than others to receive cultural capital: various forms of knowledge, dispositions and skills. The possession of cultural capital, like economic capital, allows children of the wealthy to be wealthy when they become adult (see Zweigenhaft 1992).

The paper, in addition to cultural capital, gives an equal consideration to Bourdieu concept of*habitus*. *Habitus* can be understood as 'the dispositions that internalize our social location and which orient our action' (Noble & Watkins 2003:53). For Bourdieu, *habitus* is embodied and thereby manifest in our actions, appearances and what he argued as our bodily *hexis*-posture, manner and gestures (Bourdieu 1977). Like cultural capital, *habitus* is transmitted within the home and constantly modified by schooling and subsequent life experiences. However, whereas cultural capital consists of the possession of legitimate knowledge, *habitus* is a set of attitudes and values, and the dominant *habitus* is a set of attitudes and values held by the dominant class (Bourdieu 1984). A major component of the dominant*habitus* is a positive attitude towards education. Thus, for Bourdieu *habitus* is an important form of *cultural inheritance* that demonstrates an individual's class position or social location in a variety of *fields* and is geared to the perpetuation of structures of dominance (Bourdieu &Passeron 1977: 204-205). *Field* is one of the central concepts in Bourdieu's intellectual work. *Field*, according to Bourdieu (1989), is a social arena of practices and

relationships between peopleframed by a set of organizational forces and rules that are imposed on all the actors who enter the *field* (Bourdieu 1989 cited Hay 2013). One such *field* is education. For Bourdieu, there is a two-way relationship between *habitus* and *field*, that is, they are mutually constitutive. The *habitus* does this by defining the perception of the *field*. The *field*, by the fact that it is a 'structured space', structures the *habitus*. According to Bourdieu (1988) the relationship between *habitus* and field is two ways-the field as a structured spacetends to structure the *habitus* while the *habitus* tends to structure the perception of the field.

Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of the *habitus* and *field,* it is attemptedto see how elite and professional middle-classpeople ensure the successful engagement of their children with educationand how working and lower middle-class people, who lack economic and cultural capitals,fail to do so. This comparison makes the basis of the argument that different classes in Pakistan are bound up in the process of social reproduction. It is once again reiterated that the key concern of this study is to understand whether the availability of unequal educational capital (different schools with unequal pedagogical practices and schooling strategies)provides level-playing field to students from different classbackgrounds to compete for jobs and careers in contemporary credential society. The focus, thus, isto highlight how students from different social class backgrounds are caught in the process of social reproduction through the multiplicity of educational systemsin Pakistan.

Methods

This study examined how children from different social class backgrounds and school system were/are caught in the process of social reproduction through the multiplicity of educational systems. The participants in this study were 220 students of class 9 and 10 from three different types of school: public schools, elite private schools and ordinary private schools. It is important to mention here that the public schools are dominantly attended by children from low income families. Elite private schools, on the other hand, are attended by children of economically rich and highly educated parents. Ordinary private schools attract children from lower middle-class background. The participants were selected through stratified random sampling technique. Our decision of studying secondary school pupils was informed by many factors a) teenage is critical for identity formation; b) this age is believed crucial in development of critical skills of decision-making, c) job aspiration expressed at the age of 16 has significant correlation with career and occupational attainment at the age of 33 (Schoon

2011). Interview guide (comprising some open-ended questions) was used for collecting relevant data. Data collection was done in phases: initially, we took complete lists of all class 9 and class 10 pupils from the schools which were selected for this study. Thereafter, we divided pupils into 'Science' and 'Artsand Humanity' groups. In co-education schools, we also took 'gender'into consideration as criteria for stratification. We employed stratified random sampling method for selecting participants for interview from each group in each school. Date and time for interviews were intimated to the selected pupilsthrough head teachers. After initial spade work, the selected pupils were briefed on the purpose of the study to receive genuine responses. In the last phase, data was collected from the selected pupils in face to face interview. Keeping in view the cultural sensitivity of the study area, female students were interviewed in the central hall of the school in the presence of their teachers. This practice did not affect the quality of data. In this regard, Rowbotham(2001: 84) argues that 'when respondents are put in a situation where they feel at ease they will talk absolutely clearly and [freely]…all you have to do is to listen to and ask the question that is central to the issue'. In addition to the students' interviews, observation methodwas also used for data collection. Data obtained through observational method was used as supplementary material in the analysis.

Findings and Discussion

Drawing on the parallel tradition of critical theories and critical research, we reached the following findings.

- Career aspirationsamong public and private schools' pupils
- School types and Parents' involvement in their children's education
- Parental involvement in homework
- Private tutoring and the reproduction of class inequalities

Career aspirations among public and private schools' pupils: A considerable body of research claims a direct correlation between socio-economic standing of theparent;school type and students' career aspiration(Turner 1964; Trice 1995; Schoon 2001). Bourdieu (1988)argues that a child's expectations of education and career are largely determined by their parents and early educational influences during the formation of their *habitus*.

The study findings revealed that career aspirations were quite different for public, ordinary private and elite private schools' pupils (see Table N0. 1). The findings demonstrate a clear difference between the ranges as well as clarity of

career aspirations among students of public schools and elite private schools. An overwhelming majority of the public school students had illusionary vision about their future careers whereas those from the elite private schools were not only clear but also more focused, i.e. students from public schools as well as ordinary private schools mentioned the general category of "doctor" or "engineer" whereas students from the elite private schools clearly talked about their future aspirations of becoming "heart specialists", "dentists", "general surgeons", "skin specialists", "ENT specialists", "electrical engineers", "software engineers" etc. Table No. 1 gives a succinct account of how students from different social classes and schools expressed their career aspirations.

Table No. 1: Students' career aspiration: comparison between public and elite private schools

Career aspirations of public schools' students	Career aspirations of ordinary private schools' students	Career choices of elite private school students
Army	Doctor	Banking
Doctor	Engineer	Civil engineer
Engineer	Intelligence service	Commercial pilot
Nursing	Nursing	Civil Bureaucratic
Police	Police office	Dentists
Air force	Lawyer	Doctor
Professor	Lecturer	Fashion designer
Teacher		General surgeon
		Heart Specialist
		International businessman
		Minister
		Nazim / MNA
		Skin Specialist
		Software engineer

The findings clearly reflect a difference of vision, i.e. considerable number of students from the public schools and ordinary private school aspired for army, police and Pakistan Air Forces. On the contrary, these categories are absent in the responses of pupils from elite schools. Thiswe assume is probably the result of obsessive patriotic messages in public school textbooks and the absence of the same in the private schools' textbooks (see Ullah & Ali 2013). This is not unexpected since one of the key goals of public education is to instill patriotism in

children. Steven Brint argues that one of the aims of mass public schooling is 'to strengthen patriotism in working class children. The working classes might someday be needed by their rulers "under the banner of nation-state' (Brint 2006: 35).

The study also revealed that many (78 percent) students from the public schools attended schools without a clear reason for being there or indeed any commitment to schooling. Many students asserted that they attended school as their peers did so (see Ullah 2013). These dispositions/attitudes towards schooling by the working and lower classes children are what McLaren (1999: 71) called 'ritual performance'. The difference and diversity expressed by pupils from different schools and family backgrounds reflect the difference in their *habitus*. Social class and the type of school seem to make a difference as privileged children, attending elite private schools, aspired to professional careers in diverse fields. Such differences in pupils' career aspirations, when read in conjunction with the findings of previous research on *motivational texts about various professions and occupations in the public-school textbooks* (Ullah 2013), enable us to argue that the type of schoolsand social class background do affect children's career aspirations(see Schoon 2011).

School types and Parents' involvement in their children's education: The benefits of close coordination between schools and parents, or parents' involvement in their children education are well documented (Bastiani 2003). Parents'involvement in their children education plays an important role in their children's ability to excel academically. Parents' role in their children's education can be seen in many ways such as spectatorswho may not be able to negotiate their children progress and improvement with teachers. Parents can be customers, and clients who control the activities of the teachers. In this sense, they contribute towards the teachers. They may be partners of the teachers who involve themselves in the education process. This involves inputs from both parties (see Meighan *et al,*2003).

Keeping in view the effectiveness of school-to-home and home-to-school communication (see Epstein 2001; Sanders 2001), we examined whether schools' authorities call students' parents to discuss their children's education progress and problems, both in the school and at home.The data from three different schools' systems (public schools, elite private schools and ordinary private schools) revealed that public schools' authorities neither calledstudents' parents to discuss their children education progress and problems nor parents visited schools to

follow up the progress of their children education. An overwhelming majority of the students from Public schools heldthat their parents never visited their schools to follow up on their studies. This showsthat the working and lower middle classes parents are not actively involved in their children education which may carry strong negative impact on their success. The reasons for the indifferent attitude of working and lower middle classes parents towards their children education may relate to their (parents') education level, lack of parents-teachers meeting (PTM) culture in public school system. Further analysis revealed that a considerable number (51 percent)of children from ordinary private schools had their parents visiting their schools occasionally or whenever called by the school authorities. These parents are active partners in their children and have careful vigilance of their children's schooling. Table No. 2 gives a succinct account of parents' active participation in their children education.

Table # 2: Parents follow up of their children education

Students schools belonging	Parents visit to their children school				
	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	Occasionally	Never
Public schools (PS)	0	0	12 (12%)	13(13%)	75(75%)
Ordinary Private School (OPS)	2 (3%)	17 (24%)	21(30%)	10 (14%)	20(28%)
Elite Private Schools (EPS)	33(66%)	9(18%)	3(6%)	5(10%)	0

The study unpacked that the elite children's parents are more like partners in their children's education. They regularly visit their children schools. They frequent meetwith the teachers and discuss their children homework and monthly test results. They volunteersometime for schools' activities (see table 2). This positive attitude towards education is the major component of the dominant *habitus*. The dominant *habitus* is a set of attitudes and values held by the dominant class. The dominant *habitus* (see Bourdieu 1977), held by elite and professional middle classes, contributes to their children educational achievement. Becher (1984) argues that the children of the families where parents are in regular contact with schools regarding their children'scurricular and co-curricular activitiesetc

become higher achievers. Thus, active engagement of professional middle class and elite families in their children's education may be consideredan important contributing factor in the reinforcement of class hierarchies in the contemporary credential society**.**This claim is in line with the findings of many studies carried out in the West (see Henderson 1987; Walberg 2006;Epstein 1996). Epstein claims a positive correlation between parents' involvement in their children's education and good grades. Epstein further claims that these positive effects continue, even after the completion of education, throughout life (Epstein 1996).

Parental involvement in homework:The claim that strong school-family linkages improve children's educational outcomes has received an axiomatic status. School-family connection and its impact on students' outcomes are widely researched in the developed countries (see Epstein 2001, 1996; Barnard 2004). The results of most of these studies have strongly associated parents' efforts of monitoring their children's after-school activities and homework with improving student outcomes (see Becher 1984; Epstein 1995). Homework is believed as a powerful tool for (a) letting parents/guardians know what the child is learning, (b) giving pupils and parents a reason to talk about what's going on at school, and (c) giving teachers an opportunity to hear from parents about children's learning (Walker*et al.* 2004; Toney*et al.* 2003). Keeping the importance of homework and parents' involvement in their children's homework, the study examined how various school systems keep parents engaged in their children's studies, homework and other educational activities at home. Table No. 3 highlights the active or passive engagement of parents in their children

Table No. 3: Parental involvement in homework

School type	Parental involvement in homework		Total
	Yes	No	
Elite Private Schools' Children Parents	43 (86%)	7 (14%)	50
Ordinary Private Schools' Children Parents	36 (51%)	34(49%)	70
Public Schools' Children Parents	21(21%)	79(79%)	100

An overwhelming majority of the elite schools' students (86 per cent)revealed that their parents helped/supervised them in completing homeworkand other activities after schools' time (see the statistics in Table No. 3). The study findings vividly revealed that elite private schools through various strategies (i.e. assigning homework, regular parentteachers' meetings, sending of students' results to their parents and commenting on homework) keep parents of the elite and professional middle classes fully engaged in the completion of children's homework and educational performance. The study also found that private elite schools not only involve parents in supervising their children's study behaviours, but also put considerable responsibility of education (homework and assignments completion) on parents' shoulders.

Contrary to the elite schools, public schools have no such strategy that compels parents to engage with schools. The respondents (public school children) revealed that they rarely received messages from their school authorities summoning their parents. It is important to stress it here that a substantial body of research confirms the effectiveness of parents' involvement in children's after-schools' activities and its effect on children's educational achievements. Clark (1993) argues that parents of high achieving children monitored their children's homework and home-study activities more rigorously and had higher expectations for their children's education. This affirms that success in the education system is facilitated by the possession of parental cultural capital and of higher-class*habitus*. Lower-class pupils do not possess in general these traits and therefore their failure is inevitable (Sullivan2000; 200; Becher 1984). This suggests that active involvement of elite and professional middle-class families in their children's education and the absence of working and lower middle-class families' involvements in their children's studies vividly contribute towards the process of the reproduction of class hierarchies in the emerging credential-based society.

***Private tutoring and the reproduction of class inequalities*:** Fundamentally driven by capitalism and neoliberal ideologies, supplementary private tutoring has become a global trend (Hon 2010). Private supplementary tutoring, also called "shadow"or "shadow education system" (see Bray 1999: 37), is supplementary to formal school education. Keeping the increasing trend of private tutoring among private school pupils, it is attempted to point out the way in which dominant *habitus* and economic capital come together in facilitating the elites' children educational success. The study found that an overwhelming majority (78 per cent)of students who attended elite private schools availed private tutoring either at home or in privately run academies in the evening for increasing their

educational success. They explained that their parents hired private tutors for them to ensure their way to prestigious professional colleges/universities both, within the country and abroad. Some students (31 per cent)who attended ordinary private schools and (13 per cent) who attended public schools hired private tutors. Nevertheless, private tutors of the working-class children were mostly their relatives who occasionally helped them free of cost(see Table No. 4).

Table 4: Private tutoring and social class hierarchies

Students availing private tuitions besides their formal schooling	Availing private tuitions		Total
	Yes	No	
Elite private schools' students	39 (78%)	11 (22%)	50
Ordinary private school students	22 (31)	48 (69%)	70
Public schools' students	13(13%)	87(87%)	100

Based onstudy findings presented in Table No. 4, it can be argued here that the elite and professional middle classes hire private tutors for their children's educational success and good grades. Good grades and better credentials increase the chances of their admission in good colleges/universities which, in turn, enable them for good employment(see Bourdieu&Passeron 1990). This implies that the investment of time, efforts and finances by the elite and professional middle classes in their children education may increase their chances of success in the field of education and help them in the race of assumed 'meritocratic system'.It may be argued here that private tutoring represents a space for the expression of power (economic and cultural capital) and consequent discrimination against working-class pupils who lack economic cultural capital to take advantage of it as a mechanism for enhancing their educational success and career prospects.

Conclusion

The findings of this studyenable us to conclude that the dominant *habitus* held by elite and professional middle classes and quality private schooling may enable private schools' pupils to earn 'valued cultural capital' (educational credentials). Good educational credentials enable the elite's children to make their entry into prestigious colleges/universities and lucrative jobs. On the contrary, public schools' pupils, having poor schooling and little parental involvement in

their studies, do not possess dominant *habitus* and may end with bad/ poor credentials. The nub of discussion here is that the existing education system and social class backgrounds have keyroles in maintaining the status quo as families in which parents work together with schools' support children's learning and children tend to succeed not just in school, but throughout life (Henderson 1987). The overall claim that we reach from this study is that the direct effects of social class background and differential educationalopportunities may not be underestimated in the perpetuation of social inequalities.

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[1] This is an Arabic word and plural form of *Madrassah* which refers to any type of educational academy, whether secular or religious. Nevertheless, it typically refers in the subcontinent to religious educational institutions imparting Islamic education.