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An Assessment of Class Reproduction Theory in Southern Punjab, Pakistan

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Class reproduction theory claims the perpetuation of the structure of inequality across generations. This paper aimed to assess the class reproduction theory in southern Punjab. The study used a multi-stagerandom sampling technique to select a representative sample of the population. At first stage, the researchers randomly selected 14 occupations from Pakistan Standard Occupation Classification (2015). The second stageused stratified random sampling technique. A stratum of each selected occupation was formed in each division (i.e.,Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan,and Bahawalpur) of southern Punjab.The researchers randomly interviewed 564 male respondents from each stratum of the region. The study explored that the dominant class of fathers significantly correlated with the dominant class of children as well as their high economic capital, highbrow cultural capital, and high social capital (p<.001, p<.05).The dominant class of respondents significantly correlated with their high economic capital (p<.001). The correlation among the capitals of the respondents showed that their high economic capital significantly determined highbrow cultural capital and high social capital (p<.001, p<.05). The study concluded the intergenerational perpetuation of the structure of inequality of southern Punjab. The study suggested that future researches should incorporate gender disparity of class reproduction .

Keyword**:** class, cultural capital, economic capital, social capital, social reproduction

Class reproduction refers to the perpetuation of unequal distribution of resources across generations. In Bourdieu's theory, it refers to the intergenerational transmission of accumulated resources that ensures the perpetuation of acquired resources and social positions across generations (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). In other words, social reproduction means maintaining or enhancing higher social positions and resources across generations. Agents use

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1. Shahzad Farid conceived the idea and executed the whole research project including write up.
2. Saif-Ur-Rehman Saif Abbasi supervised the research project.
3. Muhammad Babar Akram proofread the paper.

different strategies for such perpetuation. One of the strategies is the conversion of accumulated capital into other forms of capital. Capital, as Bourdieu (1986, p. 15) defined, is "accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor".

Economic, social, and cultural capital are convertible into each other (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital refers to non-economic assets such as language, behavior, and dress patterns. It has three forms, i.e., embodied, objectified and institutionalized cultural capital. The embodied form refers to the long-lasting dispositions of an individual. Bourdieu (1986) asserted that it lives and dies with its possessor. The objectified form refers to cultural goods such as type of furniture, house design, musical instrument, etc. The institutionalized form refers to educational credentials. Prieur and Savage (2011) asserted that cultural capital is a relative term. Social capital refers to the potential social network, and economic capital means economic assets. The conceptualization of economic capital is ambiguous in Bourdieu's theory of capital. Therefore, scholars argued that it is identical to money or money is its currency (Zhou & Logan, 1989; Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo, 1995).

Bourdieu (1996) argued that other than economic capital, cultural and social capital also play a very crucial role in maintaining and enhancing the social positions of agents. Agents with a higher amount of these capitals, form a group that Bourdieu called dominant class. On the contrary, the rest of the social positions represent dominated class. Such class differentiation expresses the unequal distribution of capital. The agents struggle to maintain their accumulated amount of capitals within the structure of inequality. In order to maintain their social positions, they struggle to transfer the accumulated resources to the next generation, which can ensure the perpetuation of the unequal distribution of resources across generations (Bourdieu, 1984). Such perpetuation of resources that ensures class differentiation is called class reproduction. For example, affluent individuals spend a considerable amount of money on the quality-education of their children, which produces their higher social positions in society. Bourdieu (1990) said that children with prestigious education are destined for higher social positions.

Althusser ([1971] 2014), Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1996), Bernstein (1975), and Bowles and Gintis ([1976] 2011) mainly developed theories of class reproduction. Although, Karl Marx also modeled class reproduction, but he primarily concerned with the economic reproduction of capitalists. He asserted, "…even a child knows that if a social formation did not reproduce the conditions of production while producing, it would not last a year" (Marx, 1955). Bourdieu criticized the Marxian model of class reproduction and stated that the elite class had adopted new strategies of reproduction. The utilization of the education system is the new strategy (cited in Robinson & Garnier, 1985). The curriculum, pedagogic practices, and educational meritocracy favor the students from privileged family background because the system gives advantages to the students who have already accumulated highbrow cultural capital. Thus, the education system does not break class structure but reinforces and reproduces it (Bourdieu & Boltanski, 1978; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Concisely, the theories of reproduction attempted to reveal how the education system facilitates reproduction of class structure (Giroux, 1983; Mills, 2008).

Focusing on the factors of reproduction, plethora of studies measured direct relationship of family structure and academic success (e.g., Pearson, 2009; Roosa, et. al., 2012), capitals and academic success (e.g., Rosenbaum &Rochford, 2008; Szybka, 2010), family structure and

reproduction (Crompton, 2006; Douglas, 1997), and capitals and reproduction (Smart, Hutchings, Maylor, Mendick, &Menter, 2009; Zutter, 2001).

Giroux (1983) and Thapan (1988) criticized reproduction theory by arguing that reproduction models overstated structural forces and neglected human agency. Several other studies also stated such weaknesses in the theory (e.g., Farkas 1996; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999;Gewirtz&Gribb, 2003; Tzanakis, 2011;Goshgarian, 2013).Despite the criticism, several empirically studies supported the theory across the globe such as in America (Kaufman & Gabler, 2004; Dumais & Ward, 2010; Gaddis, 2013), Europe (Sullivan, 2003; Lewicka, 2005; Willekens & Lievens, 2014; Hatlevik, Guðmundsdottir & Loi, 2015) and Asia (Riaz, 2009).

The present study aimed to assess class reproduction theory in southern Punjab. The theory has three major propositions, which were selected to evaluate. The first general proposition is the reproduction of class and capitals of the individuals with higher resources. The second proposition is the perpetuation of the inherited class by the next generation with higher resources. Although, it seems that the perpetuation of the inherited class is identical to the class reproduction, but it does not mean to be located in the class of father only because the children should sustain the inherited class by maintaining or enhancing the inherited class and capitals. In order to sustain the inherited class, children also use the strategy of conversion of capitals, which is the third proposition of the theory. The study hypothesized these propositions, which are as follows:

i. The dominant class of father determines the dominant class and higher amount of capitals of children.
ii. The dominant class of children is associated with high economic, cultural, and social capital of respondents.
iii. Economic, cultural, and social capitals are associated with each.

Review of literature

Robinson (1984) studied class reproduction in America, Great Britain, Chile, and Argentina. The study found that relations of ownership of means of production widely reproduced directly from one generation to the next. However, education has a minor role in the reproduction of ownership of means of production and control over labor power.

Robinson and Garnier (1985) studied class reproduction and gender disparity regarding reproduction strategies. They found that education has a small role in the reproduction of elite class in France. They concluded that reproduction of means of production and control over labor power could directly be transmitted to elite class children, especially sons. Whereas, female children are highly unlikely to inherit an equal quantity of resources comparing with male children.

Mickelson (1987) used an interesting method i.e., missing brackets, to explore social reproduction through schooling in Los Angeles. She distributed the locus of control questionnaire among students with diverse racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic background. However, she inadvertently omitted a pair of brackets “[ ]”at the end of the sixth item of the questionnaire which denoted for marking an answer. She found that students from lower-class background sought help for the missing brackets and considered it something ambiguous. Whereas, students from middle and upper class backgrounds solved the issue of missing brackets independently. They entered the missing brackets at the end of the statements.

Moreover, such responses produced another finding. The students from working and lower class backgrounds followed the instructions about responses .On the contrary, students from middle and upper class background asked questions about the given items such as, “what if I believe both statements are true?” She concluded that upper and middle class students have independent and challenging authority. However, lower class students are followers of authority. Such behavior expressed class reproduction in the education system.

Katsillis and Rubinson (1990) evaluated the cultural capital mediation model and found no mediating effect of cultural capital on educational reproduction. Their study explored that students’ ability and effort are important contributing factors in the reproduction of social hierarchies. Jonsson (1993) assessed six models of intergenerational reproduction that represented different relationships among the class of origin, education, and class of destination. The study found that the class of origin has a weak relationship with education. However, it has the strongest effect on the class of destination. The mediating role of education was feeble, particularly among farmers and petty-bourgeois. The study also explored that social capital is involved in the process of social reproduction.

Nakhaie (1996) used Erik, O. Wright’s class operationalization. The study found that male respondents reproduced the bourgeois class because they had a higher amount of inherited capital comparing with female respondents. Rössel & Beckert-Zieglschmid (2002) studied cultural reproduction through school and schooling. They explored intergenerational transmission of highbrow cultural capital and the impact of the capital on educational attainment. However, other forms of cultural capital have a trivial effect on educational attainment and cultural reproduction.

Jonsson, Grusky, Carlo, Pollak and Brinton (2009) introduced an unconventional argument in reproduction theory. They claimed that instead of cultural and other forms of capital, occupational reproduction leads to social reproduction. They evaluated their argument in America, Germany, Japan, and Sweden. They concluded that parents brought their occupational-specific capital in the home that affected the socialization of children. Therefore, the son of a truck driver is highly likely to reproduce the occupational capital of his father.

Streib (2011) used observational analysis to explore class reproduction among four years old students in school. She explored two modes of language representations i.e., taking the floor and taking the stand, in relation to the use of symbolic power within the classroom. Through taking the floor (i.e., use of language with explanatory power), upper-middle class students restrained working class students from verbal articulation. Through taking a stand (i.e., use of language to resolve a conflict over toys)upper-middle class students succeeded in achieving their goals, enhanced their language ability, and strengthened their symbolic power. The study concluded that upper-middle class students reproduced and enhanced their symbolic power.

Methods

The study used a multistage random sampling technique to select a representative sample of the population. At the first stage, 14 occupations were randomly selected from Pakistan Standard Classification of Occupation (2015). The selected occupations of the respondents are given in table 1. At the second stage, stratified random sampling was used. The occupational strata of male respondents were formed in each selected division (i.e., Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Bahawalpur) of southern Punjab. The researchers randomly selected male respondents from each stratum. The selected respondents formed a sample size of 564 male respondents. The study used a face-to-face interview survey method and a self-administered questionnaire for data collection.

Measurement

Cultural capital

Cultural capital was measured through its most significant indicators i.e., English language proficiency, cultural activities, watching and viewing habits, preference of art, and education. The respondents were asked to score their ability of reading, writing, speaking, and listening of English language on four points scale (i.e.,1 = poor to 4 = excellent). Cultural activities were measured by asking the respondents to report their maximum number of highbrow cultural activities such as horse riding, cruising, visit to art galleries, swimming, hunting, etc. Each highbrow activity was given the code 1 = yes, and 0 = otherwise.

To measure viewing habits, the respondents were given different genres such as romantic, science fiction, horror, etc. Each selected genre was given the value of 1 = yes, and 0 = otherwise. Preference of art was measured by asking the respondents about their favorite artists, such as Pablo Picasso. Respondents who reported any of the artists were given the values 1 = yes, and 0 = otherwise. Educational level is also one of the most important indicators of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 1996). The respondents were asked to report their highest level of formal education. The illiterate was given the value of zero, and the Ph.D. or equivalent was given the value of 8. The same indicators were used to measure the cultural capital of fathers.

Economic capital

Economic capital was measured by monthly income, house ownership, and cultivatable land ownership. Moreover, other significant indicators, such as ownership of car, motorcycle, mobile phone, and laptop, were also included to make the measurement mutually exclusive and exhaustive. The respondents were asked to report their monthly income from all sources. They were also asked to report the number of houses and acres of cultivatable land they own. Further, the measurement of type of car, motorcycle, mobile phone, and laptop was codified as costly = 3, semi costly = 2, economical =1, and no ownership = 0. The same indicators were used to measure the economic capital of fathers.

Social capital

The scale of social capital was based upon the effectiveness of relationships with people who are exposed to power or authority such as bureaucrats, politicians, army officers, etc. The respondents were asked how much effect relationship they have with bureaucrats, politicians, army officers, national politicians, chief executive officers of any company, and local politicians. Each relationship was measured by five points likert scale, ranging from 0 = no relationship to 5 = highly effective relationship. Club membership was also included as one of the measures of the capital. The respondents were requested to report the name of the club they are members of. The same questionnaire was used to measure the social capital of fathers.

Construction of composite variable and class identification

The study used the Multiple Correspondence *K*-Means Model (MCKM) to construct the composite variable of each capital. The model was also used to identify the classes of respondents and their fathers. Fordellone and Vichi (2017) introduced this model. The composite variables and classes were constructed to evaluate the hypothesized propositions of reproduction theory through log-linear model of homogeneous association.

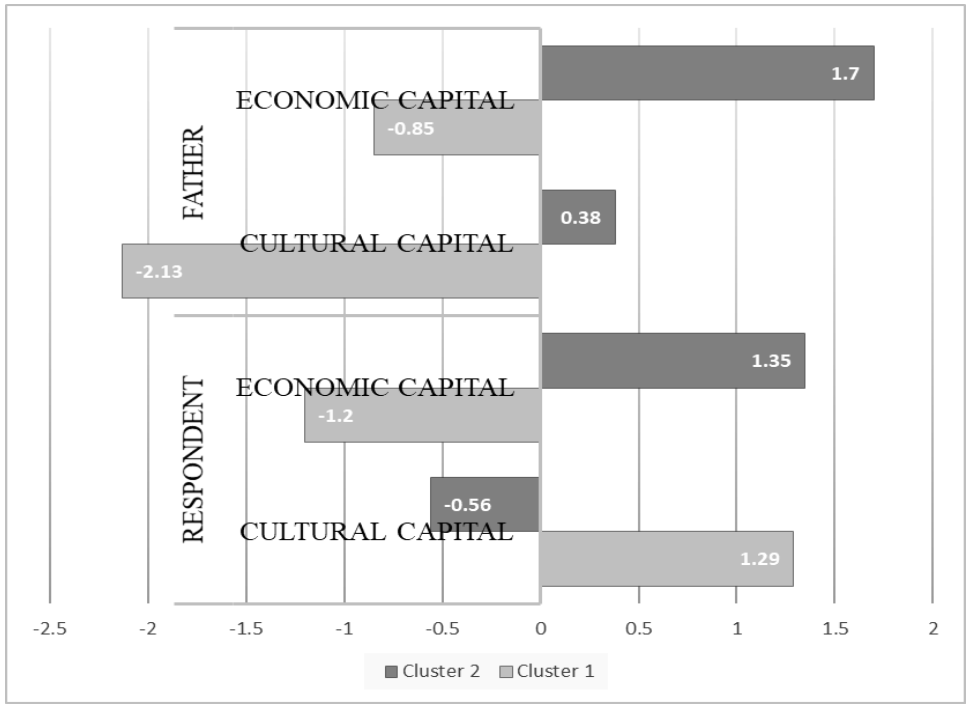

Figure 1. *K*-Means clusters of economic and cultural capital of respondents and their fathers

The MCKMis consisted of three stages. At the first stage, all indicators of each capital were inserted in Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) for the dimension reduction process. The object scores of the produced dimensions of each capital were saved. At the second stage, *K*-means cluster analysis was applied to the object scores of the first dimension of each capital because the dimension has high inertia. The dimension 1 of cultural and economic capital of respondents has inertia of 0.148 (Cronbach's α = 0.92, eigenvalue = 10.354) and 0.776, respectively (Cronbach's α = 0.96, eigenvalue = 6.21). Similarly, the dimension 1 of cultural and economic capital of fathers has inertia of 0.17 (Cronbach's α = 0.96, eigenvalue = 6.21) and 0.67, respectively (Cronbach's α = 0.96, eigenvalue = 6.21).The analysis produced two clusters of each capital (see figure 1). The first cluster of cultural capital and the second cluster of the economic capital of respondents were labelled as highbrow cultural capital and high economic capital, respectively. The first cluster of economic capital and the second cluster of cultural capital of respondents were labelled as low economic and lowbrow cultural capital, respectively. The second cluster of the cultural and economic capital of fathers was labelled as highbrow cultural capital and high economic capital, respectively. On the contrary, the first cluster of each capital of fathers was labelled as low economic and lowbrow cultural capital. Social capital was dichotomized by the computational method. The mean value of the computed social capital was used as a cut point. The mean values of the capital of respondents and fathers were 6.77 and 7.01, respectively. The values below and above the mean were clustered into low and highbrow social capital, respectively.

At the third stage, the dichotomized capitals of respondents and their fathers were entered into MCA along with their occupations. The occupations associated with high economic, cultural, and social capital formed the dominant class of respondents and their fathers. On the contrary, the rest of

the occupations defined dominated class of respondents and their fathers. Table 1consisted of the frequency and percentage distribution respondents and their father by occupation and class.

Table 1

Frequency and percentage distribution of respondents and their fathers by occupation and class

Class and Occupation	Respondent		Father	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Occupations in dominant class				
Zamindar	39	6.9	64	11.3
Factory owner	30	5.3	31	5.5
Manager	41	7.3	12	2.1
University teacher	39	6.9	6	1.1
Medical doctor	36	6.4	9	1.6
Lawyer	37	6.6	8	1.4
Engineer	–	–	10	1.8
Politician	–	–	1	0.2
Total	222	39.4	141	25
Occupations in dominated class				
Supervisor	41	7.3	8	1.4
Salesman	46	8.2	7	1.2
Shopkeeper	45	8.0	24	4.3
College teacher	41	7.3	8	1.4
School teacher	42	7.4	20	3.5
Small farmer	43	7.6	101	17.9
Worker	41	7.3	92	16.3
Small business	43	7.6	79	14.0
Hikmat	–	–	6	1.1
Government employee	–	–	50	8.9
Retired	–	–	28	5.0
Total	342	60.7	423	75
Total	564	100.0	564	100.0

The Model

The study used log-linear model of homogenous association to evaluate class reproduction in southern Punjab, which is identical to Binary Logistic Regression if a dependent variable will be selected (Agresti, 2007, p. 220; Von Eye & Munn, 2013, p. 355).This model is most appropriate to assess the theory because it satisfies Bourdieusianrelational logic. The logic proposed that society is a multidimensional space which can not be comprehended through linear logic. In otherwords, instead of considering independent and dependent variables, it suggests exploringthe bilateral relationship between two variables. Log-linear model satisfies the relational logic and bilaterial relationship

because it does not consider any variable dependent and independent. The defined model of the study is as follows:

$$\mu_{ijzmh} = \ln(N) + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + +\lambda_h^{SC} + \lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC} + \lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC} + \lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$$

The parameters of the model incorporated three hypothesized propositions of the reproduction theory, simultaneously. The preliminary parameters are main effects ($\ln(N) + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + +\lambda_h^{SC}$). They have the least importance if higher-order interaction terms will be included in the model. The first part of the model ($\lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC}$)assessed the first hypothesis of the study i.e. reproduction of class and capitals. The second part comprised perpetuation of inherited class by next-generation ($\lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC}$) and the third part of the model ($\lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$)dealt with conversion of capitals into each other.

Results

Table 2

Frequency and percentage distribution of respondents' demographic information

Variable		Frequency	Percentage
Family Income	<50000 PKR	191	33.9
	50000-100000 PKR	179	31.7
	100000-150000 PKR	48	8.5
	150000-200000 PKR	36	6.4
	>200000 PKR	110	19.5
Family Type	Intact	452	80.1
	Non-Intact	112	19.9
Marital Status	Single	144	25.5
	Married	414	73.4
	Divorced	4	0.7
	Widow	2	0.4
Permanent Residence	Rural	211	37.4
	Urban	353	62.6
Education of respondent	Illiterate	26	4.6
	Primary or equivalent	55	9.8
	Middle or equivalent	43	7.6
	Matric or equivalent	66	11.7
	Intermediate or equivalent	49	8.7
	Bachelor or equivalent	83	14.7
	Masters or equivalent	204	36.2
	M.Phil. or equivalent	33	5.9
	PhD or equivalent	5	0.9
Total		564	100

Table 2 comprised frequency and percentage distribution of the respondents' demographic information. The table showed that the majority of the respondents' families (65.6%) have a monthly income between <50000 PKR and 50000-100000 PKR. However, only 19.5% of the respondents' families have >200000 PKR monthly income. It was also found that majority of the respondents were married (73.4%). They were living in intact family system (80.1%) and urban areas (62.6%). The table

also showed that minimal percentage of the respondents had Ph.D. or equivalent education (0.9%), whereas, almost 33.7%of the respondents were below the intermediate education level (illiterate = 4.6%, primary = 9.8%, middle = 7.6% and matric = 11.7%).

Table 3
Description of model selection parameters

Label	Models	G^2	χ^2	df	AIC	BIC	*p* (G^2)	*p* (χ^2)
M_1	$\mu_{ijzmh} = \lambda + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + \lambda_h^{SC}$	768.352	1520.578	26	716.352	603.6406	<.001	<.001
M_2	$M_1 + \lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC}$	223.323	318.43	22	179.323	83.95181	<.001	<.001
M_3	$M_2 + \lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC}$	77.575	127.681	19	39.575	-42.791	<.001	<.001
M_4	$M_3 + \lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$	34.691	33.801	16	2.691	-66.6699	0.004	0.006
M_5	$M_3 + \lambda_{zmh}^{EC.CC.SC}$	31.441	31.171	15	1.441	-63.5848	0.008	0.008
M_6	$M_4 + \lambda_{ijm}^{DF.DR.CC}$	29.071	29.593	14	1.071	-59.6198	0.01	0.009
M_7	$M_4 + \lambda_{ijz}^{DF.DR.EC}$	30.79	30.994	14	2.79	-57.9008	0.006	0.006
M_8	$M_4 + \lambda_i^{DF.DR.SC}$	29.564	29.342	14	1.564	-59.1268	0.009	0.009

Note: DF = Father's Dominant Class, DR = Respondent's Dominant Class, EC = High Economic Capital, CC = Highbrow Cultural Capital, SC = Highbrow Social Capital.

The studys elected likelihood ratio (G^2), chi-square (χ^2), Akaike Information Criteria (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criteria (BIC) for log linear model selection. The most important criteria are BIC and AIC. BIC measures the fit of a model, independent to the sample size. A saturated model has a BIC of 0. The more negative the value of BIC, the better the model (Raftery, 1986, Kalmijn, 1994). However, AIC does not incorporate sample size in its equation. Table 3 showed that M_4 best fitted to the data. The BIC (-66.67) and AIC (2.69) value of the model showed the relatively better fit of the model compared with other models.

Table 4
Log linear Model of class reproduction (M_4)

Parameter	β	S.E.	Z	*p*	OR	95% C.I.	
						LB	UB
DF	-3.091	0.275	-11.223	<.001	0.0455	-3.6300	-2.5510
DR	-1.229	0.143	-8.582	<.001	0.2926	-1.5100	-0.9480
EC	-3.948	0.365	-10.811	<.001	0.0193	-4.6640	-3.2330
CC	-2.865	0.261	-10.986	<.001	0.0570	-3.3770	-2.3540
SC	-1.499	0.158	-9.462	<.001	0.2234	-1.8090	-1.188
DF X DR	1.959	0.315	6.217	<.001	7.0922	1.3420	2.577
DF X EC	1.243	0.262	4.735	<.001	3.4660	0.7280	1.757
DF X CC	1.05	0.254	4.14	<.001	2.8577	0.553	1.547
DF X SC	0.672	0.246	2.727	0.006	1.9581	0.189	1.154

DR X EC	2.431	0.387	6.281	<.001	11.3702	1.673	3.19
DR X CC	1.57	0.317	4.948	<.001	4.8066	0.948	2.193
DR X SC	0.226	0.258	0.876	0.381	1.2536	-0.279	0.731
EC X CC	1.092	0.261	4.183	<.001	2.9802	0.58	1.604
EC X SC	1.114	0.253	4.405	<.001	3.0465	0.618	1.609
CC X SC	0.167	0.243	0.687	0.492	1.1818	-0.31	0.644
Constant	5.209	0.072	72.045	<.001	182.9111	5.0680	5.3510

Note: DF = Father's Dominant Class, DR = Respondent's Dominant Class, EC = High Economic Capital, CC = Highbrow Cultural Capital, SC = Highbrow Social Capital, OR = Odd Ratio, C.I. = Confidence of Interval, LB = Lower Bound, UB = Upper Bound. The redundant parameters are suppressed.

Table 4omprised the results of M_4 of male respondents. The table denoted that the dominant class of fathers significantly correlated with the dominant class of male respondents (β = 1.96, *p*<.001), which affirmed the reproduction of dominant class of male respondents. It also revealed that the dominant class of fathers highly contributed indetermining the class of male children. In terms of odd ratio, the results showed that dominant class of male respondents are7.1 times highly likely to reproduce the class of their fathers then dominated class of the same gender. The table also showed that the dominant class of fathers significantly correlated with economic (β = 1.243, *p*<.001), cultural (β = 1.1, *p*<.001)and social capital (β = 0.67, *p*<.001)of male respondents. These correlationsrevealed that the dominant class of fathers is 3.46, 2.68, and 1.96 times highly likely to reproduce high economic, cultural, and social capital of the respondents, respectively, compared with low economic, cultural, and social capital of the respondents.

The second part of the results dealt with the perpetuation of the inherited class by the next generation. The results showed that the dominant class of male respondents are11.4and 4.81 times highly likely to perpetuate theirinherited class through economic and cultural capital, respectively. However, the dominant class of the respondents has no significant correlation with their social capital (*p*>.05).

The significant correlation among capitals representsthe conversion of the capitals into each other. The table showed that the high economic capital of male respondents significantly correlated with their highbrow cultural (β = 1.09,*p*<.001) and social capital (β = 1.1, *p*<.001). However, the table showed no significant correlation between highbrow cultural and social capital (*p*>.05). It revealed that high economic capital is 2.98 and 2.05 times highly likely to convert into the highbrow cultural and social capital of respondents from the dominant class. It also means that economic, cultural, and social capital are convertible into each other.

Discussion

The study aimed to explore class reproduction in southern Punjab. In order to serve the purpose, we used comprehensive measures of the capitals. These capitals and social positions were used to identify classes of the respondents and their fathers. The study affirmed the reproduction of capitals and the class of male respondents. The results of the study are consistent with Nakhaie (1996), who concluded that males have higher chances to reproduce their class. Similarly, Gripsrud, Hovden and Moe (2011) found that Norwegian students are highly likely to reproduce the social positions of their fathers because they are enrolled in the discipline that is most relevant to the discipline of their fathers. However, the findings of the present study are contrary to the study of

Robinson and Garnier (1985). They explored that males and females have almost equal chances to reproduce elite class.

Moreover, the findings of the study are also consistent with Jonsson (1993) who found that social capital contributed to class reproduction. Several studies reportedthat cultural and economic capital potentially contributed to class reproduction (e.g., Kalmijn, 1994;Silva & Roux, 2011; Streib, 2011).The findings of this study are also consistent with these studies as the results showed that respondents perpetuated the inherited class economically and culturally.

Lastly, the study is distinctive from the previous researches because it assessed the hypothesis of capitals' conversion. The study found significant correlation of economic capital with cultural and social capital. This finding is consistent with the argument of Bourdieu (1986) that economic capital is the base of other capitals. Moreover, the findings also revealed that social and cultural capital are convertible into economic capital.

Conclusion

The study concluded that the structure of inequality of southern Punjab perpetuated from one generation to the next. The dominant class of fathers determined the dominant class and high capitals of male children. However, the perpetuation of the inherited dominant class by the next generation is conditioned with the perpetuation of high economic and cultural capital. The next generation used the strategy of capital conversion in order to perpetuate the inherited dominant class as they converted their high economic capital into highbrow cultural and social capital. The study suggests that further researches should compare class reproduction by gender

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