

**STRANGERS IN PARADISE: THE CASE OF WORKING-CLASS STUDENTS IN ELITE UNIVERSITIES OF PAKISTAN**Asim Muneeb Khan<sup>1</sup>, Dr. Hazir Ullah<sup>2</sup>, Latafat Aziz<sup>3</sup>**Original Article**

1. Ph.D. Scholar, Department of Sociology, International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan (Corresponding Author) Email: asim.soc1@gmail.com
2. Associate Professor, Department of Sociology Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, Pakistan
3. Assistant Professor in Sociology & Anthropology, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Bahria University Islamabad, Pakistan

**Abstract**

*This research paper discusses working-class students' experiences in the elite universities of Pakistan. The main objective of the research was to examine the inclusion and exclusion strategies of elite universities for working-class students. The research was guided by a qualitative research design. The locale of the study consisted of four elite universities (two from Islamabad-the federal capital of Pakistan-and two from Lahore- the provincial capital of Punjab province of Pakistan). Sixty-four respondents (working-class students) were included in the study through a consecutive sampling technique. The data for the study come from in-depth qualitative interviews using a semi-structured interview guide. Theoretically, the study is informed by Pierre Bourdieu's, Basil Bernstein's, and Jerome Karabel's work. The results of the study showed that working-class students had relatively diverse kinds of experiences in the elite universities of Pakistan. It was found that working-class students were facing symbolic violence in the universities through various explicit and implicit ways. They were segregated through different structural procedures of the elite universities such as fees and other related expenses. The study concludes that working-class students were experiencing inside and outside classroom differential treatment. The social class background was an important factor that was playing a key role for some to be considered as special and others as non-special individuals in educational institutions where the respondents were studying. The study suggests that elitism in the education system of Pakistan must be discouraged to have assimilated kind of environment in the Pakistani education system.*

**Keywords:** Assimilation, Alienation, Working Class Students, Universities

**Introduction**

This study examines the working-class students' experience in elite universities of Pakistan. Pakistan is a highly stratified society where people have unequal access to public goods (health, recreation, education, etc.). Education, like all other goods, is sold and purchased and,

therefore, not equally available to all (Ullah, 2013). Education at all levels, including higher education, is stratified as public and private education. Educational institutions run by a government or funded by the government are titled public educational institutions whereas institutions run by private organizations or individuals are called private institutions. The

public educational institution may be defined as 'any institute funded by government and which usually has low tuition fees and other charges. Whereas on the contrary, the private educational intuitions are the ones owned privately and usually rely on their personal source of funding (with some funds from govt. too) mainly the tuitions fees of the students & usually meant to be attractive for economically rich class' (Leathwood & Connell, 2003).

The education provided in the private educational institutions (to what Bourdieu would call *grandecoles* in the French context) is usually considered to be superior to that of public institutions (Bourdieu, 1998). These private educational institutions usually distinguish themselves from the rest of educational institutions through different mechanisms, such as high fees, and are attended dominantly by students from economically rich backgrounds. Nevertheless, some students from lower middle classes/working-classes make their way to these institutions (Attwell and Lavin, 2007). Private-sector education, particularly in the Pakistani context, is further divided into two parts. One private sector schooling belongs to the elite schooling system which often has higher rates of tuition fees and other expenses and another private schooling is the one that is usually of a lower standard and usually, such kind of schooling structures are established in local municipalities and communities where children from lower classes are enrolled in (Useem, 1992).

### **Elitism and Higher Education**

Higher education is an integral part of the education system globally. Social mobility is considered to be usually attached with credentialism in modern capitalist societies. Better and reputed credentials one has, better opportunities he or she expects to have in the society (Karabel, 2006). Therefore, people, nowadays, are very conscious of sending their kids to the best schooling institutions. Higher

education institutions are believed to sort out individuals concerning their credentials. Like all other walks of life, the edge of belonging to an economically well-off background also plays an important role in the education system throughout the world (Thompson, 2008). The educational system is also different for the people belonging to different social classes. Those who are economically well, usually attend prestigious private educational institutions that are set apart from the rest of public institutions. Elite universities are institutions meant for the inclusion of a particular class into them through various explicit and implicit mechanisms. This may include higher rates of tuition fees, costly hostel accommodations, competitive grading and enrollment systems, or using any other strategy for limiting the access of particular classes in higher education in these institutions. Such elite educational institutions are dominantly private institutions charging higher fees and other expenditures. However, these also receive funds from the government (Tett, 2004). The elite educational institutions keep academic norms and standards that are different from those of public educational institutions. Elite educational institutions can also be defined as educational set-ups established for providing education to the children of wealthy and powerful families, but not available/accessible to those belonging to the families of lower statuses, less powerful in terms of wealth or income (Trow, 1974). The curriculum given inside these elite education tracks has been unequivocally influenced by both their relationship to the state and the division of work between what Bourdieu refers to as the starter classes in the French context (Bourdieu, 1998).

### **Private Education in Pakistan**

Individuals from different social classes in Pakistan have differential access to education. Pakistan has different schooling available for pupils belonging to different socio-economic backgrounds (Farid et al., 2021). The public and the private education systems are mainly two options but there are multiple options within

these two categories. Focusing particularly on the private one that has the elite private education and ordinary private educational system. So, the economic elites in the Pakistani context are usually found to send their kids to those elite educational institutions that start-up by the day their kids start going to school for the very first day. The Feeder schools are nurseries for elite kids that lead them to enter elite universities and colleges once they complete their secondary education and that is how the system continues to please the particular class (Tembon et al., 2008).

In Pakistan, the educational industry has also been flourishing. Private institutes are growing in Pakistan to enhance the quality of education. Based on income, private institutes provide educational opportunities. A highly paid institution maintains the quality of education with criteria. They are linked with the elite class whereas teachers' availability and resources are ensured. Government institution educational quality is also accountable (Bari & Sultana, 2011; Bowles & Gintis, 2013). In February 2015 Oxfam with the collaboration of Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) published a report on the persistent inequality and multidimensional poverty in Pakistan. It states that 40% of all children born in bottom income level households will remain in the same situation over their lifetime & only 9% will see some substantive upward mobility. The thing is quite alarming as it shows how persistent the inequality in the Pakistani structure is. As in Pakistan, the children of the majority of policy makers usually study in an elite schooling system. The pressure to improve government schools perhaps no longer exists since those at the helm of affairs in government are having less or no interest in public schooling as their kids are usually in a private elite schooling environment. What often is understandable in the Pakistani system is the multi-dimensional part played by the elite private schools and the standards they impart inconsistency of inter-generational inequality (Khan et al.) For example, a large pool

of expensive schools now means that children from well-off households no longer go to government-owned or government-regulated institutions for their basic education. Now there is a departure from earlier decades where the elite intuitions only attracted a much smaller proportion of the population. Whereas the remaining proportion, for example, the children bureaucrats, army officers, and mid-tier professionals had the only option to attend the government schooling system. Given the present situation of elite schooling and its availability to the offspring of policymakers, there is no more pressure on them to improve the condition of the public schooling system. The current study is to analyze the experiences of these working-class students who get into the elite universities through any possible way mainly through their academic excellence.

### 1.1 Objectives of the Study

- To study the working-class students' experience with their elite fellows within and outside classrooms;
- To explore the symbolic violence faced by working-class students in elite universities;

### 1.2 Research Question

- How do working-class students perceive and experience their relationship with class/university fellows?

### Literature Review

The review of literature done for this paper comes from both philosophical and empirical scholarships. Several studies have been carried out in the developed world on the experiences of working-class students in elite universities (see Stevens et al., 2008; Karabel, 2006; Bourdieu, 1998). These studies have unpacked the relationship between socio-economic backgrounds and the educational achievements of students in elite universities. A brief review of literature is presented hereunder:

### **History of Elite Educational Institutions: From Academy to Modern Multiplicity of Educational Institutions**

Education is largely acknowledged to be a structuring mechanism through which powerful groups seek to secure and advance their social and economic position (Ball & Nikita, 2014). When it comes to the history of elite educational institutions, they have their roots in Great Britain where royal children were educated privately by tutors who usually taught them liberal arts, sciences & classics. Henry VIII, for the very first time, established an elite school for his son where sons of fourteen other prominent aristocrats were educated too. The teachers of that institution included the most brilliant scholars of that time. Since then, the phenomenon continues till today (Perna et al., 2008) Historically, education used to be something closely connected with the ruling or the elite class families. It is believed that during ancient times, the philosophers like Socrates and Plato used to teach the children of the ruling class and the subjects that they usually taught to those children included philosophy, ethics, some war-related tactics, the measures regarding how to be a good ruler and how to satisfy the needs of the public, etc. (McDonough, 1997).

During the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the formal schooling system i.e. Oxford and Cambridge were established as means of religious teachings. The establishment of these universities had the main reason to further boost up the religious teachings particularly Catholicism. The structure of these institutions then became secular in terms of their teaching methodologies and today both are ranked among the top ten universities of the world (Archer, 1979). After Europe came out of the dark ages during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, it saw a huge demand for education to be something a public property instead of being a private one. It means that the western world demanded to make education something to be accessible for all regardless of any class, sect, religion, or any other differences. As discussed in the above debate, it used to be private and

was only meant for the upper class in Europe. And then, there was a time when demand for compulsory education for all arose at its peak. There used to be various movements that asked to have education for all, and Europe ultimately opted for it. There was an introduction of various incentives for those who admitted their children in schools (the practice is continued in some parts of the European states). This led to the increase of literacy rate day by day in western societies generally (Lehmann, 2007).

### **Empirical Evidence**

Green (1990:248) while comparing the UK, France, and the USA reported 'England as one of the most obvious examples of usage of schooling by powerful groups to maintain their hegemony over subordinate sectors of society. He presented that 'working-class will ultimately acquiesce in their class aspiration'. When the English schooling system was set up in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the intention of the ordinate class was to police and control the working class instead of educating them (Purvis, 1980; Arnot, 1983; Green, 1990; Plummer, 2000).

Maxwell & Aggelton (2015) compared differential schooling in different countries of the world including Brazil, China, England, Scotland, USA, Canada, Australia & Sweden, etc., and found that almost all of these countries do have govt. funded (public sector) & private sector educational institutions. These countries possess a history of different educational systems where pupils from particular social class, race, ethnicity, etc. attended particular educational institutions. Accordingly, the experiences of students both in public sector schooling and private sector schooling were reported to be different. The statistics show the ratio in UK universities and Colleges Admission services that 24.72 percent of students were accepted from the four lowest socioeconomic groups in 2005. Before this ratio was 25.61 percent (Shepard, 2007). However, there is a significant difference in student's participation by social class in elite universities. For instance, 16

percent of those who were admitted in 2000 by the Nineteen Russell Group universities. Three social classes were covering the most disadvantaged group. Comparatively, the Russell group ratio is low rather than Higher Education Funding Council for England's (HEFCE) figure is 19 percent. Prior attainments levels were accounts and it was not a sole factor in the pattern of entry to higher education. Young students have obtained suitable qualifications and are likely to go to universities. Whilst universities are preferring success in widening participation, there seems to be a separation between working-class, minority ethnic students and white middle-class students' institutions (Reay et al., 2005; Sutton, 2000). There is significant data that emerged from a study by the Sutton Trust of the top 13 universities as measure by the press league tables. Data shows that 30,000 of the students are from a less wealthy social background. Only 1 percent- just 4200 students get into the top thirteen universities. Similarly, US wherein 2000 students from the bottom families was 50 percent and 12 percent at Harvard-two of the US elite universities (Karabel 2005).

### **Educational Inequalities in Pakistan**

A quite few studies have been done on how the class system is maintained and recycled through the education system in Pakistan. Not only the class system but the gender hegemony, the ethnic hegemony, and other types of dominances are perpetuated through the education system in Pakistan. According to Ullah & Ali (2013), the promotion of class inequalities has always been an important function of the education system in Pakistan. They argued that children, from the very start of their schooling, are taught their class and ethnic/caste system. They also argued that the textbooks of students are playing a vital role in promoting class systems, gender roles, and other types of inequalities in society. The education system is promoting the class system through examples and pictorial depictions of how a particular class functions (Ullah et al., 2014). In Pakistan, higher

education is generally taken to education above twelve grades between the age brackets of 17 to 23 years. The higher education system of Pakistan is divided into two main sectors. First, the University/degree awarding institutes (DAI) sector and second, affiliated college sector under the apex body of Higher education Commission. It is responsible to allocate the funds to universities and accrediting their degree programs.

### **Methodology**

The study was carried out in four elite universities. The study population consisted of working-class students in these elite universities. 64 respondents (selected through consecutive sampling technique) were interviewed with the help of an interview guide. 16 respondents from each university were in-depth interviewed. The data was processed and analyzed with the help of the thematic analysis technique. Students were identified as working-class students based on subjective, objective, and reputational measurement criteria. The Subjective measurement of social class is an individual's own perception of his/her class. The Reputational measure is an individual's perception of social class by others. The Objective measurement is to set specific socio-economic standards to measure one's social class (Ball, 2010). However, objective measurement of the social class of the students had much proportion of it while approaching and classifying students as working-class students. Academic research involves certain ethical standards (Bryman & Bell, 2007). All the major ethical standards were followed during the research work. Informed consent was sought from the respondents. The participation of respondents was voluntary in nature and respondents were allowed to withdraw at any stage. The privacy and confidentiality of the data were ensured. The anonymity of the respondents and their organizations is maintained. The respondents were not harmed in any form and their dignity being a working-class student was taken care of.

## Results and Discussion

### Working-Class Students' Engagement in Classroom Interaction

Classroom according to critical theorists in sociology of education (see Bourdieu 1992; Karabel, 2008; Reay, 2010) is an interactive social space where students must be empowered to be engaged in productive discussion. Drawing on this understanding of the classroom it was attempted to know the experiences of working-class students' engagement in the classroom environment in the elite universities. The environment inside the classroom is considered to be an important element for the grooming of students. This is something that decides the future belongingness of the students concerning their prior and ultimate class as well. The working-class students have the feelings to participate actively in their classroom environment, but certain factors play a key role in their progress in learning and the social class background is one of them (Clogg, 1995). One of the respondents shared that "classroom environment generally seems to be equal for all but as soon as the time passed on, I felt that I am not part of classroom discussions since my other elite fellows always dominated the classroom discussion".

Usually, elite universities do not have a uniform dressing code for the students, and many times it happens that individuals are sorted out due to their dressing patterns. The glamorous and branded dressing that the working-class students are unable to afford also causes them to feel that they are not part of the classroom environment (Reay, 2009). Since the conspicuous consumption of elites is something to show off their superiority complex over their non-elite classmates. Building upon this argument, a respondent from one of the elite universities of Islamabad shared that:

*The majority of my class fellows wear branded and latest dressing from the different international brands. They show up the brand names that we even never heard of. Sometimes,*

*they show the price tags as well and when we calculate, its price is more than our monthly family budget.*

Working-class students often feel not to be part of the classroom interaction and discussion as they have to go through the comments and taunts of their class fellows (Karabel, 2005). Hence, this makes it difficult for them to positively engage themselves in the proper learning environment. When asked a respondent in an Islamabad based university about her classroom experiences, she was like:

*Sometimes they (my class fellows) pass derogatory remarks. And I think the important factor behind such taunts is my poor social class background. If a class fellow is not good-looking or having low financial status or someone is not having an expensive gadget mobile etc. He/she has to face such worst remarks from fellows. Even if someone has a cheap phone then people pass comments and derogatory comments as well.*

It is obvious from the statement of the student that many times working-class students become victims of symbolic violence because of their socio-economic background in elite universities. Usually, it is difficult for one belonging to a lower socio-economic class to afford the elite university environment. The neglect which is sometimes manifest and many times latent in nature is also an important factor that leads the working-class students to feel in a different way (Reay, 2010). Another respondent shared that "As per my experience with classmates, I was neglected to participate in class activities by fellows through different ways."

The disparity that the dressing causes among the non-elite university students studying in the elite universities sometimes proves to be creating a vulnerable situation for them. This creates a straightforward class difference among the students within the same university (Coleman, 1982). It is evident from the above

statement of students that class differences have a lot of impact on creating social inequality. The students of the working class often become the victim of fun making by the other fellows and sometimes by the teachers as well. Among other factors, their consideration as being conservative is also reported by one of the female students. The student in one of the elite universities shared that:

*During my first class, the teacher made fun of me for wearing a veil because other girls do not wear a veil in my class. They think I am trying to become over Islamic. They probably feel that I am old-fashioned and belong to the working class because of my dressing.*

Working-class students always had an issue getting amalgamated and be interactive with their class fellows (Dika and Singh, 2002). It becomes difficult for them to positively get themselves engaged in classroom discussions. It has been reported by the respondents that they were segregated by their teachers and fellows due to their class background. This has led them to feel discouraged as can be observed in the statement of one of the respondents:

*I have a different level of interactive experience with class fellows and teachers. The teacher mostly appreciated the work while some fellows discouraged me when I wanted to participate in an interactive session of the classroom.*

The students of elite class backgrounds are found to be technologically advanced than their non-elite fellows. They can afford technological advancements due to their rich socio-economic background (Reay, 2009). Hence, it becomes difficult for working-class students to cope up with their elite fellows which creates a difference in their classroom interaction both with their teachers and fellow students. The working-class students are unable to be friends with class fellows and it is many a time difficult for them to be a part of study groups because of having a different level of mentality. Their expectations are relatively different and the resources available to them are different too. Furthermore,

the students of the working class are usually dedicated to their studies which sometimes causes them to be a victim of professional jealousy from their elite fellows (Devine, 2004). For example, a working-class student shared that:

*I am not a member of any of my class groups. I do not have close friends in my class because I am a topper of my class, so they (my elite fellows) are jealous of me. They do not inform me about any event because they do not want me to participate in any event. They think that if I participate in the event, I will get ahead of them, so they make groups within their circle.*

The students of the working class were found to be stuck between their original and ultimate classes (Finder, 2006). On one hand, they belonged to poor households whereas, on the other hand, they see their elite fellows with all the perks and privileges that created a mental dilemma for them. This is well explained by another respondent:

*I studied in a public school that was having quite a low ranking, whereas my class fellows usually talk about the elite schools such as Beacon house and Froebel's and their study trips to Europe, the USA, and Australia, etc. None of even my ancestors ever visited these places. So, when I hear about these places I wish to be there and try to feel the same as my elite fellow too. I think it sometimes creates trouble in my learning in a different way.*

Having the extraordinary credentials with the elite students since they studied in reputed schools and colleges that were brand in educational institutions to which Bourdieu (1992) would call as *Grande école in the French context* was another important factor that favored students of elite background and discriminated the working-class students. It propagates a kind of inferiority complex among working-class students.

### Working-Class Students as Strangers in Paradise

Working-class students often feel like to be just like strangers in paradise (Reay, 2009). Their university culture is different from that of their area and family as well. Usually, such students are among pioneers in their family systems to reach till university level. So, they feel and experience their university as a kind of alienated environment such as reported by a student that:

*During the first semester, I heard certain awkward comments about my social class. But over time, all these differences settled down. We make a group from the same social class So, after this, we (middle or lower-middle) mates created a friendly environment in the class. But the thing is we, the working class tend to be in our social class circles.*

Sometimes working-class students indirectly become the center of their elite fellows' gaze. They are usually unable to compete with elite fellows on financial grounds. Even during the classroom discussion, they sometimes become an example of strength for others whereas many individuals take this as something offensive. This is because of having a lower level of confidence and feeling of being shy. There is a vast majority of working-class students who feel not to be in the mainstream cultural context of the educational institutions because of their social class background. This affects their academic performance and also enhances their feeling of alienation from their university culture. A student responded to this question in the following way:

*I think I am equally treated in the class by the teachers but still, my elite fellows have some protocols that I am unable to afford. My class fellows spend more time with the teacher after the class. I think, they are given more leverage and that is justified by the teacher because they get to spend more time. I can't give that much time to the teacher. In my point of view, the main purpose of myself is to acquire an education and after that to work for the prosperity of my nation. If that will be your*

*focus, you will not concentrate, what people are saying behind your back.*

Building a normal relationship is one of the difficult tasks where working-class students have to adjust with everyone because everyone belongs from different cultural and religious contexts. So, living in a community of different diversities you have to learn more. A student reported that:

*It is important till somehow because your surrounding wants to see something in you. It is important to present yourself and to be well-oriented. The thing I observed from this environment is that the elite class of our society spent all their time in enjoyment. They do not take their studies seriously. They think that they have everything to fulfill their needs, so they just waste their time in enjoyment. If someone belongs to the working class then he/she knows that what are their goals and how can they achieve their goals.*

It is quite evident from the statements above that the students from the lower socioeconomic background were failed to cope up with their elite university culture. It was due to their class background that they were feeling like strangers in the elite universities. They were lacking all forms of capital which they needed for their adjustment to the university environment.

### Summary and Conclusion

This study was an attempt to analyze the experiences of working-class students studying in four of the elite universities of Pakistan. The particular focus of this research work was to see if the modern elite universities were disseminating the knowledge-based educational structure or they were still helping to further reproduce the elitism through the educational system of Pakistan. The study shared interesting findings that supported the literature. The results of the study showed the variety of distinctions that existed in the Pakistani education system. A vast literature that exists and depicts the

provision of different sorts of education in the global context has a very strong linkage with the elitist kind of education in Pakistan. The global leading educational brands such as IVIES in the USA, Oxbridge in the UK, and C9 in China have their networking throughout the world. From one part of the world to the other one, global brands in education do not want themselves to be damaged by anyone at any cost. The US and UK being leaders in top rankings in universities around the globe want to keep and reproduce their dominance globally. Princeton, Yale, and Harvard of USA have their dominance in the provision of formal education which sometimes leads to much discrimination both in the education system of developed and developing world.

Talking particularly in the Pakistani context, the elite institutions of higher learning are also following the footsteps of Ivies and Oxbridge of USA and UK consecutively. The elite universities of Pakistani have set the standards to follow that most of the time lead the people from a working-class background to lag which ultimately causes the class differences in the general public in terms of educational and social opportunities. It is revealed by the results that elite educational institutions create a gap between those belonging to rich and poor class backgrounds through different strategies that are sometimes manifest and are latent usually. The clear-cut class differences are reported to have existed in the overall environment and the get-up of universities. Right from the start of admission of students in elite universities, the system of class difference gets started and it continues even after completion of degree of the students. The working-class students shared that they were not usually encouraged by their fellow students to take part in university activities due to their lower socio-economic background. The students were quite shy to take part in classroom discussions because they felt that they were not confident in speaking or due to other language issues. These working-class students were not members of the class study groups because of

various factors and class background was among one of the major factors. Sometimes they were bullied because of their dressing, gadgets, and even based on their speaking and writing skills.

The students of lower socioeconomic backgrounds were reported not to seek equal attention from their faculty members and university administration. The major hurdle in this was their class background. The majority of the students were having the view that their university administrations had a biased and discriminating attitude because they belonged to the poor class. Many times, they were not waived off in fee or the fee installments were not done in favor of them to relax them financially. These working-class students were in less or no contact with their fellows since it wasn't possible for them because of their non-matching class background. The universities were proven to be a kind of alienating place for them. Very little or no assimilation was reported. The working-class students were not taking part in exchanging gifts with their fellows since they were unable to afford the exchanging of gifts due to their class background. It was a relatively difficult process for them to live and sustain in a world of glamour since it demands money. The overall impression of the elite university was making it difficult for working-class students to cope up.

## References

- Ainsworth, J. W. (2010). Does the race of neighborhood role models matter? Collective socialization effects on educational achievement. *Urban Education, 45*(4), 401-423.
- Alderson, A. S., Azamat, J., & Isaac, H. (2007). Social Status and Cultural Consumption in the United States. *Poetics, 35*(2), 191-212.
- Alexander, K. L., Entwisle, D. R., & Thompson, M. S. (1987). School performance, status relations, and the structure of sentiment: Bringing the teacher back in. *American Sociological Review, 66*(5)-682.
- Bourdieu, P., Darbel, A., & Schnapper, D. (1991). *The love of art: European art museums and their public* (p. 53). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1964). *Les étudiants et leurs études*. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1979). *The inheritors: French students and their relation to culture*. Univ of Chicago Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *The state nobility: Elite schools in the field of power*. Stanford University Press.
- Cookson Jr, P. W., & Persell, C. H. (1985). English and American residential secondary schools: a comparative study of the reproduction of social elites. *Comparative Education Review, 29*(3), 283-298.
- Cornwell, E. Y., & Cornwell, B. (2008). Access to expertise as a form of social capital: An examination of race-and class-based disparities in network ties to experts. *Sociological Perspectives, 51*(4), 853-876.
- Farid, S., Abbasi, S. U. R. S., & Mahmood, Q. K. (2021). Modelling Bourdieusian Social Reproduction Theory. *Social Indicators Research, 1*-37.
- Grusky, D., Wedeen, K. A., & Sorensen, J. B. (2000). The case for realism in-class analysis. *Political Power and Social Theory, 14*, 291-306.
- Guest, A., & Schneider, B. (2003). Adolescents' extracurricular participation in context: The mediating effects of schools, communities, and identity. *Sociology of education, 89*- 109.
- Gumport, P. J. (2007). *Sociology of higher education: Contributions and their contexts*. JHU Press.
- Hagan, J., MacMillan, R., & Wheaton, B. (1996). New kid in town: Social capital and the life course effects of family migration on children. *American sociological review, 36*(3)- 385.
- Halaby, C. N. (2004). Panel models in sociological research: Theory into practice. *Annu. Rev. Sociology., 30*, 507-544.
- Karabel, J. (2006). *The chosen: The hidden history of admission and exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Karen, D. (2002). Changes in access to higher education in the United States: 1980-1992. *Sociology of Education, 19*(1)-210.
- Katchadourian, H. A., & Boli, J. (1985). *Careerism and intellectualism among college students*. Jossey-Bass.
- Khan, M. Z., Rehman, S., & Rehman, C. A. (2015). Education and Income Inequality in Pakistan. *Management & Administrative Science Review, 4*(1), 134-45.
- Lareau, A. (1987). Social class differences in family-school relationships: The importance of cultural capital. *Sociology of education, 73*-85.

- Lareau, A. (2000). *Home advantage: Social class and parental intervention in elementary education*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Leathwood, C., & O'Connell, P. (2003). 'It's a struggle': the construction of the 'new student' in higher education. *J. Education Policy*, 18(6), 597-615.
- McDonald, S., & Elder Jr, G. H. (2006). When does social capital matter? Non-searching for jobs across the life course. *Social Forces*, 85(1), 521-549.
- McDonough, P. M. (1997). *Choosing colleges: How social class and schools structure opportunity*. Suny Press.
- Stevens, M. L., Armstrong, E. A., & Arum, R. (2008). Sieve, incubator, temple, hub: Empirical and theoretical advances in the sociology of higher education. *Annu. Rev. Sociol*, 34, 127-151.
- Sullivan, A. (2002). Bourdieu and education: How useful is Bourdieu's theory for researchers?. *Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences*, 38(2), 144-166.
- Sullivan, A. (2002). Bourdieu and education: How useful is Bourdieu's theory for researchers?. *Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences*, 38(2), 144-166. *opportunity*. Suny Press.
- Paulsen, M. B., & John, E. P. S. (2002). Social class and college costs: Examining the financial nexus between college choice and persistence. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 73(2), 189-236.
- Perna, L. W., Rowan-Kenyon, H., Bell, A., Thomas, S. L., & Li, C. (2008). A typology of federal and state programs designed to promote college enrollment. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 79(3), 243-267.
- Perna, L. W., & Titus, M. A. (2005). The Relationship between parental involvement as social capital and college enrollment: An examination of racial/ethnic group differences. *The journal of higher education*, 76(5), 485-518.
- Selingo, J. (2004). US public's confidence in colleges remains high. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 50(35), A12-A13.
- Sewell, W. H., & Shah, V. P. (1968). Social class, parental encouragement, and educational aspirations. *American journal of Sociology*, 73(5), 559-572.
- Tembon, M. M., & Fort, L. (Eds.). (2008). *Girl's education in the 21st century: Gender equality, empowerment and growth*. The World Bank.
- Ullah, H. (2013). *The social reproduction of class and gender hierarchies through different educational system in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Peshawar, Pakistan.
- Ullah, H., & Ali, J. (2013). Power on the Pages of Textbooks. Examining Class Hierarchies. *Middle Eastern Journal of Scientific Studies*, 14(1), 53-62.
- Ullah, H., & Skelton, C. (2013). Gender representation in the public sector schools textbooks of Pakistan. *Educational Studies*, 39(2), 183-194.
- Weber, M., & Eliaeson, S. (2000). *The Cambridge Companion to Weber*. Cambridge University Press.
- Zweigenhaft, R. L. (1993). Prep school and public school graduates of Harvard: A longitudinal study of the accumulation of social and cultural capital. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 64(2), 211-225.