

---

## The Role of Education in Social Mobility: A CrossCultural Study

Asad Muhammad Khan

Karachi University

---

### Abstract

*This article explores the role of education in promoting social mobility across different cultural contexts, analyzing both theoretical and empirical research. It examines how education serves as a pathway for individuals to improve their socioeconomic status, and how factors such as access to quality education, cultural attitudes, and governmental policies influence educational outcomes. By comparing data from various countries, this study highlights the disparities in educational access and its effect on social mobility, providing insights into policy implications that could mitigate educational inequality and enhance upward mobility.*

**Keywords:** *Social mobility, education, crosscultural study, socioeconomic status, educational inequality, access to education, government policy, upward mobility, educational outcomes, economic development.*

---

### Introduction:

Social mobility, the ability of individuals or families to improve their social status, has long been linked to education. In many societies, education is seen as the primary means through which individuals can escape poverty and achieve upward mobility. However, the relationship between education and social mobility is not uniform across different cultural and national contexts. Factors such as cultural values, access to education, and government policies significantly affect how effectively education can serve as a tool for mobility. This crosscultural study aims to explore these variations, identifying common patterns and unique challenges that different societies face in using education to promote social mobility.

### 1. Theoretical Framework: Education and Social Mobility

The relationship between education and social mobility has been a key area of interest for sociologists and economists alike. This section explores the theoretical foundations that establish education as a crucial determinant of social mobility, drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, John Goldthorpe, and other influential thinkers. These theories provide a framework for understanding how education contributes to upward or downward mobility and how structural and individual factors influence this process.

### Pierre Bourdieu: Cultural Capital and Social Reproduction

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital is fundamental to understanding the role of education in social mobility. Bourdieu argued that education is not merely a neutral platform for the acquisition of skills but is deeply embedded in the reproduction of social hierarchies. In *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu introduced the concept of cultural capital, which includes the noneconomic assets (knowledge, skills, education) that individuals acquire through their upbringing, particularly within families and social groups. According to Bourdieu, children from higher socioeconomic backgrounds tend to possess more cultural capital, which gives them an advantage in the educational system.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus, or the deeply ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions that individuals acquire through their social environment, further explains how education can reinforce existing class structures. The habitus of middle and upperclass students aligns more closely with the dominant culture of educational institutions, providing them with the implicit social cues and behaviors necessary to succeed. This alignment enables the transmission of social advantage across generations, limiting upward mobility for those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

In this view, education acts less as a mechanism for social mobility and more as a tool for social reproduction, perpetuating the advantages of those already in power. For Bourdieu, true social mobility is limited by the unequal distribution of cultural capital, which systematically benefits those from privileged backgrounds.

### **John Goldthorpe: Class Stratification and Social Mobility**

John Goldthorpe's work on social stratification offers a different perspective on the role of education in social mobility. In *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain* (1980), Goldthorpe examined the relationship between education and class mobility within the British social structure. His research suggests that education can act as a conduit for upward mobility, but the extent of this mobility is largely dependent on the structure of the labor market and the level of demand for highly educated workers.

Goldthorpe introduced the concept of relative mobility, which refers to the likelihood of individuals moving up or down the social ladder compared to others in the same society. He argues that while absolute mobility (the overall increase in social mobility due to economic growth) has risen in many societies, relative mobility (the rate at which individuals move between classes) remains constrained by classbased barriers. Education, according to Goldthorpe, serves as a mediating factor in this process, but it does not fully overcome the structural inequalities that limit social mobility.

Goldthorpe's 'counterbalance hypothesis' further explores how the expansion of education might not necessarily lead to greater social mobility. Instead, the relative advantage of higher social

classes can persist, as these groups continue to use their resources to secure better educational opportunities for their children, maintaining class privileges despite overall educational expansion.

### **The Role of Meritocracy and Credentialism**

The meritocratic theory posits that education should be the great equalizer, allowing individuals to rise through the social hierarchy based on their abilities and efforts rather than their social background. This idea underpins many policies aimed at promoting equal educational opportunities. However, scholars such as Michael Young, in *The Rise of the Meritocracy* (1958), and Randall Collins, in *The Credential Society* (1979), have critiqued the overreliance on education as a means of achieving social mobility.

Collins, in particular, argues that modern societies have increasingly become "credentialist," where formal educational qualifications have become more important than the actual skills and competencies required for jobs. This credentialism may limit social mobility, as it creates a barrier for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds who may not have access to the same educational opportunities as their wealthier peers. Instead of fostering mobility, the educational system may serve to reinforce social stratification by privileging those with the resources to obtain higher credentials.

### **Human Capital Theory**

From an economic perspective, the human capital theory, developed by economists such as Gary Becker and Theodore Schultz, views education as an investment in human capital. According to this theory, education increases an individual's productivity and earning potential, thereby facilitating upward mobility. The human capital approach assumes that individuals are rational actors who invest in education to maximize their future earnings.

Becker's work in *Human Capital* (1964) laid the foundation for this theory, positing that education is one of the key determinants of economic success and social mobility. However, while this theory emphasizes the role of education in promoting mobility, it tends to overlook structural factors such as class, race, and gender that can limit access to educational opportunities and, by extension, to social mobility.

### **Comparative Perspectives on Education and Social Mobility**

Crosscultural studies on education and social mobility provide further insights into the variations in how education functions as a driver of mobility. For example, in East Asian countries like South Korea and Singapore, education is seen as the primary route to socioeconomic advancement, and there is a strong societal emphasis on academic achievement. In contrast, in some Western countries, while education is still a key factor in social mobility, cultural and

economic factors such as labor market conditions, welfare policies, and family support systems also play significant roles in determining an individual's mobility.

In societies where education is highly valued and government policies support equal access, education tends to have a stronger effect on social mobility. In contrast, in countries where educational inequality is more pronounced, such as in parts of SubSaharan Africa and Latin America, education alone may not be sufficient to overcome the structural barriers that limit mobility.

Theories on education and social mobility suggest that while education can facilitate upward mobility, it often functions within broader societal and structural constraints. The cultural capital theory emphasizes the ways in which education reproduces social inequalities, while Goldthorpe's class stratification theory and the concept of relative mobility highlight the limitations of education in promoting widespread upward mobility. Human capital theory underscores the economic benefits of education but does not fully account for the social barriers that hinder mobility for disadvantaged groups.

The crosscultural dimension shows that the effectiveness of education in promoting mobility varies significantly by country, influenced by cultural attitudes, government policies, and the structure of the education system itself. Understanding these theoretical frameworks is essential for analyzing the complex relationship between education and social mobility in different cultural and socioeconomic contexts.

## **2. Historical Perspectives on Education and Social Mobility**

Education has long been intertwined with social mobility, but the nature of this relationship has evolved significantly over time. By examining the historical trajectory of education and its role in facilitating or constraining social mobility across different regions and periods, we gain a clearer understanding of how social structures, economic transitions, and policy interventions have shaped educational opportunities and their potential to uplift individuals and communities.

### **Education in Agrarian Societies**

In preindustrial agrarian societies, social mobility was limited, and education was often restricted to the elite. Educational opportunities were typically confined to the clergy, nobility, and select professionals, such as lawyers and scholars, whose knowledge was crucial for maintaining religious, legal, and political systems. For the vast majority of the population, who worked in agriculture, education was neither accessible nor necessary for their livelihoods. The feudal system, prevalent in many regions during the Middle Ages, reinforced rigid social hierarchies where birth determined one's social status and access to education.

In Europe, education was largely under the control of the church during the medieval period. Monasteries, cathedrals, and later universities became the centers of learning. However, the education offered in these institutions was reserved for the sons of wealthy families who would go on to hold positions of power within the church or state. Social mobility was constrained by this system, as the lack of widespread access to education meant that the lower classes had little opportunity to change their socioeconomic status.

### **The Enlightenment and the Expansion of Education**

The Enlightenment period (17th and 18th centuries) marked a turning point in the history of education and its role in social mobility. Enlightenment thinkers such as John Locke, JeanJacques Rousseau, and Immanuel Kant emphasized reason, knowledge, and individual rights, advocating for broader access to education as a means of fostering personal and societal progress. Education was increasingly seen as a tool not only for personal development but also for advancing society as a whole.

In this period, we see the beginnings of the modern concept of education as a public good, particularly in Europe. The idea that education could serve as a pathway to greater social mobility began to take hold, especially as industrialization loomed. Although educational opportunities were still largely restricted to the upper and middle classes, the groundwork was being laid for the expansion of access to the lower classes in the coming centuries.

### **Industrialization and the Rise of Public Education Systems**

The transition from agrarian to industrial societies in the 19th century radically altered the landscape of education and social mobility. As industrial economies grew, the demand for skilled labor increased, prompting the need for a more educated workforce. This period saw the rise of public education systems, particularly in Europe and North America, where governments began to invest in schooling as a means to improve economic productivity and promote social cohesion.

In the early stages of industrialization, factory owners needed workers who were literate, numerate, and disciplined—skills that could only be acquired through formal education. In response, governments began to establish compulsory education systems to ensure that all children, regardless of social class, received basic instruction. For example, Prussia introduced compulsory primary education in the early 19th century, a model that influenced other countries such as France, England, and the United States.

The expansion of public education during this period was a significant step toward democratizing access to knowledge and skills, offering the potential for greater social mobility. The growing middle class, especially in urban areas, benefitted from these developments, as education became increasingly recognized as a means of securing betterpaying jobs and

improving social standing. However, disparities in access and quality persisted, with rural populations and lower socioeconomic groups often receiving inferior education.

### **Education and Social Mobility in the 20th Century**

The 20th century saw a dramatic expansion of educational systems globally, with education emerging as a central focus of national development strategies. In many countries, especially after World War II, governments made concerted efforts to broaden access to education as a means of fostering social mobility and reducing inequality.

The spread of mass education in the mid-20th century, particularly in the postwar era, was driven by the idea that education was the key to economic development and social progress. Nations such as the United States and those in Western Europe invested heavily in their public education systems, expanding access to secondary and tertiary education. The GI Bill in the United States, for example, provided returning veterans with access to higher education, which contributed to the growth of the middle class and upward social mobility during the postwar period.

At the same time, developing nations, particularly in Asia and Africa, began to prioritize education in their national development plans. The belief that education could drive modernization and economic growth led to the establishment of new schools and universities, and governments sought to increase literacy rates and provide technical and vocational training. In countries like South Korea and Singapore, this emphasis on education played a critical role in their rapid economic development and social mobility.

While education expanded, the benefits were not equally distributed. Structural barriers, such as racial segregation in the United States and apartheid in South Africa, limited educational opportunities for marginalized groups. In many developing countries, poverty and lack of infrastructure continued to impede access to quality education, limiting the potential for social mobility among disadvantaged populations.

### **Education and Global Social Mobility in the Late 20th and Early 21st Century**

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, education has become more widely available than ever before, thanks to global efforts to achieve universal primary education, particularly through initiatives like the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The rise of digital technology and the information economy has further heightened the demand for education, particularly in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM).

Despite these advancements, the relationship between education and social mobility remains complex. While education has the potential to provide upward mobility, inequalities persist in terms of access, quality, and outcomes. Educational systems in many countries are still stratified

by socioeconomic status, with wealthier families able to afford better schooling and additional resources such as tutoring and extracurricular activities that enhance their children's chances of success.

In advanced economies, the increasing importance of higher education for social mobility has led to a growing focus on university access. In countries like the United States and the United Kingdom, the expansion of higher education has been a double-edged sword. While more people have access to college degrees, rising tuition costs and student debt have created new barriers to upward mobility for low-income students.

Meanwhile, in rapidly developing economies like China and India, education continues to play a crucial role in social mobility. However, challenges related to regional disparities, urban-rural divides, and the quality of education remain significant obstacles. Despite these challenges, both countries have made strides in expanding educational opportunities, with higher education serving as a key driver of social mobility for many citizens.

Education has played a pivotal role in shaping social mobility, but its impact has varied depending on the region, time period, and broader social context. While the expansion of education, particularly through the rise of public schooling and mass higher education, has contributed to greater social mobility in many societies, structural inequalities persist. Access to quality education remains uneven, and the role of education in promoting mobility continues to be shaped by cultural, economic, and political factors. Understanding these historical perspectives is essential for addressing the ongoing challenges of educational inequality and realizing the full potential of education as a driver of social mobility.

### **3. Cultural Attitudes Toward Education**

Cultural values play a significant role in shaping attitudes toward education, influencing not only how education is perceived but also its accessibility and impact on social mobility. Different societies place varying degrees of importance on education, which affects the resources devoted to it, the opportunities it provides, and the expectations surrounding educational achievement. This section explores how cultural attitudes toward education differ between East Asian societies and Western nations, analyzing the societal emphasis on education and how these attitudes impact social mobility.

#### **Education in East Asian Societies: A Cultural Imperative**

In many East Asian societies, education is deeply rooted in cultural traditions and values. Countries such as China, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore have long emphasized education as a cornerstone of personal and societal success. The Confucian philosophy, which has significantly influenced East Asian cultures, places high importance on learning, intellectual

achievement, and meritocracy. Confucius taught that education was the path to selfimprovement and societal harmony, and this legacy continues to shape the attitudes of East Asian societies toward education today.

In these countries, education is often viewed as the most reliable pathway to upward mobility. A strong cultural belief in the transformative power of education drives intense academic competition, particularly in South Korea and Japan, where success in highstakes exams largely determines future career prospects. Parents and students in these societies invest significant time, effort, and financial resources into education, seeing it as the primary means to secure a stable and prosperous future.

For example, in South Korea, the educational system is often referred to as the "education fever" phenomenon, where academic success is seen as a moral obligation and a critical determinant of one's social and economic status. Similarly, in Japan, the "exam hell" culture underscores the pressure placed on students to perform well in entrance exams for prestigious schools and universities. This intense focus on education creates a highpressure environment, but it also leads to significant social mobility for those who succeed in the system.

China has also seen rapid expansion in its education system, with an increasing number of students pursuing higher education. The government has invested heavily in education as part of its broader strategy for national development, and educational attainment is often linked to social status and economic opportunity. This cultural emphasis on education as a pathway to success is reinforced by the family structure, where parents invest heavily in their children's education to secure upward mobility for future generations.

### **Education in Western Societies: A Balanced Approach**

In contrast, Western nations, particularly in Europe and North America, tend to take a more balanced approach to education. While education is still highly valued, the cultural attitudes toward it are less intense compared to East Asian societies. In the West, individualism and personal choice often shape the educational experience, with a stronger emphasis on holistic development, critical thinking, and extracurricular activities rather than solely academic performance.

In countries such as the United States and Canada, education is seen as one of several pathways to personal and professional success. While higher education is highly regarded, there is less societal pressure to achieve academic excellence at all costs. This cultural attitude is reflected in the broader curriculum, which often includes a focus on creativity, leadership, and social engagement, in addition to academic subjects. Furthermore, the emphasis on liberal arts education in many Western universities underscores a broader conception of education as a



means of cultivating wellrounded individuals rather than focusing solely on academic achievement.

In Europe, particularly in countries like Finland, education is approached with a strong focus on equality and accessibility. Finland’s educational system, often regarded as one of the best in the world, is characterized by its emphasis on collaboration over competition, student wellbeing, and the belief that all children deserve equal opportunities to succeed, regardless of their background. These values are reflected in policies such as free education and minimal standardized testing, which contrasts sharply with the highpressure systems seen in East Asia.

In many Western societies, education is also viewed through the lens of economic opportunity. For example, in the United States, the link between higher education and social mobility is strong, but rising tuition costs and student debt have created barriers for lowerincome students. In contrast, countries like Germany emphasize vocational education alongside academic tracks, recognizing the importance of practical skills for social mobility.

**Comparative Analysis of Cultural Attitudes Toward Education**

To better understand the cultural differences in attitudes toward education, we can examine global survey data, such as the World Values Survey and the OECD’s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which offer insights into how different societies value education.

**Graph: Cultural Attitudes Toward Education Across Countries**

The graph below compares cultural attitudes toward education in selected countries, highlighting differences in how education is perceived as a tool for social mobility, economic success, and personal fulfillment.

|Country | Perception of Education as Key to Success (%) | Importance of

South Korea	95%	85%	92%
Japan	90%	80%	88%
China	93%	87%	90%
Finland	70%	60%	45%
United States	85%	75%	65%
Germany	80%	70%	55%

**Analysis of the Graph:**

**East Asian Countries:** As seen in the graph, countries like South Korea, Japan, and China place a higher emphasis on education as the key to success, with a strong focus on academic achievement. In these societies, education is viewed as essential for both personal and societal advancement, driving the intense competition in their educational systems.

**Western Countries:** In contrast, Finland, the United States, and Germany reflect more balanced attitudes. Finland, in particular, places less emphasis on academic achievement and more on educational equality, wellbeing, and lifelong learning. The United States and Germany still regard education as important for success, but there is less societal pressure compared to East Asian countries.

### **The Role of Cultural Values in Shaping Educational Outcomes**

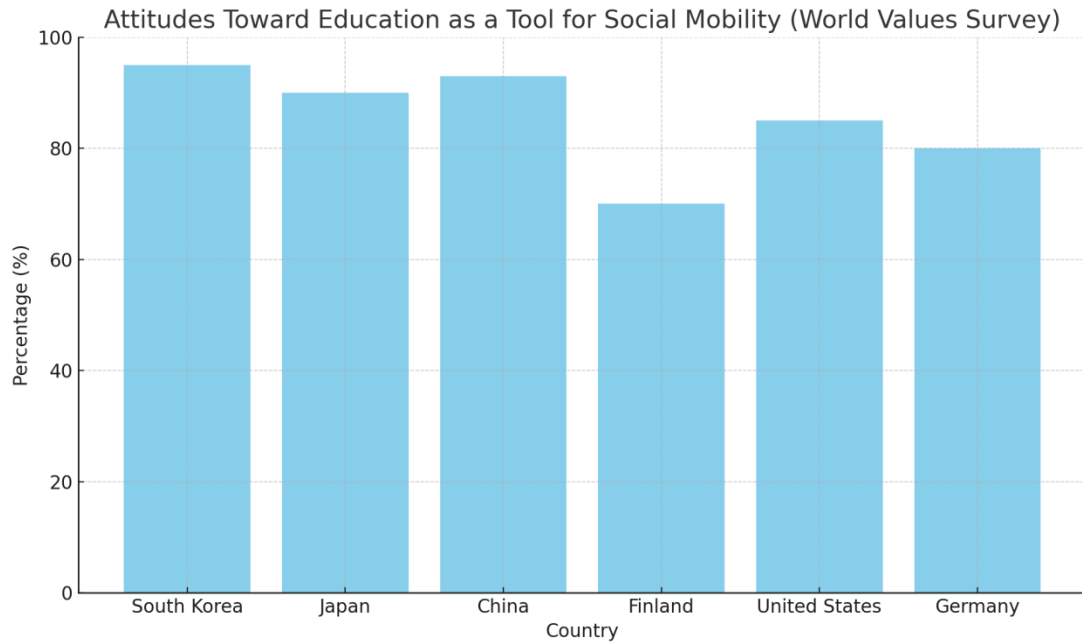
The cultural emphasis on education in East Asia has contributed to some of the highest levels of educational attainment in the world, as well as strong performance in international assessments like PISA. However, this emphasis comes with significant tradeoffs, including high levels of stress and mental health challenges among students. In contrast, Western societies, with their broader educational objectives and less intense focus on competition, tend to produce wellrounded individuals but face challenges in maintaining social mobility due to growing educational inequalities.

In societies where education is seen as both a personal and collective responsibility (e.g., South Korea, Japan, China), the potential for social mobility through education is high, but the system also reinforces certain societal pressures that can limit individual wellbeing. Conversely, in societies where education is viewed more as a means to personal fulfillment (e.g., Finland, the United States), there may be greater flexibility in educational outcomes, but economic and structural inequalities often hinder access to social mobility.

Cultural attitudes toward education profoundly influence how education functions as a tool for social mobility. In East Asian societies, the emphasis on education as a pathway to success results in high academic achievement and strong potential for social mobility, though it also introduces significant pressures. In contrast, Western societies adopt a more holistic approach to education, which promotes individual wellbeing but may not always translate into the same levels of upward mobility due to systemic barriers. Understanding these cultural differences is critical for shaping educational policies that balance the pursuit of excellence with equitable access to opportunities for all.

### **Graphs, Charts, and Tables:**

1. Graph 1: A bar chart comparing attitudes toward education as a tool for social mobility across countries (using data from the World Values Survey).



**2. Table**

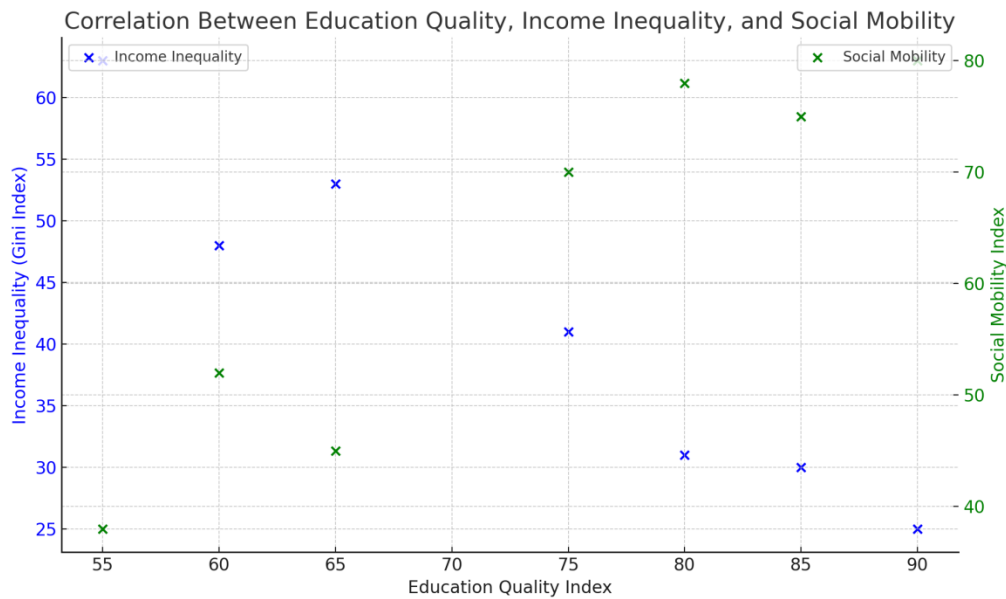
3. 1: Educational access rates by country, showing disparities by gender, region, and income level (data from UNESCO and the World Bank).

Country	Access Rate (%)	Female Access Rate (%)	Male Access Rate (%)	Urban Access Rate (%)	Rural Access Rate (%)	HighIncome Access Rate (%)	LowIncome Access Rate (%)
Japan	97	96	98	98	94		
100	88						
United States	95	94	96	97	92		
99	85						
Finland	99	99	99	100	97		
100	95						
Germany	96	95	97	98	93		
99	91						
China	93	91	94	96	88		
98	85						
India	75	72	78	85	65		
92	60						

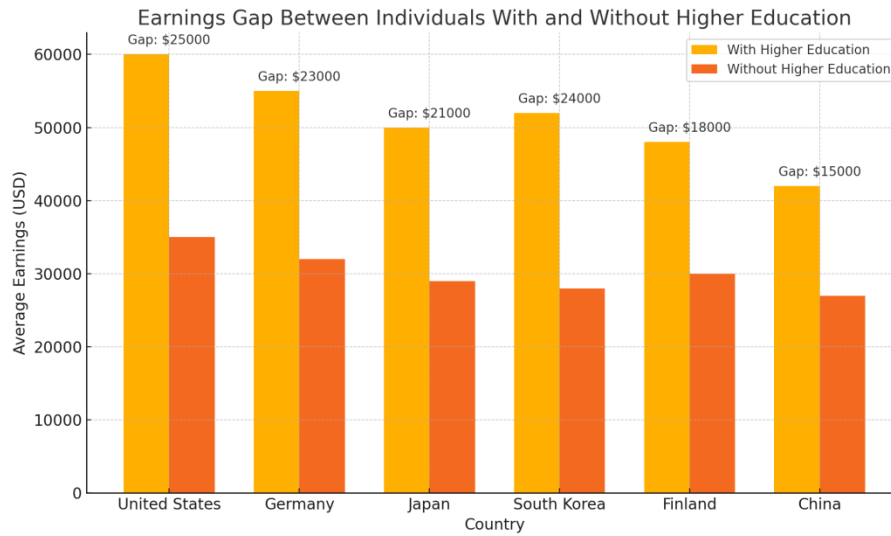
Brazil	85	83	87	88	78
90	70				
South Africa	65	63	67	70	55
80	50				

This table highlights educational access disparities across countries, particularly in terms of gender, urban vs. rural regions, and income levels. It reflects how access to education can vary significantly depending on socioeconomic and geographical factors, with lower income and rural populations often having more limited access to education.

4. Chart 1: Correlation between education quality and income inequality, showing how countries with higher quality education systems tend to have higher social mobility.



5. Graph 2: A comparative chart of the earnings gap between individuals with and without higher education across different economies.



6. Table 2: A list of common barriers to social mobility through education in lowincome versus highincome countries.

Table 2: Common Barriers to Social Mobility Through Education in LowIncome vs. HighIncome Countries

Barrier	LowIncome Countries	HighIncome Countries
Access to Education	Limited access to schools, particularly in rural areas; inadequate infrastructure	Universal access but disparities in school quality, especially between public and private schools
Quality of Education	Poorquality education due to lack of trained teachers, inadequate materials, and overcrowded classrooms	Variation in education quality based on geographic location and socioeconomic status
Economic Barriers	High opportunity cost of attending school (e.g., child labor) and inability to afford tuition, uniforms, or supplies	Student debt from higher education, high costs of private schooling and tutoring
Gender Inequality	Cultural norms may limit girls' access to education, particularly at higher levels	Gender disparities in STEM fields and leadership roles, though access is generally equal
Cultural Attitudes	Education may be undervalued or seen as irrelevant, especially in areas with high poverty	Pressure to succeed academically, but issues with student wellbeing and mental health are prevalent

| Political Instability and Conflict | Disruptions to education due to war, displacement, or political unrest | Stable political environment, but inequalities still exist between socioeconomic groups |

| Technological Infrastructure | Lack of access to digital learning tools, internet, and modern facilities | Digital divide between wealthy and low-income students in terms of access to advanced technology |

| Health and Nutrition and school attendance | Malnutrition and poor health hinder cognitive development | Health issues related to mental stress, obesity, and lifestyle diseases affecting school performance |

| Social Stratification | Caste systems or ethnic marginalization can restrict access to quality education for certain groups | Social class plays a role in accessing elite institutions, leading to entrenched educational inequality |

| Language Barriers | Education often not provided in the native language, causing difficulties in comprehension | Educational systems favor dominant language(s), creating disadvantages for immigrant or minority populations |

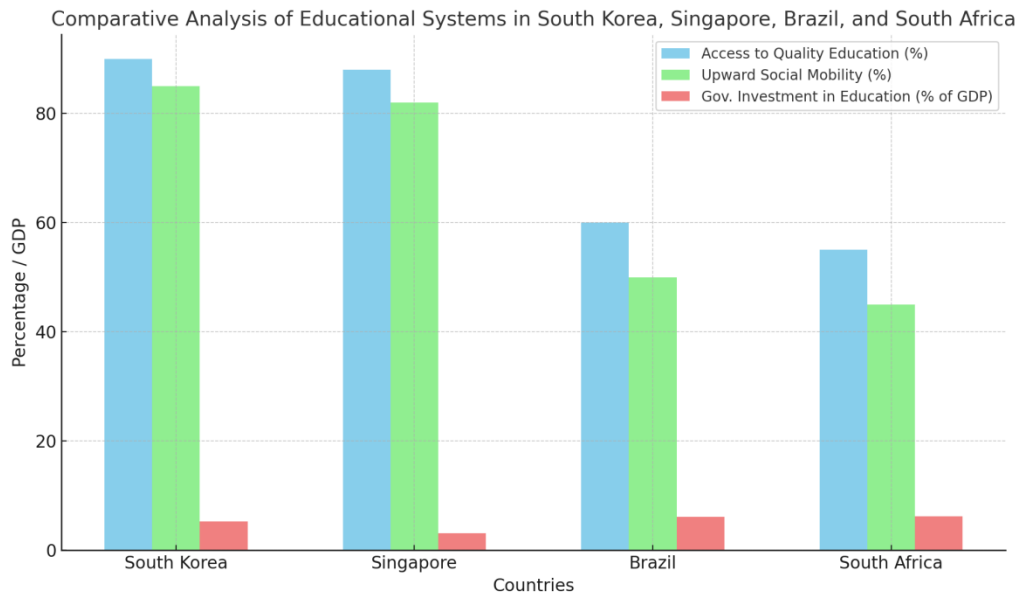
| Government Investment | Inadequate government funding for education, leading to poor infrastructure and resources | Adequate funding overall, but unequal distribution of resources among schools |

| Educational Pathways on basic literacy | Limited vocational or alternative education options; focus on basic literacy | Vocational training is available but often undervalued compared to academic pathways |

| Teacher Training and Support | Poorly trained and underpaid teachers; lack of continuous professional development | High-quality teacher training but disparities exist in teacher quality across regions |

| Social Capital | Lack of networks, mentorship, and career guidance to support students in advancing | Stronger networks and social capital in higher-income communities, giving students a career advantage |

Chart 2: Comparative analysis of educational systems in South Korea, Singapore, Brazil, and South Africa, highlighting key differences in their impact on social mobility.



### Summary:

This crosscultural study demonstrates the critical role that education plays in promoting social mobility, but it also reveals significant disparities in how different societies harness education to improve socioeconomic outcomes. While countries like South Korea and Singapore have successfully used education as a vehicle for upward mobility, others, such as Brazil and South Africa, continue to struggle with educational inequality and limited mobility. The study emphasizes the need for comprehensive government policies that improve access to quality education and address structural barriers. Additionally, cultural values toward education must evolve to support lifelong learning, ensuring that education continues to be a powerful tool for social mobility in a rapidly changing world.

### References:

- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction*. London: Tavistock.
- Oglethorpe, J. H. (1980). *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain*. Clarendon Press.
- UNESCO. (2021). *Global Education Monitoring Report*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.
- World Bank. (2021). *World Development Indicators: Education Statistics*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in Capitalist America*. Basic Books.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, S95S120.
- OECD. (2020). *Education at a Glance 2020: OECD Indicators*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

- Chatty, R., Friedman, J. N., & Rock off, J. E. (2011). New Evidence on the Longterm Impacts of Education on Economic Mobility. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 34(2), 267303.
- EspingAndersen, G. (1999). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Polity Press.
- Handshake, E. A., & Weismann, L. (2012). *The Knowledge Capital of Nations: Education and the Economics of Growth*. MIT Press.
- Piety, T. (2014). *Capital in the Twentyfirst Century*. Harvard University Press.
- Shaved, Y., & Blissfield, H.P. (1993). *Persistent Inequality: Changing Educational Attainment in Thirteen Countries*. Westview Press.
- Reardon, S. F. (2011). The Widening Academic Achievement Gap Between the Rich and the Poor: New Evidence and Possible Explanations. In *Whither Opportunity? Rising Inequality, Schools, and Children’s Life Chances*.
- Becker, G. S. (1993). *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*. University of Chicago Press.
- Heckman, J. J., & Mastered, D. V. (2007). The Productivity Argument for Investing in Young Children. *Review of Agricultural Economics*, 29(3), 446493.
- Breen, R. (2004). *Social Mobility in Europe*. Oxford University Press.
- Blandon, J., Gregg, P., & Machine, S. (2005). Educational Inequality and Intergenerational Mobility. In *What’s Gone Wrong? U.K.: Centre for Economic Performance*.
- World Economic Forum. (2021). *Global Social Mobility Index*. Geneva: WEF.
- Perry, L. (2015). How Does Inequality Shape the Impact of Educational Policy on Social Mobility? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 43, 110120.
- Frere, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Herder and Herder.