



SOCIAL CLASS POSITION AS A DETERMINANT OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

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The objective of the study was to research the correlations between dependent variables: (i) formal education, (ii) education achievement in elementary school, (iii) education achievement in secondary school and independent variables (i) parents' formal education, (ii) the social class individuals originated in and (iii) the financial and material circumstances of their families. A total of 1,980 adult employees in Slovenia participated in the study. Identified were correlations between formal education and all independent variables. There is also a positive correlation between the parents' formal education and the formal education of their children (father's education $r=0.396$ at $p=0.01$ and mother's education $r=0.370$ at $p=0.01$). The study confirmed positive correlation between parents' education and the educational achievement of their children in elementary school. Quite different results were obtained for educational achievement in secondary school. The correlation between educational achievement in secondary school and all the independent variables is less than 0.150.

Key words: social classes, education, Slovenia

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INTRODUCTION

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The concept of social class was developed by Marx and Engels (1848), who suggested that there were three class categories: (1) *the capitalist class*, comprising the owners and controllers of the means of production, distribution and exchange;

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(2) *the middle class*, which includes managers, small businesses, professionals and the middle ranks of the state apparatus; and (3) *the working class*, which includes the great majority of the population who sell their labour power, their capacity to work, in return for a wage or salary, and who work under the direction of the owners of the means of production and their agents.

Many different class categories are described in the literature. For example, the Glass schema from 1949 in which Glass (1954) defines seven class categories in Britain: (1) professionals and high managers, (2) managers and directors, (3) supervisors and other non-manual employees (higher grade), (4) supervisors and other non-manual employees (lower grade), (5) qualified manual and routine non-manual workers, (6) half-qualified manual workers and (7) non-qualified manual workers. Kotler (1996) also distinguishes seven social classes in the United States of America: (1) higher upper class, (2) lower upper class, (3) higher middle class, (4) middle class, (5) labour class, (6) higher inferior class and (7) lower inferior class. Social classes are also defined in the Classification of Occupations 1990 (SOC90), which was revised and updated in SOC2000 prepared by the Office for National Statistics, and are classified in five categories: I Professional, etc. occupations, II Managerial and technical occupations, III Skilled occupations – manual and non-manual, IV Partly skilled occupations and V Unskilled occupations (Social Trends, 2006, 203).

In our study the Goldthorpe class schema was used (Table 1). The original schema proposes eleven classes. Classes I and II are made up of those occupations that most clearly have a service relationship. Class I comprises higher-grade and class II lower-grade professionals, administrative and managerial workers. At the other extreme, members of classes VI (skilled manual workers) and VII (unskilled manual workers) most clearly have a labour contract with their employer. Class VII is divided into: VIIb, non-skilled agricultural workers, and VIIa, non-skilled workers outside agriculture. Class IIIb includes occupations of the lowest grades of employment in offices, shops and other service outlets – machine operators, counter staff, attendants, etc. (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992). The remaining classes, IIIa (higher grade, routine non-manual occupations) and V (lower technical and manual supervisory occupations), comprise positions with associated employment relationships that would appear characteristically to take on a very mixed form. Goldthorpe later condensed the classes into a seven-class schema comprising I+II, III, IVa+b, IVc, V+VI, VIIa, and VIIb. In part this reflects the need to ensure that numerically important classes were represented and, in

TABLE 1
The Goldthorpe class
schema (Goldthorpe,
1980)

| CASMIN version | Goldthorpe class | Description |
|--|------------------|---|
| Service class (I+II) | I | Higher-grade professionals, administrators and officials; managers in large industrial establishments; large proprietors |
| | II | Lower-grade professionals, administrators and officials; higher-grade technicians; managers in small industrial establishments; supervisors of non-manual employees |
| Routine non-manual class (III) | IIIa | Routine non-manual employees, higher grade (administration and commerce) |
| | IIIb | Routine non-manual employees, lower grade (sales and services) |
| Non-farm petty bourgeoisie (IVa+IVb) (IVc) | IVa | Small proprietors, artisans, etc., with employees |
| | IVb | Small proprietors, artisans, etc., without employees |
| | IVc | Farmers and smallholders; other self-employed workers in primary production |
| Technicians, supervisors, skilled manual workers (V+VI) | V | Lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers |
| | VI | Skilled manual workers |
| Semi- and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture) (VIIa) | VIIa | Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture) |
| Semi- and unskilled manual workers (in agriculture) (VIIb) | VIIb | Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers in agriculture |

Education and social classes

Education is also an important determinant of the class position that an individual comes to occupy, and much mobility study examines the relationships between class origin and educational attainment, on the one hand, and, educational attainment and class destination on the other (Breen, 2005; see also Ferjan and Jereb, 2005).

Different styles of upbringing have their effect on children's motivation and capacity to learn, and on their adaptability to the requirements of the school. Middle-class parents have been found to expect more of their children, who internalize those expectations – expecting more of themselves, they care more about achievement at school. Moreover, in the middle-class style of upbringing, the children's motivation, generally has been better prepared to make good use of school, because their relations with their parents' motivation have pre-

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pared them for relations with their teachers, and the activities their parents encourage will have resembled those of the school (Phelps Brown, 1979). Children from smaller families achieve higher test scores, and they do better at school. In a sample of grammar school pupils from manual workers' families, Jackson and Marsden (1962) found that these families averaged fewer than two children, about half the average for manual workers' families as a whole. Analysing extensive U.S. data, Duncan (1967) found that large families exerted a consistently depressing effect on educational attainment relative to the attainments of children from small families. It is understandable that where there are fewer children in the family, the parents have more resources with which to support the education of each child and more time in which to attend to the progress of each. But they will not do this simply because their children are few: they must also have the motivation to do it. Blau and Duncan (1967) found that with parents at a given socio-economic level, boys from small families where the eldest brother did not go beyond elementary school enjoyed no educational advantage over boys from large families. The inference that these were small families in which the parents were not concerned about advancing their children's education is borne out by the further finding that the educational advantage of coming from a small family increased with the level of education of the eldest brother. It seems that the size of the family and the scholastic achievement of the children are the joint products of the parents' concern for education.

Class differences also appear in the relations between the parents and the school, once chosen. Middle-class parents are more able to take up their children's problems with their teachers and bring pressure to bear for the changes they want to see for their children's sake. Class differences in parental concern may well be a cause of differences in the scholastic achievement of children of the same ability (Phelps Brown, 1979). It seems that differences in achievement depend more on difference between homes than between schools.

Bowles and Gintis (2001) found that parental economic status is passed on to children in part by means of unequal educational opportunity, but that the economic advantages of the offspring of higher social status families go considerably beyond the superior education they receive. The authors believe that the social class of the family of origin leads to the principal differences in educational levels. They claim that social class determines the duration of schooling. Those who originate in higher classes are usually more educated, and they gain higher qualifications and better-paid working positions regardless of their abilities (Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

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Bouchard and McGue (1981) state that the correlations of IQ between parents and offspring are substantial, ranging from 0.42 to 0.72, the higher figure referring to average parental versus average offspring IQ.

Rogers (2006) asserts that today there are three main forms of socially transformative education. These are what he terms: (1) the deficit paradigm, (2) the disadvantaged paradigm and (3) the diversity paradigm. The deficit paradigm posits that the cause of inequalities is that some people lack the resources which others possess. The disadvantaged paradigm says that the reason why some people are poor and remain outside the dominant groups is not their lack of education, but the fact that they are being "excluded" by the elites, by the oppression of the system (including formal education). The diversity paradigm analyses the situation in terms of "difference". Multiple providers and multiple forms of provision, different curricula and clientele, the emergence of new forms of (religious and other) education – all these reflect increasing diversity in education.

A significant number of authors explain differences in educational achievement with differences in values of social classes. For instance, Hyman (1953) hypothesizes that:

1. People in the working class don't appreciate education. Schooling after elementary school does not hold much worth for them.

2. They don't value higher professional status. They appreciate employment stability and the promise of early employment for their children. They avoid taking the risk of reaching a higher occupational status.

3. Compared to middle class coevals, they think their chances for promotion are much lower.

Yet these values are not characteristic of the entire working class population. There are still individuals who do not share the views of the majority (Hyman, 1953).

The inequalities in human societies refer to power, status and fortune. Education is also an important determinant of the class position of an individual and vice versa. The aim of our study was not to study all social class attributes; we limited it to education. But we will use these elements in our next study where the attributes that determine the social class of an individual will be studied with the help of DEXi (a modelling program based on attributes arranged as a tree structure) (see Jereb, U. Rajkovič and V. Rajkovič, 2005). The aim of the present study was to define the level of educational achievement of individuals in Slovenia and to discover: (i) correlations between individuals' formal education and the education of their parents; (ii) correlations between individuals' educational achievement and the social class of the family of origin.

HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses were defined:

1. There is a correlation between individuals' formal education and the formal education of their parents.
2. There is a correlation between individuals' educational success at different study levels and the formal education of their parents.
3. There is a correlation between the individuals' educational achievement and the social class of the family of origin.
4. There is a correlation between the individuals' educational achievement and the financial and material circumstances of the family.

METHOD

Participants

As today we speak of lifelong learning, our study concerned the educational achievement of the so-called "active working population".

In this study 1,980 (0.20% of labour force in Slovenia) adult employees in Slovenia – 937 males (47.3%) and 1043 (52.7%) females – participated. Ages ranged from 18 to 66 years, with a mean of 36 years and 10 months ($M=36.84$ and $SD=9.925$). The research was carried out by the Faculty of Organisational Sciences, University of Maribor in November 2006 in all districts of Slovenia. The criteria for participants' selection were: (1) the person must be at least 18 years old and (2) the person must be employed or have been employed at least once.

The formal educational structure of the participants is shown in Table 2. In Slovenia, the education classification from 1980 is used and has eight degrees.

➔ TABLE 2
Educational structure
of the participants
($n=1980$)

| Education degree | N | % |
|------------------|-----|------|
| 1 | 28 | 1.4 |
| 2 | 24 | 1.2 |
| 3 | 79 | 4.0 |
| 4 | 340 | 17.2 |
| 5 | 897 | 45.3 |
| 6 | 216 | 10.9 |
| 7 | 354 | 17.9 |
| 8 | 42 | 2.1 |

Mean = 5.19; Std. Deviation = 1.28

Instrument

The questionnaire contained 23 closed questions referring to: (i) general data (age, gender), (ii) education (including father's and mother's), (iii) social class appurtenance, (iv) the class in which they originated (father's class). The basic questions referred to social class appurtenances.

Dependent variables

The individuals' formal education

Individuals were asked about their achieved degree of education. The following scale was used: (1) did not finish elementary school, (2) finished elementary school (8 years), (3) secondary school (2 years), (4) secondary school (3 years), (5) secondary school (4 years), (6) two-year study, (7) higher education, and (8) master's degree, doctorate degree. This scale was also used in our study "the parents' formal education" formal education, represented the independent variable.

The educational success at different study levels

To test the second hypothesis, two dependent variables were defined: (1) "educational achievement in elementary school and (2) "educational achievement in secondary school". Individuals were asked: "What was your formal educational achievement in (1) elementary school and (2) secondary school?" A five-level scale was used: (1) finished with additional improvement exams, (2) sufficient, (3) good, (4) very good and (5) excellent.

Independent variables

The parents' formal education

Individuals were asked about their father's and mother's level of formal education.

The social class of the family of origin

Individuals were asked about their social position. The state of the independent variable of the social class of the family of origin was measured by their father's social class. To determine the social class of the family of origin the adjusted Goldthorpe class schema was used:

1. Managers in large industrial establishments and large proprietors.
2. Higher-grade technicians; managers in small industrial establishments.
3. Routine non-manual employees, higher grade (administration and commerce).
4. Routine non-manual employees, lower grade (sales and services).
5. Small proprietors, artisans, etc., without employees.
6. Small proprietors, artisans, etc., with employees.
7. Lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers.
8. Skilled manual workers; smallholders.
9. Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers.
10. Unskilled manual workers – assistant workers.
11. Unemployed.

Financial and material circumstances of the family

Individuals were asked about the material circumstances of the family of origin. To define the answers for the variable "financial and material circumstances of the family", a five-level scale was used: (1) socially handicapped, (2) bad, (3) middle, (4) satisfying and (5) excellent.

RESULTS

The educational structure of the participants can be seen in Table 2. Tables 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 show the results of the above mentioned measurements. Table 8 gives the correlation coefficients between the previously described variables.

↪ TABLE 3
Educational achievement in elementary school (n=1980)

| Educational achievement | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| 1) Finished with additional improvement exams | 8 | 4 |
| 2) Sufficient | 88 | 4.4 |
| 3) Good | 626 | 31.6 |
| 4) Very good | 784 | 39.6 |
| 5) Excellent | 474 | 23.9 |
| Total | 1980 | 100.0 |

Mean= 3.82; Std. Deviation=0.859

↪ TABLE 4
Educational achievement in secondary school (n=1980)

| Educational achievement | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| 1) Finished with additional improvement exams | 21 | 1.1 |
| 2) Sufficient | 124 | 6.3 |
| 3) Good | 933 | 47.1 |
| 4) Very good | 660 | 33.3 |
| 5) Excellent | 184 | 9.3 |
| Not answered | 58 | 2.9 |
| Total | 1980 | 100.0 |

Mean=3.45; Std. Deviation=0.796;

↪ TABLE 5
The parents' formal education (n=1980)

| Education degree | Father | | Mother | |
|------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| 1 | 184 | 9.3 | 297 | 15.0 |
| 2 | 166 | 8.4 | 271 | 13.7 |
| 3 | 298 | 15.1 | 329 | 16.6 |
| 4 | 561 | 28.3 | 422 | 21.3 |
| 5 | 481 | 24.3 | 447 | 22.6 |
| 6 | 125 | 6.3 | 122 | 6.2 |
| 7 | 136 | 6.9 | 82 | 4.1 |
| 8 | 29 | 1.5 | 10 | .5 |
| Total | 1980 | 100.0 | 1980 | 100.0 |

Father: Mean=4.04; Std. Deviation=1.634;

Mother: Mean=3.60; Std. Deviation=1.683

⇒ TABLE 6
The social class of the family of origin (n=1980)

| Position | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| Managers in large industrial establishments and large proprietors. | 58 | 2.9 |
| Higher-grade technicians; managers in small industrial establishments. | 221 | 11.2 |
| Routine non-manual employees, higher grade (administration and commerce). | 193 | 9.7 |
| Routine non-manual employees, lower grade (sales and services). | 292 | 14.7 |
| Small proprietors, artisans, etc., without employees. | 73 | 3.7 |
| Small proprietors, artisans, etc., with employees. | 76 | 3.8 |
| Lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers. | 265 | 13.4 |
| Skilled manual workers; smallholders. | 510 | 25.8 |
| Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. | 143 | 7.2 |
| Unskilled manual workers – assistant workers. | 102 | 5.2 |
| Unemployed | 47 | 2.4 |
| Total | 1980 | 100.0 |

⇒ TABLE 7
Financial and material circumstances of the family of origin (n=1980)

| Answer | Frequency | Percent |
|------------------------|-----------|---------|
| 1) Socially endangered | 34 | 1.7 |
| 2) Bad | 234 | 11.8 |
| 3) Middle | 851 | 43.0 |
| 4) Satisfying | 712 | 36.0 |
| 5) Excellent | 149 | 7.5 |
| Total | 1980 | 100.0 |

Mean=3.36; Std. Deviation= 0.849

⇒ TABLE 8
Pearson r correlation coefficients (n=1980)

| | A | B | C | D | E | F |
|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|---------|
| A | - | | | | | |
| B | .509(*) | - | | | | |
| C | .353(*) | .401(*) | - | | | |
| D | -.278(*) | -.252(*) | -.122(*) | - | | |
| E | .199(*) | .232(*) | .085(*) | -.404(*) | - | |
| F | .396(*) | .308(*) | .127(*) | -.675(*) | .389(*) | - |
| G | .370(*) | .275(*) | .117(*) | -.538(*) | .403(*) | .705(*) |

* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Dependent variables:

A - Formal education

B - Educational achievement in elementary school

C - Educational achievement in secondary school

Independent variables:

D - The social class of the family of origin

E - Financial and material circumstances of the family

F - Father's formal education

G - Mother's formal education

As seen in Table 8 we have identified correlations between formal education and all independent variables. The minus sign of the Pearson r correlation coefficient in row and column D (for the independent variable "the social class of the family of origin") must be regarded as a positive correlation. The social class individuals originated in was defined according to the Goldthorpe class scheme, where "class 1" represents the highest class. Social classes were measured on a decreasing scale. All the other variables were measured on an increasing scale. There is also a positive correlation between the parents' formal education and the formal education of their children (father's education $r=0.396$ at $p=0.01$ and mother's education $r=0.370$ at $p=0.01$).

We have identified correlations between educational achievement in elementary school and all independent variables, too. The correlations between educational achievement in secondary school and the independent variables: (i) the social class of the family of origin, (ii) the financial and material circumstances of the family, (iii) their father's formal education and (iv) their mother's formal education, are very low. (Pearson r correlation coefficients are less than 0.150)

Next, we performed a stepwise regression analysis for dependent variables:

- (i) "educational achievement in elementary school",
- (ii) "educational achievement in secondary school" and
- (iii) "formal education"

and independent variables:

- (i) father's education,
- (ii) mother's education,
- (iii) financial and material circumstances of the family and
- (iv) social class of the family of origin.

TABLE 9
 Stepwise regression
 analysis

| Predictors | Educational achievement in elementary school | | Educational achievement in secondary school | | Formal education | |
|--|--|---------|---|---------|---|---------|
| | ΔR^2 | β | ΔR^2 | β | ΔR^2 | β |
| Father's education | .094**** | .189*** | .002* | .052 | .126*** | .263*** |
| Mother's education | .004*** | .079*** | | | .013*** | .177*** |
| Financial and material circumstances of the family | .015**** | .114*** | | | | |
| Social class of origin | | | .002** | -.057 | | |
| | R ² = 0.113 F = 82.58**** | | R ² = 0.018 F = 17.65**** | | R ² = 0.138 F = 152.13*** | |

* $p \leq 0.1$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$; **** $p \leq 0.001$

DISCUSSION

Social inequality in schools in present-day Slovenia has historical roots. In the Middle Ages, from the 12th century on, the larger cities in Slovenia had schools, but people from the countryside had no access to education. In 1772 Maria Theresa introduced obligatory schooling for everyone, along with access to schools. In 1776 a two-fold criterion was introduced for registration in secondary school. In 1848 the "March Revolution" was carried out, after which the schooling system was changed so that people had greater access to schools (Schmidt, 1988, 9). But in actual fact, access to education did not change much until the Communist revolution in 1945. The idea of Communism was to establish a "classless, socially just society". Put into practice, this would mean that there would be no social differences among people.

Today Slovenia is a European Union country with a population of 2 million. In 2005, the budgetary allocation to education amounted to 6.09% of GDP (*Annual Statistics of the Republic of Slovenia, 2005*) – 6.0% in 2004 according to the World Bank (World Bank 2006).

The first study on educational achievement depending on the social class of the family of origin in Slovenia was done in 1977. Toličič and Zorman (1977) determined that:

1. Children of parents with higher education have better success in school. These parents bring up and orient their children to higher goals; they demand more learning and expect a longer period of schooling.

2. Children of different social classes achieve the same results in objective tests, but when they are evaluated directly by teachers, the results are better for children of higher social classes. Their findings were confirmed by Makarovič in 1984 (1984, 185). He also found that teachers award higher marks to children of higher social classes.

Our study also confirmed correlation between parents' education and the educational achievement of their children in elementary school (Table 8).

As can be seen in Table 9 the stated predictors explain 11.3 percent of variance of the educational achievement in elementary school. The highest impact can be assigned to the predictor father's education ($\Delta R^2 = 0.094$ at $p \leq 0.001$; $\beta = 0.189$ at $p \leq 0.01$). Differently educated parents have different values and different points of view of education. On the other hand, teachers in elementary schools know the parents of the children they are teaching. We also think that the father's and mother's education has an effect on the subjectivity of the teacher when grading pupils. Financial and material circumstances of the family also have an impact on educational achievement in elementary school ($\Delta R^2 = 0.015$ at $p \leq 0.001$; $\beta = 0.114$ at $p \leq 0.01$).

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Quite different results showed up for educational achievement in secondary school. Certain previously exemplary pupils become problematic and vice versa. We attribute this to the onset of puberty. Adolescents have a different perception of education. Secondary schools can be relatively distant from some pupils' homes, and thus the teachers do not know their parents as well. This can lead to less subjectivity in grading. In Table 9 can be seen that the stated predictors explain only 1.8 percent of variance of the educational achievement in secondary school.

We have identified a positive correlation between the parents' formal education and the formal education of their children (father's education $r=0.396$ at $p=0.01$ and mother's education $r=0.370$ at $p=0.01$) (Table 8). As we can see in Table 9, 13.8 percent of variance of the formal education can be explained by predictors father's education ($\Delta R^2 = 0.126$ at $p \leq 0.001$; $\beta=0.263$ at $p \leq 0.01$) and mother's education ($\Delta R^2 = 0.013$ at $p \leq 0.001$; $\beta=0.177$ at $p \leq 0.01$).

Table 10 illustrates how an individual's formal education depends on his/her father's formal education.

TABLE 10
Individual's formal education compared to father's formal education (n=1980)

| Fathers' formal education | Individuals' formal education (%) | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | Total |
| 1 | 10.3 | 5.4 | 11.4 | 29.9 | 32.6 | 3.8 | 6.5 | 0 | 100.0 |
| 2 | .6 | 1.8 | 7.8 | 32.5 | 41.0 | 5.4 | 9.0 | 1.8 | 100.0 |
| 3 | .7 | 2.0 | 9.4 | 27.5 | 40.3 | 9.4 | 9.4 | 1.3 | 100.0 |
| 4 | .5 | .4 | 2.1 | 16.6 | 54.7 | 10.3 | 14.4 | .9 | 100.0 |
| 5 | .2 | .6 | 1.2 | 8.3 | 46.6 | 14.8 | 26.6 | 1.7 | 100.0 |
| 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4.8 | 42.4 | 15.2 | 33.6 | 4.0 | 100.0 |
| 7 | 0 | .7 | 0 | 7.4 | 43.4 | 13.2 | 27.2 | 8.1 | 100.0 |
| 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3.4 | 37.9 | 10.3 | 27.6 | 20.7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 1.3 | 1.3 | 4.0 | 17.2 | 45.6 | 10.8 | 17.7 | 2.1 | 100.0 |

Not even one child whose father hadn't finished elementary school (level 1) achieved the highest education level (8 - master's degree, doctorate degree). Only 6.5% of them finished higher education (level 7) and 10.3% did not finish the first stage of elementary school. On the other hand, 20.7% of children whose fathers achieved the highest education degree (master's or doctorate degree) also achieved the same education degree and 27.6% finished higher education (level 7).

Hyman (1953) claims that values characteristic of the working class are not necessarily characteristic of all working class individuals. There are still some who do not share the view of the majority. We think that working class people who have achieved higher status have a more positive attitude toward education.

| Social class of the family of origin | Individuals' formal education (%) | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | Total |
| 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5.2 | 51.7 | 6.9 | 24.1 | 12.1 | 100.0 |
| 2 | 0 | 0 | .5 | 7.7 | 39.8 | 15.4 | 31.2 | 5.4 | 100.0 |
| 3 | 0 | .5 | 2.1 | 11.9 | 45.1 | 11.9 | 26.4 | 2.1 | 100.0 |
| 4 | 1.0 | 1.4 | 2.4 | 14.4 | 55.8 | 8.9 | 14.4 | 1.7 | 100.0 |
| 5 | 0 | 0 | 4.1 | 15.1 | 49.3 | 11.0 | 20.5 | 0 | 100.0 |
| 6 | 0 | 0 | 1.3 | 18.4 | 51.3 | 7.9 | 18.4 | 2.6 | 100.0 |
| 7 | 0 | 0 | 3.0 | 12.5 | 44.5 | 14.0 | 24.2 | 1.9 | 100.0 |
| 8 | 2.2 | 2.5 | 6.1 | 21.8 | 43.9 | 11.6 | 10.8 | 1.2 | 100.0 |
| 9 | 2.8 | .7 | 7.7 | 29.4 | 42.7 | 8.4 | 7.7 | .7 | 100.0 |
| 10 | 5.9 | 4.9 | 6.9 | 31.4 | 40.2 | 2.0 | 8.8 | 0 | 100.0 |
| 11 | 4.3 | 2.1 | 14.9 | 27.7 | 31.9 | 4.3 | 14.9 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 1.3 | 1.3 | 4.0 | 17.2 | 45.6 | 10.8 | 17.7 | 2.1 | 100.0 |

TABLE 11
Formal education depending on the social class of the family of origin (n=1980)

It is obvious that children from higher social classes achieve higher education degrees. On average they finish the VI educational level (two-year study). From Table 11 we see that 12.1% of children from the first social class achieve masters or doctorate degree. Children from lower social classes usually don't achieve the highest education degrees. On average they finish IV educational level (post-secondary non-tertiary education).

Goldthorpe (1996, 481) found that family income no longer represents a constraint on children's educational careers, but may influence the probability of the children choosing an educational option; lower-class families may choose less-ambitious or less-costly options. This was also confirmed in our study. All children from the first and the second social classes continued studying after they finished elementary school. 43.1% of them studied on after they finished secondary school. A lot of children from lower social classes finished only elementary school, only 10.8% finished more than secondary school. Lack of motivation (especially of their parents) could also be the reason.

We have identified a very low correlation between variable "financial and material circumstances of the family" and variable "formal education" ($r=0.199$ at $p=0.01$).

This can be explained by high education accessibility. Slovenia has 42 hostels for pupils with 7,642 beds and 29 student hostels containing 10,010 beds (*Annual Statistics of the Republic of Slovenia*, 2005). Hostel priorities favour individuals with lower income. In 2003 Slovenia earmarked 130 million euros of GDP for scholarships, with 37.3% for secondary schools and the rest for university faculties. In 2003, 40,971 individuals received state scholarships and 12,956 got scholarships on the basis of talent. We must add to this amount another 6,864 scho-

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● TABLE 12
Individuals' formal
education depending
on financial and
material circumstances
of the family
(n=1980)

| Financial and mate- rial circumstances | Individuals' formal education (%) | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|-----|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | Total |
| Socially endangered | 2.9 | 0 | 2.9 | 23.5 | 50.0 | 5.9 | 11.8 | 2.9 | 100.0 |
| Bad | 3.4 | 4.7 | 9.4 | 28.6 | 38.0 | 6.8 | 7.7 | 1.3 | 100.0 |
| Middle | 1.5 | .9 | 4.6 | 18.9 | 43.9 | 10.9 | 17.3 | 1.9 | 100.0 |
| Satisfying | .4 | .8 | 2.2 | 13.1 | 49.2 | 12.4 | 19.8 | 2.1 | 100.0 |
| Excellent | .7 | 0 | 1.3 | 8.1 | 48.3 | 9.4 | 27.5 | 4.7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 1.3 | 1.3 | 4.0 | 17.2 | 45.6 | 10.8 | 17.7 | 2.1 | 100.0 |

larships from various companies (*Annual Statistics of the Republic of Slovenia, 2005*). In Slovenia regular schooling is free. There are no school fees yet, but the government is considering introducing them in our school system. Students claim that about 30.0% of today's students will not be able to study if school fees are instituted. Table 12 shows more precisely how the financial and material circumstances of the family influence individuals' formal education.

Only 20.6% of children from socially endangered families and only 15.8% children from badly situated families finished more than secondary school. In the population of satisfyingly situated families, 34.3% of children finished more than secondary school. In the population of excellently situated families, 41.6% of children finished more than secondary school and 4.7% achieved the highest academic degree. We therefore see that financial and material circumstances also have an influence on educational achievement.

The PISA² study also investigates the influence of social origin on educational achievement. Duru-Bellat and Suchaut (2005, 186) claim: "A high degree of social inequality in achievement proves to be associated with overall score dispersion and the degree to which the educational system differentiates among students." Unfortunately, we cannot compare our results with the findings of the PISA study because Slovenia only became involved in the project in 2006.

CONCLUSION

Our study confirmed the first hypothesis that there is a correlation between individuals' formal education and the formal education of their parents (father's $r=0.396$ at $p=0.01$ and mother's $r=0.370$ at $p=0.01$).

The second hypothesis that "there is a correlation between individuals' educational success at different study levels and the formal education of their parents" was only partly confirmed. There is significant correlation between individuals' educational achievement in elementary school and the

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education of their parents (father's $r=0.308$ at $p=0.01$ and mother's $r=0.275$ at $p=0.01$). But we can hardly talk about high correlation between individuals' educational achievement in secondary school and the education of their parents (father's $r=0.127$ at $p=0.01$ and mother's $r=0.117$ at $p=0.01$).

The third hypothesis was also partly confirmed. There is significant correlation between individuals' educational achievement in elementary school and the social class of the family of origin ($r=0.252$ at $p=0.01$). And there is also a correlation between individuals' formal educational achievement and the social class of the family of origin ($r=0.278$ at $p=0.01$). But the correlation between individuals' educational achievement in secondary school and the social class of the family of origin is very low ($r=0.122$ at $p=0.01$).

We can confirm the fourth hypothesis. There is a correlation between the individuals' educational achievement and the financial and material circumstances of the family ($r=0.199$ at $p=0.01$).

Already in 1976 Bowles and Gintis were claiming that IQ is not the main factor which enables individuals' educational achievement. Social class is one of the strongest determinants of schooling duration. The two authors transformed the realm of curriculum theory with the publication of their widely read book *Schooling in Capitalist America*. Debunking the century-old ideal of public education as "the great equalizer" among disparate social classes in the United States, Bowles and Gintis instead argued that public schooling in fact reproduces social and class-based inequities (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). They stated: "The structure of social relations in education not only inures the student to the discipline of the workplace, but develops the types of personal demeanour, modes of self-presentation, self-image and social class identifications which are the crucial ingredients of job adequacy. Specifically, the social relationships of education – the relationships between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, and students and students, and students and their work – replicate the hierarchical divisions of labour." (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, 131). The same proved true for Slovenia, as documented by Toličič and Zorman (1977). Our study also confirmed the existence of educational differences among individuals. In Slovenia many academicians and politicians speak in favour of resolving inequalities. In the last 50 years Slovenia discriminated in favour of individuals of the lower classes. We found a low correlation ($r=0,199$) between financial and material circumstances and educational achievement, but there are differences in culture and attitude towards education.

NOTES

¹ CASMIN (Comparative Analysis of Social Mobility in Industrial Nations)

² PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment of the OECD)

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Socijalni položaj kao odrednica obrazovnoga dostignuća

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Cilj studije bio je istražiti povezanosti između zavisnih varijabli (i) formalna naobrazba, (ii) uspjeh u osnovnoj školi, (iii) uspjeh u srednjoj školi te nezavisnih varijabli (i) formalna naobrazba roditelja, (ii) društveni sloj iz kojega potječu pojedinci i (iii) financijske i materijalne okolnosti njihovih obitelji. Ukupno 1980 odraslih zaposlenih osoba u Sloveniji sudjelovalo je u istraživanju. Utvrđene su korelacije između formalne naobrazbe i svih nezavisnih varijabli. Također postoji pozitivna povezanost između roditeljeve formalne naobrazbe i formalne naobrazbe njihove djece (očeva naobrazba $r=0.396$, $p=0.01$ i majčina naobrazba $r=0.370$, $p=0.01$). Ova studija potvrđuje pozitivnu povezanost roditeljeve naobrazbe i školskog uspjeha njihove djece u osnovnoj školi. Sasvim različiti rezultati utvrđeni su za uspjeh u srednjoj školi. Povezanost uspjeha u srednjoj školi i svih nezavisnih varijabli iznosi manje od 0.150.

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Gesellschaftlicher Status als Determinante des erzielten Bildungsniveaus

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Das Ziel dieser Studie ist, den gegenseitigen Bezug zu ermitteln, der zwischen den abhängigen Variablen (i) formaler Bildungsstand, (ii) Leistungen in der Grundschule und (iii) Leistungen in der Mittelschule besteht sowie zwischen den unabhängigen Variablen (i) formaler Bildungsstand der Eltern, (ii) soziale Herkunft und (iii) finanzielle und materielle Lage der Eltern. An der Untersuchung nahmen 1980 erwachsene Personen mit fester Anstellung in Slowenien teil. Ermittelt wurden Korrelationen zwischen dem formalen Bildungsstand und sämtlichen unabhängigen Variablen. Des Weiteren besteht ein positiver Bezug zwischen dem formalen Bildungsstand der Eltern und dem ihrer Kinder (Bildungsstand des Vaters $r = 0.396$, $p = 0.01$; Bildungsstand der Mutter $r = 0.370$, $p = 0.01$). Diese Studie bestätigt den positiven Bezug zwischen dem elterlichen Bildungsniveau und den schulischen Leistungen der Kinder in der Grundschule. Davon völlig abweichende Resultate erhielt man bezüglich des schulischen Erfolgs in der Mittelschule. Der Bezug zwischen den Leistungen in der Mittelschule und sämtlichen unabhängigen Variablen beträgt weniger als 0.150.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Gesellschaftsschichten, Bildungsniveau, Slowenien