GOVERNMENT JOBS AND THE PROCESS OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT

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This study of intergenerational mobility examines the effects of selected social status variables on the attainment of government positions. Using the concept of "social reproduction" and the method of path analysis, the study finds that fathers who are in the civil service are more likely than fathers who are not in civil service positions to have sons who land in government jobs. But other variables, specifically the son's occupation and level of education, also exercise strong effects on the attainment of government jobs. The results point out to the continuing role of education as a transmitter of privilege and as a popular vehicle for social mobility in Philippine society.

Introduction

This study deals with the attainment of education and occupation, specifically with the way family background influences these major personal social statuses. The problem that I seek to clarify began with observations on the role of education in social differentiation. In a review article by Foster (1977), it is suggested that in developed and developing countries, education accentuates the differences in social groupings as it provides a major entry point to the "modernizing" sector. As Foster observes, in developing societies, education in its certification role becomes the main entry point, especially since most of the occupational positions are found in the public sector. The fact that, like the developed societies, parental background appears important in obtaining these jobs is not very surprising. It is thus acknowledged that in both developing and developed societies, the influence of parental background as the means for social achievement tends to be more "objective," that is, universal criteria such as schooling and occupation have become the yardstick of success compared to parental social position.

In another review article, Anderson (1977:409) criticizes the absence or lack of information regarding a quarter century of comparative education studies:

The wide-ranging diligence of comparative educators is offset by their inexplicable indifference to many fundamental topics that could be illuminated best by comparative inquiry. For example, teaching personnel have been surveyed from many angles and in many countries, yet we cannot yet supply firm conclusions about teacher's relative incomes in different societies. Almost no one has turned his interest in 'equal opportunity' to the question as to whether civil servants (including teachers) are becoming the new inherited stratum, and a very privileged one . . .

It is in these contexts that my inquiry began. First, has the process of becoming civil servants emerged as a new stratum of privilege? Second, is there a general societal context where this process occurs? In presenting the results, I shall try to examine the gross rates of occupational structure with regard to the public versus the private sector. Then, I shall attempt to investigate a systematic way to describe the likely attainment of civil service occupations. Methodologically, this paper will illustrate one way of answering the question which Anderson raises.

An Approach

The theme of this study may be made simple: Are government positions socially

"inherited"? If so, to what extent is it transmitted, as it were, from one generation to another? How large or significant is this process? In these questions, the problem is straightforward. However, some general notions of social behavior will have to be restated to put into context this observed process.

First, the broad, somewhat static, pattern of the nature of occupations in the Philippines will be described. Second, a model or a "first approximation" will be tried to describe this social inheritance.[1]

The Public and Private Sectors. Before the

process of attainment will be described, an outline of the social context of this process will be presented. It will serve as the region of significance, if you will, of later discussions. Table 1 shows a brief employment structure in the Philippines according to selected major industry groups from 1963 to 1976. We note that agriculture is slowly decreasing in its share of employment (59 percent in 1963 to 53 percent in 1976). Mining, transport and construction have maintained their share since 1963. Only commerce and government/social service have been steadily increasing. Manufacturing has also maintained its proportion of employed persons.

Table 1. *Employed persons in selected major industry groups (x 1000)*

Year	Total	Agri- culture	Mining	Industry Groups Manu- facturing	Construc- tion	Gov't.	Commerce
1963	10,315	6,131	32	1,259	324	516	1,076
	(percent)	(59.4)	(.03)	(12.2)	(3.1)	(5.0)	(10.4)
1968	12,481	7,202	46	1,387	378	851	1,379
	(percent)	(57.7)	(.04)	(11.1)	(3.0)	(6.8)	(11.0)
1972	13,217	7,166	58	1,467	456	1,059	1,674
	(percent)	(54.2)	(.04)	(11.1)	(3.4)	(8.0)	(12.6)
1976	15,427	8,126	56	1,680	491	1,501	1,864
	(percent)	(52.7)	(.04)	(10.9)	(3.2)	(9.7)	(12.1)

Source: NEDA Philippine Yearbook 1981, p. 541.

Table 2 is a summary of the labor absorption rate of selected major industry groups from 1961 to 1971. It shows that, as far as this index goes, the government sector has had the highest absorption rate compared to other industry groups. In terms of source of wages, however, the private sector and private self-employment account for the majority of employed persons (Table 3). From 1964 to 1976, the private wage and

salary sector accounted for 27 to 33 percent of earners. Government provided for 5 to 8 percent of the wage earners. Note that in absolute numbers the increase of the private sector is 80 percent from 1964 to 1976 but government has increased about 140 percent. The government workers were about half a million in 1964; by 1976 there were about one and a quarter of a million government workers.

Table 2. *Employment and labor absorption rates for selected industry groups*

| A. Year | Total (x 1000) | Industry Groups | | | | |
		Agri-culture	Mining	Manu-facturing	Gov't.	Commerce
1961	9,995	5,997	67	1,193	522	960
1972	13,217	7,166	58	1,467	1,059	1,559
B. Absorption Rates						
(percent)	3.4	2.0	−1.0	2.0	6.0	5.0

Source: Umali 1975, p. 93.

Table 3. *Employed persons by source of wages/income (x 1000)*

| Year | | Wage/Salary Workers | | Self-Employed | Family Worker (Unpaid) |
		Private	Government		
1964		2,821	529	4,192	3,017
	Percent of total	(26.7)	(5.0)	(39.6)	(28.5)
1968		3,554	728	4,656	3,526
	Percent of total	(28.5)	(5.8)	(37.3)	(28.2)
1972		3,978	906	5,089	3,227
	Percent of total	(26.7)	(8.6)	(48.1)	(30.5)
1976		5,089	1,268	5,516	3,487
	Percent of total	(33.0)	(8.1)	(35.7)	(22.6)
Change (%)	1964-1968	25.9	37.6	11.1	16.8
	1964-1976	80.4	139.7	31.6	15.6

Source: NEDA, Philippine Yearbook 1981, p. 543.

It is thus the case that while the private sector still employs majority of the available labor, the government sector is increasing tremendously. The observation of Foster and others,[2] while not true for the Philippines with regard to the major employer, reflects the residual of the colonial occupational structure for educated manpower remains. Self-employment, which is a larger sector, does not require formal schooling.

Occupational Choices. One related issue regarding occupations and occupational structure, if we have to look into the future and past processes, is the aspiration of young people who are in schools. Do young people in school aspire for government jobs? While this paper is not exclusively addressed to this issue, we might as well be informed of the expectations of the education or to-be-educated youth. I do not have

information on a national survey of youth. A study of four locations (two cities and two provinces in Visayas and Mindanao) by Costello and Costello (1981) gives a partial picture regarding aspirations of high school seniors. Table 4 is a summary table drawn from the results of the Costellos' survey. Given six alternative occupations, 18 percent of the boys and 55 percent of the girls chose "office worker" as the most preferred occupation. The boys actually chose "mechanic" (43 percent) as the most preferred occupation. Teaching was the least

preferred occupation. I believe the choices are most reasonable considering that teaching is not the most financially rewarding these days. Agricultural occupations were chosen by 15 percent of the boys and about 10 percent of the girls. It was also least preferred by about 14 percent of boys and girls. In terms of type of occupation, Figure 1 (from Costello and Costello 1981) shows that most boys expect science, engineering and other technical occupations while girls expect clerical (50 percent), health or supervisory/managerial occupations.

Table 4. *Percent distribution of most and least preferred jobs among six alternatives: High school seniors in Southern Philippines, 1980*

| | Most Preferred | | Least Preferred | |
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Teacher	2.4	9.8	22.7	19.5
Office Worker	18.9	54.9	11.1	6.6
Mechanic	42.7	0.5	8.9	23.2
Salesman	3.2	1.0	31.6	28.0
Social Worker	17.8	24.1	11.6	9.0
Agriculturist	14.9	9.8	14.1	13.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
(n)	(370)	(410)	(370)	(410)

Source: Costello and Costello, 1981, pp. 130-131.

All these may be unrealistic since most of these senior high school students expect to remain in their locations. Forty-five percent of the students surveyed expect to remain while about 35 percent expect or plan to move out of their current locations. There is no information with regard to preference or non-preference for government jobs, however. From the data given, we could surmise that if these young people chose these occupations, and if most of them expect to remain in their current locations, it is unlikely that they (or a majority of them) will obtain non-governmental positions for occupations such as

engineers, supervisors, clerical and other white-collar positions.

For agriculture students, some studies have shown that the expected employer is the government. A study of college seniors in agriculture for the Visayas in 1975 (Antepuesto 1975) showed that 50 percent of the students expected government employment and 10 percent (another category) specifically chose schools as employers. In 1969, female U.P. College of Agriculture (UPLB) students chose the government as future employers. Fifty-nine

percent expected government positions and 27 percent chose private employers (Lantin 1969). It is likely that, besides UPLB graduates, most agriculture students will land in government offices.

Thus, while there is no definite information as to the specific expected occupational locations of Filipino youth, it is suspected that education or higher education will, if utilized, course the graduates to government positions. The government has the highest capacity to absorb these graduates; it is the most available employer in many parts of the country. Most, if not all, the development programs are geared to help these educated manpower. This is even before the development programs supposedly "trickle down" to the ultimate recipients. Hence, it would not be surprising if the government civil service is considered as the "new elite." The next issue for us is to see if there is some process of formation of this new elite. Is there a "social reproduction process" for civil servants? We now turn to an attempt to describe this process if it exists.

The Attainment of Government Jobs: A Method

To describe in precise terms the acquisition of civil service positions in our society, path modelling procedures will be used. Path models are useful in the explication of causal processes. In simple language, they are good tools for showing causal relationships, if these relationships exist. This is especially true for a more complicated set of variables.

A major part of the process will be the status attainment model. (Note that we will use the model as if it were also the theory. There is a close connection between the two even if these are distinguishable. This is one advantage of path modeling. The model can be made very close to the verbal explanation if the process is a causal one.) The general status attainment model suggests that socioeconomic achievement in contemporary societies results from a person's achievement (mainly educational) *as well as* the continuing influence of social background. A person's educational achievement is made possible by the very strong influence of parental status. Ideally, wealth, education and occupation of parents should be included to describe this parental status. Studies have shown that the education and occupational attainment of the parents are sufficient to capture the relative statuses of person's social background. A path (regression) analysis of this process has been successfully applied for developed as well as developing countries.[3] The general conclusion is that personal achievement of occupation and incomes, for example, stems from a person's educational attainment. However, one's educational attainment is largely dependent on parental status, education and occupation. Figure 2 illustrates an explicit status attainment path model.

The most important use of path models is that the analysis is required to write the nature and direction of relationships explicitly just as it is illustrated in Figure 1. By no means does the illustrated model suggest it is the correct one or the only model. Its supreme advantage is that it could be tested ("proven") to be wrong or incomplete. Thus, theoretical expectations are made explicit for investigation.

In the model depicted in Figure 2, *direct* causal effects are shown such as the effect of parent's education to child's education (it is summarized as P_{31}). The path, literally "to 3 from 1" is the effect of variable 1 (parent's education) to variable 3 (child's education). *Indirect effects* or influences passing through intervening events are also explicitly stated. An example in Figure 2 is the effect of parental occupation to child's later income: in this case, the indirect influence of parental occupation to income of the combined paths, P_{42} and P_{54}. (Note that in this model, there is no presumed direct effect of parental occupation to child's later income. Whether or
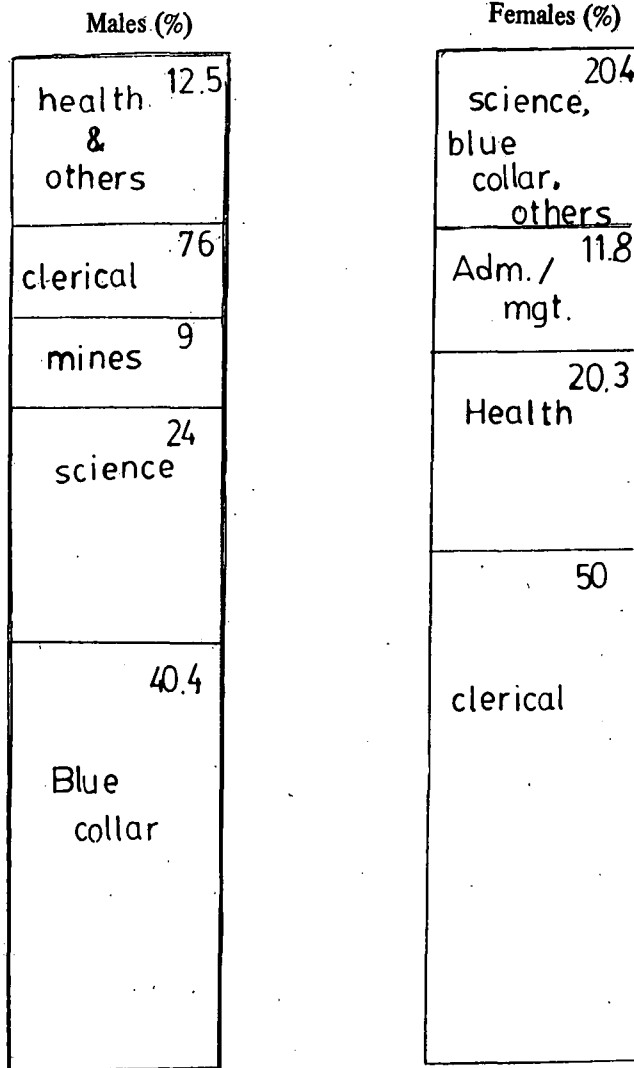
Males (%)   Females (%)

Figure 1. *Expected jobs: Senior students in Southern Philippines, 1980*

not this assumption is correct may be tested, if desired.) Relationships which are not causal (direct or indirect) may also be included such as the relationship between parental education and parental occupation (a curved double-headed arrow indicates this correlation or association). This association is expressed in a correlation (r_{12}). As a finale for this introduction, it should be stressed that what is in a model such as the one in Figure 2 is only a model. Models never exist in reality (or as a former professor said, models are not true — a model car, model house, or a model person,

though they may be worthy of emulation). More technically, not every possible cause or intervening event may be included. Thus, "error" terms are substantive parts of the path model. These are the u, v and w in Figure 2. These represent the "omitted" variables as these affect the variables of interest (endogenous variables). The interesting thing about these error terms is that their effects on the "dependent" variables could be estimated. Statistical estimation procedures come in to determine (1) if there is sufficient evidence to state that a proposed cause is indeed a cause
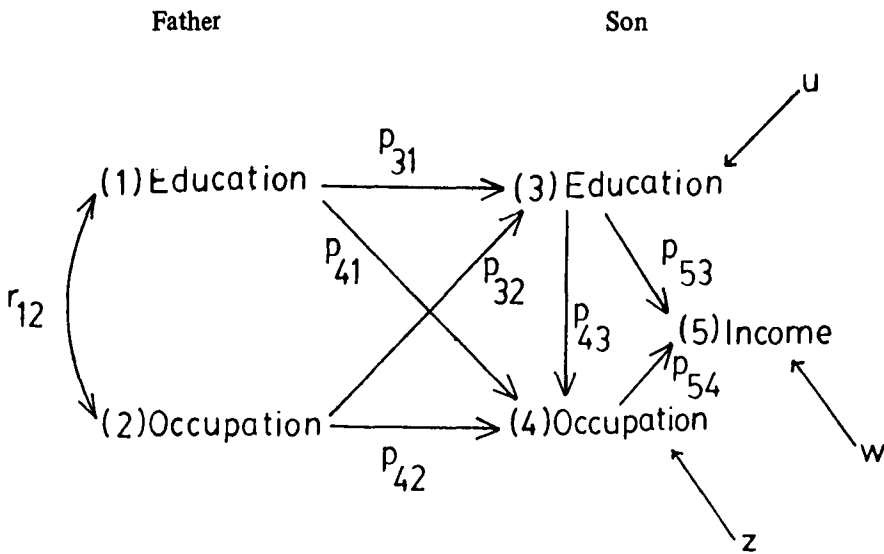
Father   Son

Figure 2. *A path model of status attainment*

of something in the model, and (2) if the cause is sufficiently (statistically significant) large, how large is the effect. The effect, as mentioned earlier may be direct, indirect or associational. In sum, we use path analysis as a potent vehicle for describing a proposed hypothesis on the acquisition of government occupations.

The Making of a Hypothesis

The first step in the formulation and testing of a status attainment model that incorporates government jobs is precisely to include information on whether or not parents and their children are in the civil service. To do this, I have selected a convenient data set that includes this information.

The data for this analysis comes from a nationwide household survey conducted by the U.P. Population Institute and the Bureau of Census in 1968, namely the National Demographic Survey of 1968 (NDS 1968). For this purpose the information on 4,351 male household heads will be used. This set is a trimmed (corrected and edited) unweighted sample.

The following variables were included in the status attainment model: father's occupation, father's education, father's occupational location, respondent's education, respondent's occupation, and the respondent's occupational location. The respondent's and his father's occupation were scaled according to a Philippine occupational status rank devised by Lauby (Valera 1979). The respondent's and his father's education were measured in number of years of formal schooling. Occupational location is a qualitative variable indexed by whether or not the respondent or his father is in the government service.

Before going into the detailed hypothesis, it is informative to note that indexing occupational location not as government or non-government, but as either in salaried private employment or being self-employed, showed the following relationship with education and occupational ranks:

1. Figure 3 shows a correlational diagram for fathers and sons relating private employment, education and occupations. In Figure 3A, the father's education is substantially correlated with the father's

occupation. The same relationship exists for the sons. Note that occupational status is negatively correlated with private employment for both fathers and sons. Education is also negatively correlated with private employment. However, the relationships are effectively zero.

2. When education and occupation of fathers and sons are related with self-employment, we obtain an essentially negative correlation between education and self-employment and a slight positive or non-existent correlation between self-employment and occupational status (see Figures 4A and 4B).
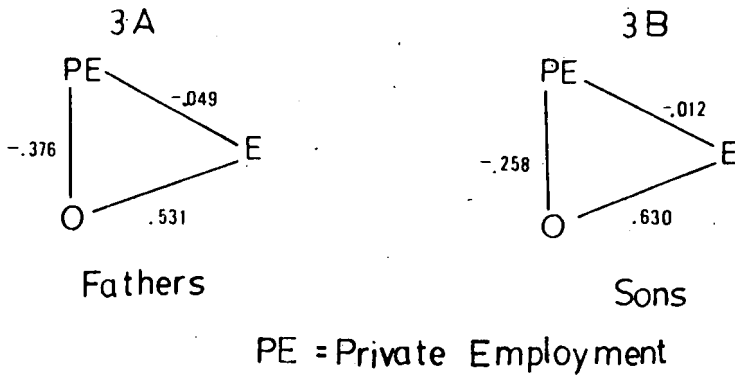

3 A

PE
-.376
-.049
E
O .531

Fathers

3 B

PE
-.258
-.012
E
O .630

Sons

PE = Private Employment

Figure 3. *Correlations among employment, occupation and education*

4 A

SE
.147
-.135
E
O .531

Fathers

4 B

SE
.028
-.242
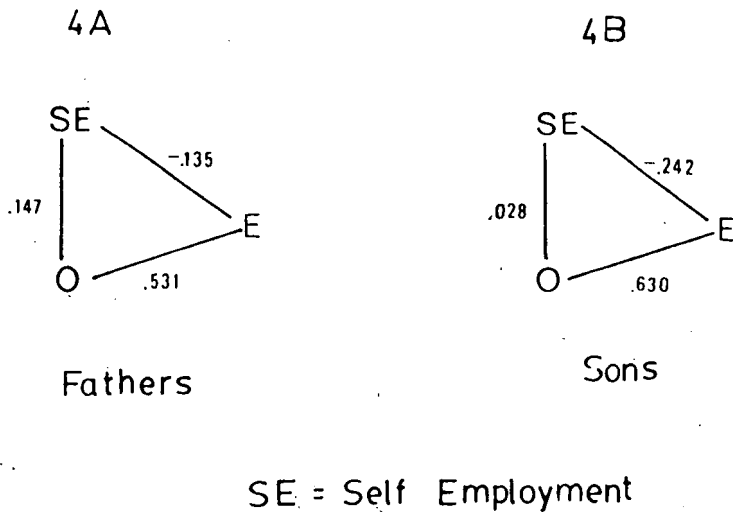E
O .630

Sons

SE = Self Employment

Figure 4. *Correlations among self-employment, occupation and education*

These show that being in private employment or being self-employed are negatively related to education, and in the case of private employment, it is negatively related to occupational status. In short, acquiring high status occupations which usually require relatively higher levels of schooling tends to be associated with non-private or non-self employment. This seems to be the case if non-private or non-self employment refers to being in the civil service. Table 5 shows the correlations of the six variables to be included in the status attainment model for this study. It can be seen that, consistent with the data shown in Figures 3 and 4, government positions, whether for the fathers or the sons, are associated with education and occupational status. Being in the government service was the highest coefficient with occupational status. There is reason to believe that the link between occupational attainment and government jobs is relatively strong for the previous generation as well as the then current generation of male household heads.

Table 5. *Bivariate correlations of variables used in a path model of occupational attainment (Male household heads, 1968)*

Variables	2	3	4	5	6	Means
1. Father's education	.531	.379	.613	.450	.287	3.12
2. Father's occupation		.470	.410	.451	.211	293.83
3. Father's gov't. position			.270	.228	.244	.06
4. Son's education				.630	.404	6.22
5. Son's occupation					.466	316.73
6. Son's gov't. position						.10

n = 4,351

Note: Education: no. of years in school
Occupation: Lauby scores (see Valera 1979)
Gov't. Position: 1 = Gov't.; 0 = Non-gov't.

It is for this reason that I find evidence to include being in the government as a likely part of general status attainment process in the Philippines.

A First Model

The second step is to specify or search for an acceptable model (hypothesis) that includes being in the civil service as a major variable. This model is illustrated in Figure 5, the first trial model. This model, as illustrated, connects all of the father's characteristics with the subsequent attainments of the son. This first model also implicates the son's being in the government service as the final (variable) occupational achievement. In brief, the second step already specifies that all previous parental background variables are causes of each of the son's achievement statuses. Figure 5 also gives the path (causal) coefficients. These coefficients were estimated by the usual series of regression analysis for each of the son's achievement variables, that is: (1) a regression of son's education on father's variables was performed, (2) a regression of son's occupation on father's variables and son's occupation was computed, and (3) a regression of son's government status was performed on father's variables and son's education and occupation was estimated as the last procedure. The coefficients in Figure 5 summarizes these regression analyses.

Coefficients bracketed by parentheses are the non-significant standardized coefficients. This means that the corresponding paths may be omitted. For example, the fact that fathers are in or out of the government has no causal effect on son's educational status. Some interesting significant paths are the negative effects of father's work on the son's being in the government and the father in government has a slight negative effect on the son's attainment of higher status occupations.
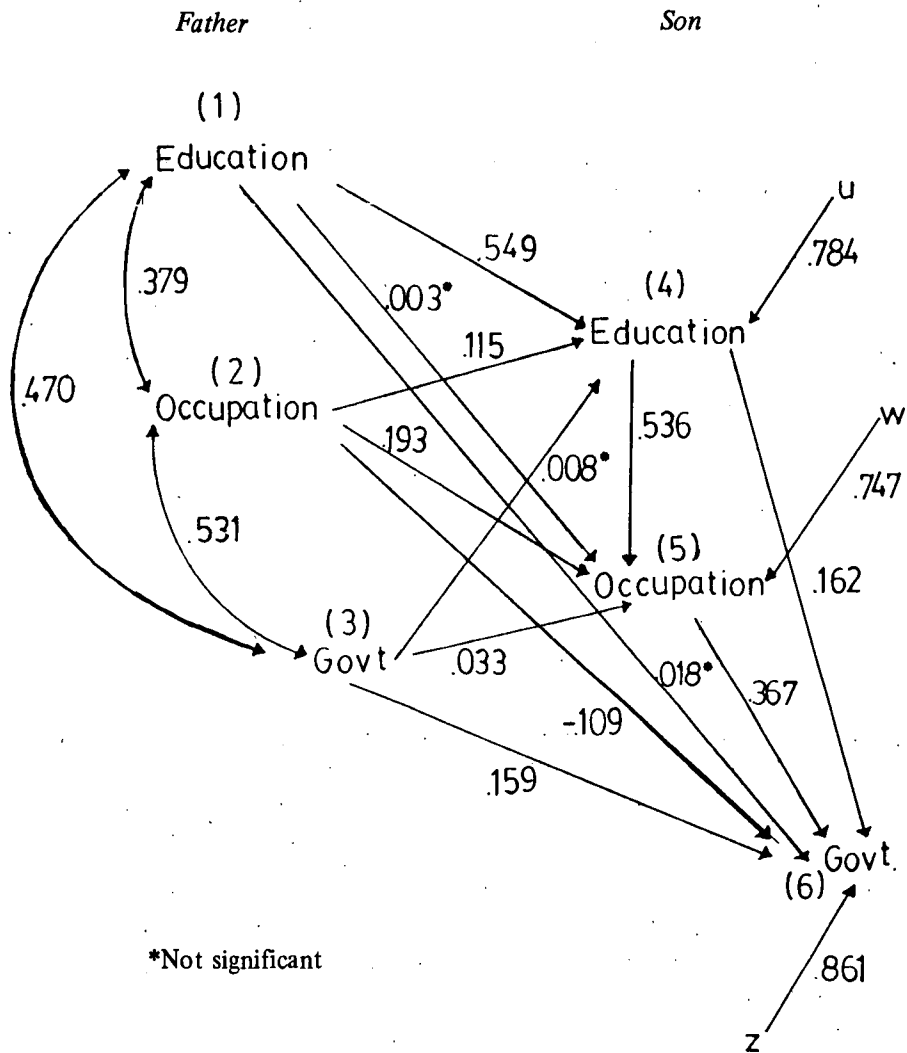
Father   *Son*

*Not significant

Figure 5. *Path model of occupational attainment*

A simple explanation is that these negative coefficients are statistical artifacts. A substantive interpretation is also tenable. Parents who are already well-off through higher levels of occupations need not assure their children's success by seeing to it that they join the civil service. Note that the highest path coefficient from father's occupation is to son's occupation. In my previous study, son's education and occupation are the major determinants of income attainment (Valera 1980). There is no strong reason for interpreting the slight negative effect of government workers to cause lower occupational achievement for the sons. In this model, we note that son's occupational status, however, has a substantial effect on attainment of government positions.

The model depicted in Figure 5 is a preliminary path model. A second model was estimated. This time, the non-significant paths were omitted. The regressions were re-computed taking out the paths that previously were found to be non-significant and the paths which had negative coefficients on the assumption that these negative coefficients were statistical artifacts.

A Refined Model

Figure 6 shows a refined or trimmed status attainment model. The model still retains the occupational location of the son as the ultimate destination variable, whether or not he gets a government job. The reasonableness of this "reduced" model will be determined. Father's occupational location is also conceived to be a result of education and occupation.
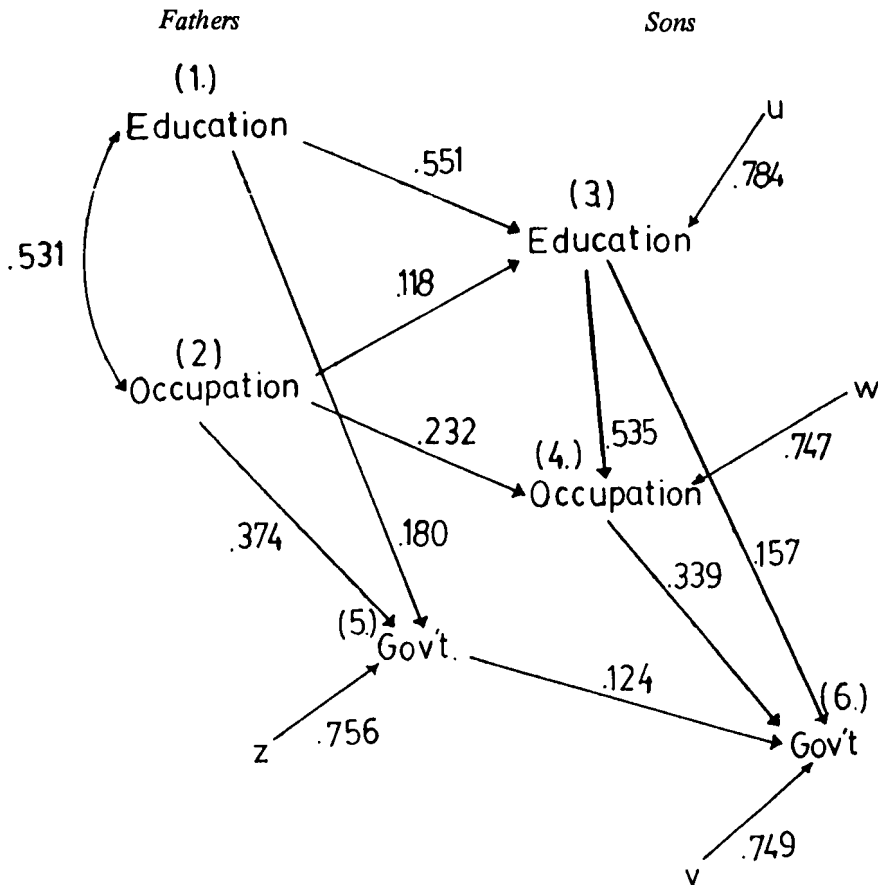

Figure 6. *A trimmed model of occupational attainment*

The model shows that son's education is determined more by father's education than father's occupation. Second, the occupational attainment of the son is determined by son's education than father's occupation. Third, there is a parallelism in this model with regard to the attainment of government jobs. As it is with the fathers, occupational attainment is the immediate cause of landing government jobs.

Finally, the son's government job probably stems largely from the occupation and education he attained rather than from his father being in the government. There is, nonetheless, a positive causal effect of fathers being in the government service and the sons also being in the government. It is almost as large (see Figure 5) as the effect of son's education (on government position).

A Consistency Test

The test needed for the acceptability (not necessarily proof) of the model is to determine the consistency of the model. This is usually done by comparing the observed correlations (see Table 5) with the correlations implied by the model. These implied correlations are derived from the fundamental theorem of path analysis (Wright 1920, Duncan 1966). The proofs will not be presented nor the theorem be explained. Instead, I will demonstrate its use with the data given in Figure 6. Accordingly, the theorem states that any given correlation in a path analytic system is the sum of the direct and indirect effects (including associative effects, spurious or otherwise). For the trimmed model (Figure 6), the correlation between father's education (1) and son's education (3) or r_{13} is composed of:

The direct effect + indirect (through association)
$$P_{13} \qquad (P_{32})(r_{12})$$

Numerically, $r_{13} = .551 + (.531)(.118)$

which totals to .6136. This is the implied correlation for r_{13}. The observed correlation

is .613. Hence, there is an error of .0006, an insignificant difference. Using this fundamental theorem, other major correlations are estimated and compared with the obtained correlations. Table 6 lists the implied (estimated) correlations and the observed correlations. The difference between the estimates using the model and the observed correlations are slight. This means that we can entertain the model as, provisionally, an adequate model. It does not suggest that it is the right or the true model. There may be other models that may be consistent with the obtained correlations. This final note is a caution and a humbling situation for all path analysts. The second important characteristic of path analysis is its ability to be tested. The first is the need to be explicit. The ultimate test is whether or not the model makes sense, theoretical as well as experimental. In this respect, the provisional nature of science is once more demonstrated. A provisional model for the social reproduction of government jobs is presented, and in this model a substantial amount of variation remains to be explained in the attainment of government jobs. After all, there are events such as party connections, patronage, and other "social connections" that are not included in the model. The model included only those that are measurable.

Recapitulation and Discussion

In the final model proposed here, we can see a picture of the attainment of government jobs. The reproduction of fathers in government position so that sons will also be in government jobs exists. The influence is not that simple, however. Given the usual family background indexed by father's education and occupation, we observe in this data set that a son's occupation and education are strong determinants, along with fathers being in the civil service, of the attainment of government positions. Since government jobs are still real alternatives for work when we consider the general occupational structure, the education-occupation-civil service job relationship in the

Table 6. *Observed and estimated correlations implied by the revised path model of occupational attainment (Household heads, 1968)*

Correlations (in Figure 5)	Observed (r_o)	Estimated (r_e)	Difference $(r_e - r_o)$
Father's education/son's education (r_{13})	.613	.6136	.0006
Father's occupation/Son's education (r_{23})	.410	.4105	.0005
Education/Occupation (r_{34})	.630	.6302	.0002
Father's education/Son's occupation (r_{14})	.450	.4179	.0321
Father's occupation/Son's occupation (r_{24})	.451	.4516	.0006
Father's education/Son's gov't. position (r_{16})	.287	.2963	.0093
Son's occupation/Son's gov't. position (r_{46})	.466	.4648	.0012
Father's gov't. position/Son's gov't. position (r_{56})	.244	.2389	.0051

father's generation still exists for the sons. This is not only true in an associational sense, but even in an explicit causal way (albeit the coefficients are slightly lower for the current generation of male household heads).

An alternative model where the son's occupation is the ultimate destination was also tried. The coefficients did not result in a consistent set of implied correlations — i.e., the difference between the estimated correlations and the observed correlations were very large. Another model using what is called a non-recursive system was also attempted. This model presumes a reciprocal causal effect on the occupation and government position i.e. occupation determines government positions, and government positions (jobs) determines occupational status. The substantive results are different for the background variables, but the size of the effects does not change those obtained for the second model (Figure 6) and the model where occupational status is the last (terminal) event in the system. These last two alternative models do not give a "better" statistical explanatory ability though these may certainly be entertained. A detailed discussion of these alternatives requires more space than the one allowed in the presentation. Hence we shall omit this.

Finally, as an epilogue to this exercise, I would prefer to view this "reproduction process" in the context of what is known about the general effect or purpose of education. Schooling may be seen as a transmitter of privilege either for occupations or positions in government. It is through schooling attainment that the reproduction of whatever social privilege (that accrues to occupation or position) is coursed. This reproduction — whether or not interpreted in an economic sense of serving "demands" of society, individuals, or groups of individuals — is not that clear. The popularity, the belief, the faith of parents on the advantages of achieving higher levels of schooling for their children is neither a gamble nor a "sure thing" to insure a future. There are indeed many other undetermined causes of achievement. There is luck and the fact of being "in the right place at the right time." There is also the case of being in the places of opportunity through kinship or friendship groups who have access to information and influence. If the proposed model is correct, even in its limited ability to account for the total observed variation, in obtaining government jobs, then the fact that schooling has a relatively large effect on all these will result in higher levels of demand for schooling.

Education will expand rather than contract, notwithstanding our observation of the declining general quality of schooling. This must be true if the pattern of the previous generation is still observed for the succeeding generations. This will be sustained if government job opportunities (in the drive for development programs) accelerates more than in the private sector. This is all too apparent in the interchangeability of privileged positions in the private sector and the government (note the movement of the "technocrats" between industry and government). It will be foolhardy of parents nowadays to insist merely on virtues such as hard work, diligence, honesty and trustworthiness. The dictum is longer than this list. The formula for success is acquiring status

via schooling. Certification is the minimum requirement while competence is an additional criterion. The implication of all these seems to be that in order to maintain one's (individual or family) status the most publicly and generally available means, schooling, will be pressured to continue in expanding. Hence we contribute to the phenomenon of educational inflation. It is in this way that social reproduction becomes an attempt for groups in society to maintain their differential statuses (Hurn 1978). Education, occupation and government positions are the vehicles for the maintenance of these status differences. Relatively lower privileged groups in society will have to obtain higher levels of schooling just to maintain their relative status. Such is the irony and reality of status in society.

Notes

The author is indebted to the Department of Agricultural Education clerical staff of the University of the Philippines at Los Baños. Computation was initially done at the Madison Academic Computer Center. Other computations were done using the PC-1211 pocket computer. Many ideas contained in the paper come from colleagues and the author is grateful for their contribution to his education.

[1]Note that social inheritance is an unfortunate concept. One reason is that it may not be appropriate. But it is the simplest, easily understood (or misunderstood) for this presentation. I would prefer "social" or "cultural reproduction," a term liberally borrowed from Bourdieu and Passeron (1977). Whether or not we inherit social statuses is highly questionable theoretically. I suggest the concept of *reproduction* is probably more adequate. This way we do not have to conjure associated concepts such as social genes, carriers of similar concepts. Reproduction does not need assumptions of internal objects that are to be transferred, which is the case for social events. Reproduction requires only images of mechanisms for duplication. Also, reproduction may or may not be successful (we do get *bad* copies from processes such as xerox, for instance). Why do people have to reproduce in the social sense? An answer will be outlined in the concluding part of this paper.

[2]See for example the strong argument about this in Ronald Dore (1976).

[3]Several sources are cited in Valera (1979) and Valera (1980).

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