Did the Mexican Revolution Change the Privileges of The Elite or Not?

The Relationship between the Government and the Media

By Juan Enrique Huerta Wong
DID THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION CHANGE THE PRIVILEGES OF THE ELITE OR NOT?

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION ON SOCIAL MOBILITY IN MEXICO AND CHILE

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Abstract

The investigation in education and its role in social stratification has been the focus of attention in the sociology literature for a number of decades now. However, very little is known as to what takes place in Latin America. The supposed point of departure to study education and its role in social stratification is that education should act to break the inertias between origins and destinies. This article has asked the question whether education is a factor that contributes to break the cycle of persistent inequality in Mexico, and also if this is a form to evaluate the achievements of the social contract that came out of the Mexican Revolution, which this year, 2010, celebrates its century of existence. This is so because one of the main objectives of the revolution was to cut down the privileges of the dominant class, and along with it, the inter-generational transmission of wealth that perpetuates inequality. Two models of structural equations were compared to evaluate the relationship between wealth in the home of origin, the schooling of the parents, childhood academic achievement, the final schooling of the ego, and its economic wellbeing. The results show that there are statistical differences between the cases of Mexico and Chile in terms of the process of stratification. In Mexico, the wealth of the home of origin and the childhood academic achievement are the variables that best explain both the final level of schooling as well as the socioeconomic wellbeing of ego. In Chile, education functions as a variable that interrupts the weight of the inter-generational legacy. It is discussed then that the State in Mexico has failed in providing an educational system that can break the inertia of the association between origins and destinies, and the implications of the importance of childhood academic achievement, which calls upon keeping children in their classrooms, at least for the time period that the law mandates.
DID THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION CHANGE THE PRIVILEGES OF THE ELITE OR NOT?

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION ON SOCIAL MOBILITY IN MEXICO AND CHILE

Mexico has just recently celebrated the bicentennial of its independence and the first century of its revolution. The liberal ideas of the social contracts that came about worldwide with the French revolution and the independence of the United States are the same ones that were instituted in the 1917 Mexican constitution. In its most simple concept it established that all persons are equal in their rights, and that their degree of wellbeing is a function of their government in at least two basic concepts. First, the state, in other words, all the people living in the same territory, get organized to provide to one another the minimum satisfactory levels for a good life. Second, once the state has provided this basic level of satisfaction, it will be the drive and talent of the people that will distinguish their levels of wellbeing. Diverse studies have shown that the state has failed partially in its first duty, due to the facts that poverty and inequality have been persistent in Mexico. Little is known, however, about the second compromise of the social pact that derived from the revolution.

This article explores whether education constitutes a successful tool to be used to break the nucleus between origins and destinies of the Mexican nationals. In the literature on sociological processes of social stratification, there exist distinct possibilities to confront the hypothesis that the origins and destinies of the people are not strongly related, in other words, that there is social mobility. As important as it is to identify if the Mexican Revolution has accomplished its basic principles, there are surprisingly very few studies that deal with this theme and fewer studies yet that provide a comparative perspective. This article uses the case of Chile as a point of comparison, in other words, like a factual measurement to identify if the indicators of the Mexican case are high or low. Chile is a country at the same level of development and similar in the majority of wellbeing indicators, therefore it seems to be well situated for this comparison.

The cases of Chile and Mexico are compared to explore the role of education in the economic development of individuals. This article also addresses which are the causes of the educational success and more specifically, which is the role that richness and parents’ education play in
educational achievement at an early age and at the final scope of educational achievement. This text has been structured the following way. The initial section reviews briefly the studies about education and social mobility, with an emphasis in Latin America. Diverse studies have been centered before in the comparison between Chile and Mexico, and will be analyzed in this section, which will conclude with a theoretical model to explore, and the explanation of the reasons that make these variables relevant.

The sources where these original facts have been drawn from will be described. The first national polls of social mobility for Chile and Mexico have been used. The analytical strategies of models of structural equations to analyze these relations will follow. The first job is to find similar variables that can be used to analyze *home of origin, educational achievement*, and *economic wellbeing*, that constituted the three modules of the analysis. First, a descriptive analysis takes place to observe the unique characteristics of each variable. Second, an analysis of correlations is conducted to observe the degree in which the hypothesized indicators on the theoretical model in reality relate to each other. Third, a factorial conformational analysis is done to observe if the indicators used correspond to the theoretical constructors, or latent concepts. Fourth, complete models of structural equations will be analyzed, comparing cases from Chile and Mexico. Fifth, there will be a test of homogeneity of variants and co-variants with the objective to observe if the models are statistically significant amongst them.

**Conceptual Antecedents**

Social mobility studies have received recent attention in Latin America. In the last ten years, national surveys in Colombia (Behrman, Gaviria & Szekely, 2001), Chile (Torche, 2010), and Mexico (Puga & Solís, 2010; Torche, 2010) enabled to test the hypothesis that a difference between origins and destinies in welfare indicators are a consequence of effort and talent. Similar surveys have recently run at major urban areas in Argentina (Fernandez, 2006), Brazil (Torche & Costa-Ribeiro 2010), and Uruguay (Boado, 2003). Based on these research studies, now it is known that social mobility in Latin America is lower than in any other region in the world that has collected this particular kind of data.

The study of social mobility is relevant to understanding how to break persistent inequality and poverty. Social mobility may be operationalized as a statistical difference
between origin and destiny. Transition matrices are frequently used to characterize the odds of people to jump from one stratus to other. Some authors use occupation instead of monetary indicators as the dependent variable arguing that a person’s occupation captures income, prestige, and power. Additional dependent variables include those related to human development. Other relevant dependent variables include income and education measurements. In this specific case, this research study uses education and economic wellbeing, as a proxy for earned income.

The role of human capital in the achievement of economic capital has frequently been explored in literature. From Coleman (1988) to today, lots of ink has been spent exploring this relationship (for a revision about this see Breen and Johnson, 2005). To synthesize the literature of education and schooling (the most common way of making human capital operational), and economic development is an industry in itself, that will not be addressed in this document. Buchmann & Hannum (2001) reviewed the literature of mobility in developing countries, and found that diverse variants of education such schooling and educational achievement consistently explain economic development. This study also found that family and educational system factors consistently explain educational achievement. For example, the socio-economic level of the parents and their own educational achievement consistently explain the educational achievement of their children, and in so doing their own economic development.

Studies in Latin America are consistent with international literature, showing that schooling is a powerful tool to pass over structural barriers mainly for vulnerable populations (Buchmann and Hannum, 2001). Otherwise, comparative studies have been scarce. Behrman, Gaviria & Szekely (2001) estimated the association between parents and children in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Peru. Mexico showed the lowest correlation indicators in schooling, and Brazil scored the highest. A higher correlation suggests that the State is not able to break the inertia between parents and children.

Recent studies have found that there is a strong correlation between the schooling of parents and children in diverse countries in the American continent, including the United States (Dahan and Gaviria, 2003; Hertz, Jayasundera, Piraino, Selcuk, Smith, and Verashchagina, 2007). Dahan and Gaviria (2003) used a correlation co-efficient of schooling between brothers to
confront the hypothesis between origins and destinies. This is one of the first efforts to explore the interior mobility of households. From this perspective, if the opportunities are more or less equal for all, then the distribution of the same will not be homogeneous to the interior of the household, but rather it will depend on the talent and effort of each individual. This will yield as a result a low correlation between brothers, which will suggest that the destinies depend on the individual effort. If, however, the inequality is persistent, then it will be the own placement of each family in the socioeconomic pyramid what determines the reach of the off-springs, and therefore the destinies of the two brothers will tend to be equal. The analysis of Dahan and Gaviria (2003) has compared 16 countries in the American continent. The coefficients of the United States and Costa Rica tend to be the lowest in the continent, while Brasil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico and Nicaragua, reported the highest coefficients of correlation. The coefficient of correlation of Chile is close to the average.

Upon exploring the educational mobility in Mexico, Torch (210) found that 68% of Mexicans between the ages of 30 and 64 have a higher education than their parents, 27% have the same level and only 5% have a lower level. The same study also found that the barriers for the educational mobility is found in the lower socio-economic levels, and also in the lower educational levels, therefore, the probability of studying at a secondary level coming from parents with a high school diploma is higher than the probability of studying high school coming from parents with an elementary education level. The data in Torche’s analysis of the Mexican case are relevant to understand the weight of the structural barriers, especially for the less privileged sectors in Mexico. In the matter of economic wellbeing, Torch estimates that these barriers are higher in the case of Mexico than in other cases that he has analyzed, amongst which United States and Chile are found. This study does not report a comparison between the cases of educational mobility between Chile and Mexico, due to the fact that it does not constitute the principal focus of this analysis.

Puga and Solis (2010) compared the dynamics of achievement of prestige between Mexico and Chile. For these authors, the educational barriers in Mexico are stronger than in Chile. Their analysis concludes that there are more educational barriers in Mexico therefore, making the association between origins and destinies stronger in matters of education than in
Chile. They also found that the occupational barriers are higher in Chile and due to this their findings indicate that there is lesser mobility in occupational matters. Puga and Solis’ study concludes by adding a socioeconomic wellbeing measurement. When this variable is added, the structural weight of legacy in the case of Chile is even higher, suggesting that the educational ego, and even the transmission of the legacy of education via the education of the father, acts as a variable that in effect breaks the inertia between origins and destinies.

A recent article (Johnson, Brett & Deary, 2010) has given conclusive information in respect to education acting as a pivotal matter that restrains or impulses mobility between social classes. The investigators designed a series of models of structural equations so to include three generational groups and different educational levels. The evidence shown indicates that not having education brings about descending social mobility. A good education furthermore, sustains the levels of social class that the family has obtained. From the perspective of this study, education acts in developed countries, at least to guarantee the stability of a family in a given socioeconomic class. This focus is interesting from the Latin America perspective, where the use of education has been to influence upward social mobility and not necessarily to provide a shield to families to prevent downward mobility.

An important point in this literature is the moment at which the barriers to mobility start to act. Puga and Solis (2010), following the classic analysis of Blau and Duncan (1967), include the initial occupation as an indicator of the rupture of the legacy at an early age. The initial reasoning to depart from is the need to observe the actions of different moments in the life of ego. The aspiration is that the structural weight of legacy be interrupted as early as possible. Another indicator frequently used in this literature is the role of academic ego in childhood (Buchmann and Hannum, 2001).

From the above discussion, it is concluded that in order to understand if education breaks with the inertia of the transmission of inter generational wealth, then it becomes relevant to observe if the rupture occurs at an early age. If the socioeconomic levels of the parents do not determine the schooling behavior of their children, that suggest that the state has accomplished its compensatory duty to determine that personal effort, affected by the education of the parents and not by their wealth, is what influences in itself the final level of schooling and finally in their
socioeconomic wellbeing. From this perspective, the original wealth is observed as hereditary. As such, the academic development of the child and the final educational achievement are understood to be the end result of personal achievement of the ego, based on its own talent and effort, even if this achievement is severely impacted by the distribution of opportunities within a society. These relations can be observed in figure 1.

**Figura 1. Modelo hipotético general**

This model looks for the direct effects of socioeconomic levels of the parents (SES) and the schooling of ego in socioeconomic wellbeing, as well as the indirect effects of the schooling of parents (parents edu) and the child’s academic achievement (performance). It also seeks to explain schooling of ego in the direct effect of achievement, schooling of the parents and socioeconomic levels, as well as the indirect effects of the socioeconomic levels and schooling of the parents throughout the academic achievement in childhood. In other words, the model will prove the structural hypothesis that the wealth of the home of origin acts directly in the socioeconomic wellbeing, but not so the schooling of the parents which has an indirect effect in bringing out the ego’s talent through education.

The objective of this procedure is to observe the weight of the transmission of the legacy of the parents in the socioeconomic wellbeing while controlling for parents’ education and ego schooling. By doing so, the researcher seeks to observe, at a comparative level, what is the moderating role of education in Mexico. A higher weight of the association between wealth of origin and that of destiny suggest a less effective role of the state as compensator for the inequalities of origin, thru educational opportunities. A lesser association suggest the success of public policy to balance the opportunities or, in other words, that the social pact that is being celebrated this year in 2010 has been successful. The question that arises is whether schooling
acts as a compensator of the transmission of inter-generational wealth. In other words, if education acts a “pivot” springing rising social mobility, or at least acting as a parachute to prevent downward social mobility. This last point, however, will not be addressed empirically, but rather will be part of the public discussion that will appear at the end of this text.

The following section explains the nature of the data of origin, the composition of the variables used to observe empirically the behavior of the model from a comparative perspective, and the analytical strategy used for the analysis of the observed models.

Data and analytical strategy

This study utilizes two models of structural equations to compare the Mexican case with the Chile case in terms of inter-generational transmission of wealth and its relation to education. The models of structural equations propose a causal relationship between observed variants and latent ones, and then measure the co-variant of such measures to observe a) if the observed model adjusts to the proposed model and b) what is the force and direction of the variables in the model.

The models being analyzed here utilize information gathered from two national surveys which are representative of the population, which were conducted in Chile and Mexico. One of them is the first poll of social mobility in Mexico (Emovi), financed in 2006 by the foundation Espinosa Rugarcia and conducted by Florencia Torche, with a data base of 7,288 cases, probabilistic, at the national level, in which families with females or males as head of households between the ages of 24 and 64 years old were selected. The survey includes information on respondents’ and partners’ current education, occupation, household income, wealth and living standards, social background, migration, and occupational history. The survey in Chile is the first survey on social mobility in this country, done in Chile in 2001 by Florencia Torche, Guillermo Wormald and the Directory of the Department of Sociological studies of the Pontific Catholic University of Chile, with a total sample of 3,544 cases, probabilistic, at the national level in which homes with males as head of household between the ages of 24 and 69 years old were selected.
The variables included were the same for both models. For socioeconomic levels, the quadrant of the sum of eight items in the household was used, to find out, if ego has a refrigerator, washer, telephone, checking account, credit card, cable, computer, internet (1=yes, 0=no) (Mexico’s Alpha=.762, Chile’s Alpha=.773)

The schooling of ego was measured as the answer to the question “What educational level do you have?” (14 options were available from none to graduate studies).

The childhood academic accomplishments were measured as the answer to the question: “When you were 14 years old, how did you do in school? Compared to your classmates you were…” (There were 6 levels of answers from “I was not in school at that age = 0”, to one of the worse = 1, to one of the best = 5).

Schooling of the parents. Educational level of the father and the mother (14 answers as options, from none to graduate studies).

The economic wellbeing of the parents counts with an objective and a subjective indicator. The ownership of a vehicle in the family at the age of 14 was used (1=yes, 0=no), and the answer to the question “comparing the home where you lived at age 14, with all the homes in Mexico/Chile at that time, in a scale of 1 to 10, in which 1 are the poorest homes and 10 the richest, Where would you rank your home? (SES ranking)

Sub-samples of subjects between the ages of 30 to 59 were used. The lower level cut-off point was used to allow the sample to “mature” in terms of its own economic progress. The higher level cut-off was done taking into account the variable of ownership of a vehicle. It is estimated that for Latin-Americans of 60 years of age or older, the lack of a vehicle does not represent a socioeconomic indicator, rather that it does not form part of the patterns of consumption of the era before 1965. With this in mind the Mexican sample was cut to 5179 cases, while the one from Chile was left with 2671 cases.

The analysis was done following a five steps strategy. First, a descriptive analysis takes place to observe the unique characteristics of each variable. Second, an analysis of correlations takes place to observe the degree in which the hypothesized indicators on the theoretical model in reality relate to each other. Third, a factorial conformational analysis takes place to observe if
the indicators used in reality correspond to theoretical constructs, or latent concepts. Fourth, complete models of structural equations will be analyzed, comparing cases from Chile and Mexico. Fifth, there will be a test of homogeneity of variants and co-variants with the objective to observe if the models are statistically significant amongst them.

**Descriptive Analysis**

Table 1 contains the measurements of median, standard deviations and the sample used in each one of the observed variables. In general terms, the indicators of wellbeing in Chile seem to be higher than the ones in Mexico. This is seen in the reporting of possessions of household items, for example, 91% (s=.28) owns a washer in Chile versus 74% (s=.28) in Mexico, 73% (s=.5) of households have a telephone at home versus 53% (s=.43) in Mexico, 3 of each 10 homes (s=.3) have cable in Chile versus 1 of each 10 (s=.46) in Mexico. But also in the average educational level reported by parents, in Chile it is reported to be closer to high school (4) and in Mexico closer to elementary school (2). In both countries the educational level of the father was reported as being higher, but the data is close to the one of the mother. Chileans also scored higher over Mexicans in the average of schooling, closer to college (5) while in Mexico it was closer to high school (4). The absolute educational mobility would have been upward in both cases and similar, but the data suggest that Mexico has historically lagged behind when compared to Chile. The perception of the home of origin was a little below average for both cases (M=4.15, s=1.75) in Chile; (M=4.21, s=2.26) in Mexico, with a higher standard deviation in the case of Mexico, a perception of inequality consistent with what the data about the same has stated, higher in the case of Mexico than in the case of Chile.
Table 1. Descriptive statistics

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**Mexican Model**

Figure 2 is the representation of the specification of the model done with the data from the first survey on social mobility in Mexico (Emovi). The model adjusts to the theoretical model to perfection. Descriptively, the model functions well, and this is confirmed by a margin error (GFI) of .995 and an adjusted margin error index (AGFI) of .984. From an inferential point of view, the model was evaluated using the following indexes: the rule of ji square(X2), and the
average of the square root of the error of approximation (RMSEA). The procedure of highest probability was used to specify the complete model of structural equations. Even though, $X^2$ (140,908, degrees of freedom=19) was significant ($p<.05$) the value of RMSEA (.029) was optimum, upon which it is considered that an optimum margin of error adjustment was achieved.

The model also proves four confirmative hypothesis, a) If in the home of ego there was a car at age 14, it is a higher probability that the socioeconomic level of the parents was higher, b) a higher self perceptiveness of the socioeconomic level, the higher the probability that the socioeconomic level of the parents had been higher, c) If the father has a higher schooling, the higher the probability that the schooling of the parents is higher, d) if the mother has the higher schooling, the higher the probability that the schooling of the parents be higher. The minimum level of acceptance of the confirmative hypothesis have been accepted, by which is then considered that the facts of the socioeconomic levels of the parents, and education of the parents have been well defined, each one by two observed variables.

In this model, the socioeconomic wellbeing correlates positively with schooling ($\beta=.26, p < .01$), and strongly with the socioeconomic level of the parents ($\beta=.48, p < .01$). Due to the implications that “randomness” represents, this researcher tries to stay away from predictors and will use instead the terms association or correlation. Even though, it is important to note that the indicators of the model refer to coefficients of regression and not to coefficients of correlation. A positive and powerful correlation was also found between schooling of ego and childhood academic achievement ($\beta=.53, p < .01$), as well as a positive relationship between schooling with socioeconomic levels of the parents ($\beta=.23, p < .01$) and education of the parents ($\beta=.21, p < .01$). It is noted that the indicators of the explained variance ($R^2$) of the three variables that are endogenous are high. The principal variable, wellbeing, is explained by a $R^2$ of >45, while the explained variable of schooling is .64 and the one of childhood academic achievement is .48.
In addition to the direct relationships shown in figure 2, table 2 estimates some of the indirect effects that are suggested graphically in figure 2. As is the case of the indirect effect that the socioeconomic level of the parents have throughout academic achievement in childhood and on schooling of the final ego (.154). Another case is the indirect effect that childhood academic achievement by way of schooling has over socioeconomic wellbeing (.136). Upon computing direct and indirect effects we find that the socioeconomic level of the homes of origin is a powerful predictor of socioeconomic wellbeing (.58), and of final schooling (.38). The implications of these findings will be discussed in the final section.

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<th>Table 2. Efectos totales, directos e indirectos</th>
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**Chilean Model**

Figure 3 represents the specification of the model done with the data of the first survey on social mobility in Chile. As the model in Mexico, the model of the Chilean data adjusts to the theoretical model practically to perfection. For effect of comparison, the empirical models of Chile and Mexico were adjusted so that the variants of the indicators of the latent variables were
equal. This resulted in the margins of adjustments of both models being identical, in other words, a margin of error (GFI) of .995 and an adjusted margin of error (AGFI) of .984 were replicated. The values of proof of Chi Square (X2) and the average of the square root of error of approximation (RMSEA) also ended up being identical. The procedure of maximum probability was used to specify the complete model of structural equations. Even though, the X2 (140,908, degrees of freedom =19) ended up being significant (p<.05), the RMSEA (.029) value ended up being optimum, therefore it can be considered that an optimum margin of error adjustment was achieved.

As it occurred with the Mexican model, the four hypothesis that correspond to the latent variables were also confirmed in the Chilean model, a) If in the home of ego there was a car at age 14, it is a higher probability that the socioeconomic level of the parents was higher(.59), b) a higher self perceptiveness of the socioeconomic level, the higher the probability that the socioeconomic level of the parents had been higher(.68), c)If the father has a higher schooling, the higher the probability that the schooling of the parents is higher(.79), d) if the mother has the higher schooling, the higher the probability that the schooling of the parents be higher(.80).

Probably the most important finding in this study is the high indicator of the correlation of socioeconomic wellbeing with schooling ($\beta= .46$, p< .01), and with the socioeconomic level of the parents ($\beta = .25$, p< .01). A positive correlation between schooling of ego and childhood academic achievement was also found ($\beta = .27$, p< .01), as well as a positive relationships between schooling and socioeconomic levels of parents ($\beta = .31$, p < .01) and education of the parents ($\beta= .33$, p < .01). Simultaneously, a positive relationship was found between academic achievement and the socioeconomic level of the parents ($\beta = .31$, p < .01), and education of the parents ($\beta= .12$, p < .01). It is duly noted, that as in the case of Mexico, the indicators of the explained variance ($R^2$) of two of the three endogenous variants are high. The principal variable, wellbeing, is explained by a $R^2$ of .41, while the explained variance of schooling is .45 and the one for childhood academic achievement is .18.
In addition to the direct relationships shown in figure 3, table 3 estimates, as it was done in the Mexican case, some of the indirect effects that are suggested graphically in figure 2. In contrast to the Mexican case, for the Chileans, it is the education of the parents that has a major indirect influence in the socioeconomic wellbeing of ego (.18), being through the direct effect upon the education of their children (.33) or through the childhood academic achievement (.16). Other indirect effects noticeable about the socioeconomic wellbeing of ego are the ones that are brought about by the socioeconomic levels of the parents (.13) and the childhood academic achievement (.13).

Upon computing direct and indirect effects, it is found that the socioeconomic level of homes of origin still has a strong effect over socioeconomic wellbeing (.38) but this effect is lower than in the Mexican case by 20 points. It also explains the lesser effect of final schooling (.28) than in the Mexican case, while the effect of schooling of the parents is slightly greater in Chile (.18) than in Mexico (.12).
Statistical Differences

Up to this point the empirical models have been described and it has been observed that estimates of their parameters differ between them. The principal difference is that the effect of schooling of ego is the variable that best explains Chile’s own economic wellbeing, while the wealth of the home of origin is the one that explains socioeconomic wellbeing in Mexico. If this is so, it suggests that the State in Mexico has failed to break the structural barriers against effort and personal talent of its people. Part of the job of statistical comparison has already been done upon submitting both models to the same test and running them at the same time. An alternative way of doing the analysis could be to test a model each time, but doing so would provide different margins of error, and no possibility to observe statistical differences between the models. To complete this comparison, a test of homogeneity of the variables is run to test the difference of the models. The principle is that if the matrix of variables and co-variables of both models are different between them, then the differences of the structural models are significant, which would indicate that the models stop being descriptive opening up a discussion about the inference of the validity of said differences.

Figure 4 is a graphic representation of the test of homogeneity of the variables and co-variables for the variables under study in both models. Instead of the latent variables, the observed indicators for the constructors of the socioeconomic level of the parents and schooling of the parents were used. All the variables under study are put to the test of correlation with each one of the variables. The model of figure 4 has been rejected under any level of relevancy ($X^2 = 6395, df = 23, p = .000$). The results indicate that any proposition in respect to the likeness of the Mexican and Chilean cases will be rejected and that the non-hypothesis that the models are statistically different between them will be accepted.
Discussion

The investigation in education and its role in social stratification has been the focus of attention in the sociology literature for a number of decades now. However, very little is known as to what takes place in Latin America. The supposed point of departure to study education and its role in social stratification is that education should act to break the inertias between origins and destinies. This article has asked the question whether education is a factor that contributes to break the cycle of persistent inequality in Mexico, and also if this is a form to evaluate the achievements of the social contract that came out of the Mexican Revolution, which this year, 2010, celebrates its century of existence. This is so because one of the main objectives of the revolution was to cut down the privileges of the dominant class, and along with it, the intergenerational transmission of wealth that perpetuates inequality.

After an extensive literature review, a theoretical model was developed which compared the way in which schooling and the wealth of the home of origin affect both childhood academic achievement as well as schooling of ego. Furthermore, the model compared the Mexican and the Chilean cases to observe the weight of wealth of origin and schooling over the socioeconomic wellbeing of ego.

The results of the analysis showed that there are statistical differences between the cases of Mexico and Chile. In Mexico, the weight of the inter-generational transmission of wealth is large, as it is suggested by a coefficient of total effects of .58. The wealth of the home of origin determines completely the model, having also an important weight in childhood academic
achievement (.29) and final schooling of ego (.38). There is however a fact that merits attention because from it may open an avenue for public policy. It is the direct effect that childhood academic achievement has over schooling of ego (.53). Even when childhood academic achievement is better explained by the wealth of the home of origin than the schooling of the parents, the weight that childhood academic achievement has over schooling, which determines in great measure the final result of 64 per cent of the explained variance of this variable, is sufficient so as to explore the implications of this relationship, which will be done at a later point in this report.

In contrast, the model representing the data from the Chilean survey shows that education has, in that country, at least a good partial effect in the rupture of the inter-generational transmission of wealth. Even though the wealth of the home of origin continuous to have a major effect in the socioeconomic wellbeing of ego (.38), it is still lower by 9 percentage points than schooling (.47). Also differing from the Mexican model final schooling of ego which is explained less by the socioeconomic level of the home of origin (.28) than by the schooling of the parents (.38) and the same that by the childhood academic achievement. A first conclusion is that in both cases the inter-generational transmission of wealth is a large factor. As it has been shown from the literature review, Latin-American is the region of the world, where there is existing data, in which they are major inequities, and inequity is almost always related with the lack of social mobility. A second conclusion has to do with the fact that in Chile education has the pivotal effect of motivating social stratification, and that even if the influence of wealth of the home of origin exist, this is less than in the case of Mexico. The third conclusion is that, in comparison, in Mexico, after 100 years of the Mexican revolution, the rupture of the transmission of inter-generational wealth is scarce; this was indeed the liberal dream of all revolution, armed or pacific that took place in the continent during the 20th century. The fourth conclusion refers to the origin of the schooling of ego. In Mexico, schooling is explained more by the wealth of the home of origin, while in Chile the transmission of legacy occurs more in terms of the schooling of the parents, as was stated previously in this section, childhood academic achievement is the variable that explains strongly the final schooling of ego in the Mexican case.
Results from these findings allow for at least two points of reflection regarding Mexican public policy, and with that, for future investigation. On the one hand, there is a relationship that suggests a linear relationship between wealth of the home of origin and the final schooling of ego, more so when it is compared with the Chilean case. This suggests certain weakness in the scheme of public education in Mexico. A public education system has as its goal, justly, to break the inertias between origins and destinies and allow that any person, without taking into account their social condition at the outset, can take advantage of the education only based on their own effort and talent. One of the limitations of this study and the data collected is that it does not allow for the observation of what is needed in the public educational system so that it can do better and accomplish the role of breaking the inertias between origins and destinies. But the data shows a fact of anecdotal evidence. The middle class are supplanting the State with their own resources. Given the inefficiency of the public education system to meet its role, the middle class, not taking into account the high class, are attending the growing private education system.

The efficiency of the private education system however, is an open question for future investigation. Even though the data suggest a linear relationship between wealth and schooling, the means by which this relationship occurs have not been proven empirically and more investigation is needed on this subject.

A second point of reflection for public policy and future investigation comes from the relationship between childhood academic achievement and the schooling of the ego. Since the category “I was not in school at that age” was introduced as value 0, the findings indicate that having a good level of academic achievement will end up in higher schooling, but that even staying in school is better than no schooling at all. The situation is that in Mexico, as Lopez Calva (2010) has shown, early child labor predicts a lower level of socioeconomic wellbeing. Once again one must use anecdotal evidence to realize that in Mexico child labor occurs with alarming frequency, most of all, among the most talented children in lower socioeconomic levels. Thousands of kids work as packers at grocery stores. To work as a packer, a grocery requires them to show a high level of academic achievement, and hires them without wages, so that they can work for tips. Each client contributes to a vicious cycle in which the grocery stores keep the prices low while exploiting child labor, and a lot of youth stop going to school because
their earnings end up being higher than that of their parents, giving them a quick reward without great effort.

It can be predicted given the findings of this study that this income is higher than the income these youth would have if they had stayed in school, as is revealed in the relationship between schooling and socioeconomic wellbeing, even in Mexico. The Mexican constitution, which was drafted by constituents of the revolution, establishes that education is free and mandatory. But the obligatory part, in practical terms, has been limited to the supply and not the demand. There are no mechanisms that force parents to keep their children in school at least until the time that is mandated by law, in other words, until they finish high school, which usually takes place between the ages of 14 and 15 years old. Finding ways in which this can be accomplished is an issue of public policy, and also of future investigation.