

Insights about social mobility and path planning: A biographical approach about the uncertainties within the household. Buenos Aires Metropolitan Region. 2011.

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Percepciones sobre la movilidad social y la planificación de trayectorias: Un enfoque biográfico sobre las incertidumbres al interior del hogar. Región Metropolitana Buenos Aires. 2011.

***Insights about social mobility and path planning:
A biographical approach about the uncertainties within the household.
Buenos Aires Metropolitan Region. 2011.***

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Research Hypothesis

Historical process produces a social structure, which delineates social mobility patterns and forms of inequality, where social classes rely. It depends on the way the country integrate the world system and on the institutional forms that the country adopts.

Government, as a form of state, defines social relations, regulating capital and labor, by re-distributive mechanisms that nay generate integrators or disintegrating effects

Two theoretical fields

- Stratification and social mobility from a relational perspective

(Filgueira, 2001, 2007; Sautu, 2012, Cachon Rodriguez, 1989; Echeverria Echeverria Zabalza, 1999; Bourdieu, 1988, 1990, Goldthorpe, 1992)

- Historical analysis of how socio institutional forms respond to class inequality, risks and contingencies (Castel, 2004; Bauman, 2003, Donzelot, 2007)

Theoretical guidelines I

Social stratification refers to the distribution of positions in a society, with varying participation in the distribution of goods and services: *stratification delimitates inequality*

Social Class: It is not about a class meaning “less” than other, it is about relations and unequal participation in social space

Social Mobility refer not to "vertical movement“ but to intergenerational class paths, that form a social space, with specific capital.

Economic, structural and institutional political may change social space, *referring the capital they hold and how much every capital weight inside it.*

Relational view of stratification::::> against functionalist perspective ::::> focus on "achievement" of "individuals" to occupy the "more needed positions " of "social system"::::> *the individual is responsible for own his career*

Theoretical guidelines II

Who should be responsible for contingencies (risk) that a person can suffer? Is it the individual or the society?

Welfare states: Social Security means affiliation of individuals in larger groups. Negotiated rules express a commitment to remaining generations. Weakens individual responsibility (Castel, 2004: 50).

“Paradoxical Modernization” (Honneth, 2002, 2009) singularity - individual responsibility. Progressive “de-responsibility” of the state and society: individualization, de-collectivization and vulnerability (Castel, 2004). Background: “new management of labour” (Grassi and Danani, 2009).

“Individualizations” became characteristics required to workers: “be proactive, willing, adaptable, motivated”: symbolic effects with regard to perceptions about one's place in the social structure and the ability to transit life in terms of a draft (positional inconsistency, Araujo y Martuccelli, 2011)

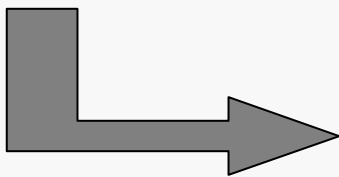
*the individual is responsible for own his career::::> theoretical perspective
with effects on everyday life:::> mechanisms of hegemonic legitimacy*

Argentina: trends on stratification and social security I

First third of the twentieth century: intra - generational mobility and upward mobility of middle classes (Germani, 1963).

1929's Crack and "import substitution industrialization": intergenerational mobility - increased upward mobility (Germani, 1963)

Social citizenship based on labour market: pension system y social work



"historical or traditional normality regarding work": social experience of life and work had an imaginary of certainties between generations.

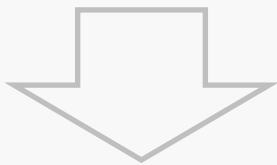
Argentina: trends on stratification and social security II

Structural changes 1976 and 1990:

“Competitive” trends of intergenerational class mobility: **link between upward inequality and low social mobility is not conclusive** (Jorrat, 2005).

Inter generational class mobility from manual occupations to non-manual does not mean **status improves: spurious mobility**. Structural change: economics focuses on the services sector (Kessler y Espinoza, 2007)

Symbolic integration mechanism are questioned. A new one emerge, social inequality is support on individual merits and abilities



Cross the sociability and imaginaries of the individuals, as far as the hopes and horizons that subjects can be drawn: : *the individual is responsible for own his career*

RMBA. Empirical outputs from a quantitative approach

1995 - 2010

Stiffer Society : increased mobility between the upper and upper middle classes. Increased reproduction of the skilled working class.

"Economic Rewards" : routine middle class improve their income, but not such as upper middle classes. Skill working class also improve their income (come close to routine middle class). The marginal working class is the one with the worst participation, but in recent years has improved substantially in terms of percentage change

2003 onwards: Institutional and Economic Changes

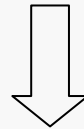
- Increased state regulation on work's sphere
- Decreased unemployment
- Improving social indicators
- Increased of "regulated by law" employment
- Change in the dominant paradigm of social policy

Contradictory trends: in-
mobility but restructuring of
income

Context

So....

Social mobility analysis allows us to see how differences in “social origin” makes or not differences in the “target clas”s, but does not address other elements beyond the control of persons and that affect their life paths and the social space they build



Qualitative analysis to characterize the processes of social mobility in a “biographical key”, as far as the the ways people understand the reality in terms of potential uncertainties and risks of the social context

How different subjects crossed paths intergenerational class interpret their position in the social structure and what are the perceptions of the contingencies of everyday life and consequently the possibility of organizing the paths all household members?

Qualitative approach I

Objective: understand how life stories are combined with aspects of social context (Bertaux, 2005; Collins, 2000, Mendez and Gayo, 2007).

Technique: Life Stories from a comparative perspective (Bertaux, 2005).

Sample: typology that emerged from the examination of patterns of social mobility for the period 2003 - 2011 (Solis, 2011).

Are interpreted from **thematic analysis** (and not the life story as the unit itself), identifying values, representations and subjectivities.

Qualitative approach II

Reproduction and short-distance mobility at the top
Long upward mobility
Middle class reproduction
<i>Downward mobility inside middle class</i>
Manual / non manual border: frontier short distance mobility
Working class reproduction
Marginal working class reproduction

Recovery unit: People (men and women) at consolidation work's age (30 +) that have undergone different processes of social mobility compared to their parents

Interpretados por medio de

Comparative analysis (Bertaux, 1994)

Identify the range of possibilities (as they differ, what are the main factors of differentiation, where they overlap) for a given social origin, within a society, in a particular historical moment.



By detecting the social barriers and areas of expertise, types of resources and capital that can be applied, we can built a map of the processes that distribute to people in paths of life in a society

Qualitative approach III: analytical dimensions

Life Paths of people in households in the period 2003 - 2009

Changes or continuities in the Family life strategies

Insights about the possibility of anticipate and arrange their own social mobility paths and / or the one of household members

Perceptions about whether performance, successes and failures, are referenced "individualized" or a larger group

Spaces of differentiation and / or competition with other social classes

Trends of Reproduction and short-distance mobility at the top

"... With the country **I have no uncertainty**, I think that **while we as parents can guarantee the basic issues and necessary, education, health, entertainment, and be near family, that's it, then we'll see ...**"

"... **I do not think we would have problems** in giving our children, at least more than I had ..."

"... My perception is that **the salary or retirement that one receives at retirement is a mystery**, 30 years from now. I do not know in this country, where in comparison should be 20% of what I hold the cost that I hired this insurance, which gives me peace of mind ... "

"... At one point in high school, if not well on track and there is disbanded, **want the easy, fast** and want the loot ends up not studying, not doing a university degree (...) **if you have the restraint and family level is encouraged that, you can get perfectly**, especially because we have public universities that are good, unlike other countries where universities are private, you have to pay a fortune and there's a difference between professional and is not. **Here, I think any way you can ...** "



Fairly certain insights about the future, referenced to the "own" capacities of establish strategies to achieve successful

Class inequalities are symbolically justified in terms of individual effort that justify social inequality. "Individualized closure mechanisms"

"Normality supported in own capabilities," reflect symbolic mechanisms if "paradox modernity"

Trends of Middle class reproduction

"... Many times I have ask myself and to people about my age have a **certain nostalgia with before. I feel that things got more difficult ...** "

"... I also feel that the **wages shrank much, much, and it's not mine, other colleagues and we all feel the same. The salary and does not yield the same (...)** I **think there's a big gap between what things increase, the basket and thus increasing wages. We always work with my colleagues ...** "

"... Yes, **it haunts me a bit of that because I like repeating everything, you know?** I am now in good time as was my father and **tomorrow I do not know how I'll be ...** "

"... When you're lost and you have no State aid you know?, Because my old man came knocking anyone or no one said" you know what? The supermarkets are going to put in Capital "or you know what? The guy who does things wrong with the fish coming on the road in black and does not go to Central Market as punishment, "and **when you lose and you lose everything you and pluck everything from scratch, then when you start to make money ...** "

"... The card payment passes I am indebted to a card because that's how **I thought things were going to come well and good, I got, buy materials, buying things and I never ...**"



As compared with parents they built an idealization of the past, and complementarily with dissatisfaction with the present and the future uncertainty

Inconsistent occupational position, feeling of permeability to change, intensification of the "fear of falling" of the middle class (Araujo and Martucelli, 2011: 169)

Replicate the legitimating of individual paths aimed at the working classes.

State regulation is seen as something that does not reach them (strengthening the argument for individualization), setting limits of differentiation with the working classes

Trends of Working Class Reproduction

"... I remember my mother, beside this job she had to go clean house, my dad doing odd jobs, **today, my mom does not make it anymore** and my old man if he does, it is for him to buy a roast or a sucker for fun, **but hardly by need ...** "

"... Give me my retirement and that's it, **no matter how much that is little**, that's it, **I will know how to fix ...** ".

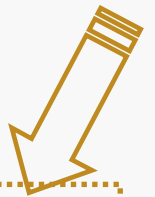
"... To buy access. I'm not much luxury, I'm half hearty, peasant and I raised my daughter well, with what is, is what you get, no more luxury is what you get and raised well. **So I say that she has to progress to her now, I do not want to me what she will progress.** I'm already in my level. From here I go to the afterlife, **I'm quiet, made ...** "

"... But **I want something more for she** than what I got and I will do, because it is easy for her ... "

"... My old enough and grew slowly, but I believe in that, to get to buy a house or have something and leave it to him. After he goes by his life, his studies, his dreams, his football team, **but they choose it. (...)** **At least will not have to paddling since childhood ...** "

"... **I will not say I'm amazing, but compared to the crisis r we are good..Even more, l I'm done** "

"... **There are many possibilities that I see today.** Do not say we are going through the re-best time of our lives, but I see much possibility. **There are job opportunities, but many ...** "



Employment - Social Security - Income - Consumption dimensions that shapes new symbolic mechanisms for the future and the possibility of organizing everyday life: Reduce Uncertainty

References not only to their own situation but to acquaintances, the same that the ones that reached a higher class

Reference to retirement (as a mode of state intervention) as a safe and supportive group: working today for no work tomorrow, it differs from the perceptions individualizing.

The "individual effort" is not neglected but are associated with the "opportunities of context" to a greater extent than in other classes

Paths of upward mobility

"... This is the only place where I stayed steady and stopped throwing resumes. I stopped looking at the newspaper when I came here, but in the work that I **was always looking for something better** ... "

"... The circle of friends. **Everyone is doing quite well with a lot of effort but I have not an environment of rich friends.** They are neighborhood people, like sitting down to eat, chat, a drink. **There are not at the top but they are doing well. Do well (...) I do not know if it is ideally Argentina, but is much better than before** ... "

"... I think in my teens, which was the Menem era, **there was enough unemployment**, making access to someone who just finished the secondary was quite limited (...) and I think now I see with business and other I see you are doing well in business and how much demand there ... "

"... This is me is how I feel I'll be able to support more than what you can do, from an economic and not, not like in a word ... **it's like I finished high school and knew that if or when I had to go to work and for me it is almost certain that the day he finished the secondary Lucia will not have to do that** (...) as we will be able to give more support ... is not only financial support, not that type or is called, but as more comprehensive, if you can measure is how it will be more (...) and I come a time finished high school and is like no one, did not have an acquaintance who has studied, as in the Faculty anyone could give me some advice, look makes such a thing, as my folks were going What to say? then not like it all that sort of thing to Lucy one is going to be able to ... "

"... How all these measures impact as if your dad has no job but if you can go to public school have a notebook, tomorrow go to college for free, tomorrow as you can get a job that you to improve ... but **if not implemented all social stuff is like you are born poor, you die poor** ... "



A relationship's space "between classes", product of a different social background you have, generates differential perceptions regarding others of the same target class.

Reference to friends, family that remain from the "origin class" gives a hint differential insights from those who come from middle class and play the position. Compare that to reflect on the benefits that are in the "new kind of destination"

On the other hand, upward mobility change perceptions about the future, assuming that children will have a different "exit point" than those they had. The sense of risk decreases, in reference to a "context" that accompanies these possibilities.

Perception of own place in the social structure, and relations with "others"

"... I think there ... Did you see that **there is an overlap**? We have the plant, which is under the agreement of the union where you have a kid of 20 who enters with his full agreement and enter earning 5,000 pesos per month and not have any college education, or art. Nothing. And it's pretty good. (Laughs.) And you have kids that are received from a degree in Business, accountant or whatever, do not earn more than 8,000 pesos. There are job opportunities, some work today. I **think there is some distortion between what particular job is worth about what else it might not work by itself, but the training had to invest relative to one another, to get where you are, which is not paid the similarly ...**" (Path to reproduce the cusp)

. "... I'll clarify: **the industry average down, I think it's better because** all that has been the wages of unionized people and the plumber, which has an office. That is revalued and this situation makes that people can be better, having more work. They lend the state of the up ... " (Path of reproduction of the cusp)

"... I know it would work knocking on doors, resume, get a pair of pants, a shirt and I'm going to find anything. And if I fail, I dunno. **If I have to go clean a house, I would ...**" (middle class paths)

"... The kind that you can now" work"who is 20, grew up in the time that Dad had not work, then you're used to not **work**, know what I mean to what I am?, Saw the father without working and I I saw my old when working and when my old man worked, I already came with my old base Know what I mean what am I going? (Middle-class trajectories)

"... **The investment, if you want, in time, effort had to someone who has a university level ...**" (middle class paths)

"... **The faster are the jobs in factories.** Those, I think they are the fastest to get by. I think you get in a company as a clerk is more complicated, because **there are requirements. Now you want more languages, more studies, studies not going to use there, but the request as parameters.** Would have no problem, I think I would argue that ... " (working class paths)

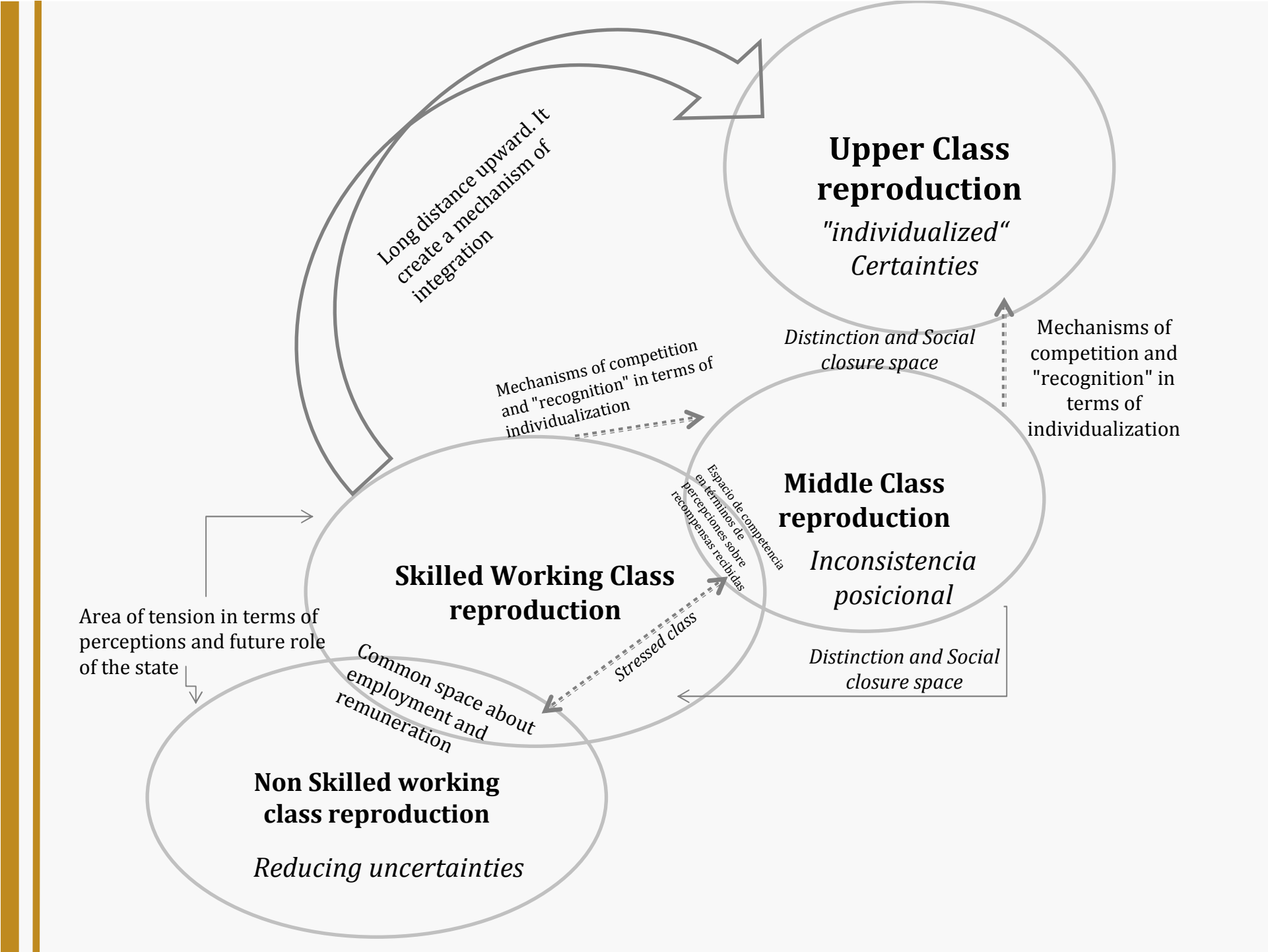
"... Now I know one person tell me I'm out of work che Look Got me like that all the people I know work ... " (path of upward mobility)



Reference to own place in the social structure usually is referenced to the other class positions.

These mechanisms distinguished in identifying arguments "meritocratic" in the paths of middle class, "spaces of distinction" from the lower middle classes with the workers, "particularly with regard to monetary rewards, and arguments over" collective "in lower classes.

In the social space of each class, will form different perceptions about social status, and gradients of uncertainty - risk with respect to the possibility of organizing one's life



As a closing, but opening...

Different paths shape varying insights about the future, with possible effects on social stratification.

The “imaginarium” under which own merit rewards are listed, mostly in the upper classes that define its closure class over other classes based on it. This ideology is associated with the identification and accountability for the place it occupies in the social structure. This had its own impact on the symbolic mechanisms justifying inequality in the nineties and now results in discomfort or uncertainty of the middle classes.

Working classes, however, have changed as far as perceive their own own place in the social structure: the change in the way of government regulation represented improvements in their daily life conditions, which was a change in the perception of the future. It is not the lack of recognition of social inequality, but the establishment of a tolerance mechanism that is based on the increase of social security which results in certainty about the possibility of organizing one's life and especially generations to come.

Social origin produces shades: paths of upward social mobility from the working class often nuanced perceptions of middle class.

The existence of channels for social mobility may provide opportunities for shaping social ties while his stiffening could generate a break social structure, not only in terms of structural positions but also in symbolic terms. Without them, it increases the tolerance of inequality and is naturalizing an "unequal society" (Kessler, 2011)

¡Thanks! – Jérica Lorena Pla

