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Mobility or social reproduction in a poor quarter of Buenos Aires – Argentina.

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1. Introduction

The research about the processes of social mobility among generations in a certain society constitutes a way of approaching the processes of marginality. Though this type of methodology is not new, for many years these studies have not been approached in Argentina, with few exceptions, like the works of Jorrat (2000) and Kessler and Espinoza (2007).

In the bibliography on social mobility, the specific methodology has been used to argue about the levels of opening or closing of a social structure. The evidence of high rates of mobility can be considered to be an indicator of which the society in question is characterized by the achievement, more than for the ascription, that the individuals obtain their income in relation with their personal qualities more than on the base of "unjust" advantages, such as the inherited richness or the personal contacts; it is to say, that a real meritocracy exists and works (Crompton, 1994). The above mentioned rates also allow visualizing the movements among segments, which might imply ascent or social decrease, taking in consideration certain hierarchic occupational combined scales combined with the educational level.

A particular case of this problem is the reproduction of a marginal segment of the population, located in a peripheral neighborhood, and its impact in the processes of social mobility; this case is the record of the observations of our work.

Table 1 is the mobility's table that will be employed at this article, with the percentages of inflows and outflows. From this table it is possible to calculate the descriptive trends on mobility³; observed in the specific population, object of our work, they acquire specific characteristics. While diverse studies specify a rate of mobility of between (among) 60 % and 70 %, with a prevailing of the rising mobility on the descending one (Jorrat, 2005; Pla and Salvia, 2009), in our case, we meet a population with mobility's rate of 74 %, explained almost

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³ For a description of the forms of calculation of these trends see Pla and Salvia (2009).

in equal parts for the rising and the descending mobility, (the first one explains 47 % of the whole mobility, and the descending this 53 % remaining).

Table 1: Mobility's table, percentages of outflows and percentages of inflows. Minister Rivadavia, 2008.

Origin Class		Destiny Class					Total
		I. High Middle Class autonomous and salaried	II. Autonomous working Class	III. Salaried working Class Registered	IV. Salaried working Class no Registered	V. Marginal Working Class	
I	n	21	27	31	14	13	106
	outflow	19,8%	25,5%	29,2%	13,2%	12,3%	100,0%
	inflow	27,3%	24,8%	24,6%	20,6%	12,0%	21,7%
II	n	12	21	15	9	14	71
	outflow	16,9%	29,6%	21,1%	12,7%	19,7%	100,0%
	inflow	15,6%	19,3%	11,9%	13,2%	13,0%	14,5%
III	n	32	33	46	20	39	170
	outflow	18,8%	19,4%	27,1%	11,8%	22,9%	100,0%
	inflow	41,6%	30,3%	36,5%	29,4%	36,1%	34,8%
IV	n	7	6	11	5	8	37
	outflow	18,9%	16,2%	29,7%	13,5%	21,6%	100,0%
	inflow	9,1%	5,5%	8,7%	7,4%	7,4%	7,6%
V	n	5	22	23	20	34	104
	outflow	4,8%	21,2%	22,1%	19,2%	32,7%	100,0%
	inflow	6,5%	20,2%	18,3%	29,4%	31,5%	21,3%
Total	n	77	109	126	68	108	488
	outflow	15,8%	22,3%	25,8%	13,9%	22,1%	100,0%
	inflow	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Source: Minister Rivadavia Survey, FONCyT Project N° 33737.

The Table 1 also gives us the information that takes us to the question that we will try to answer in our article. In this respect, 84 % of the High middle class was recruiting among persons whose parents were in the three highest classes of the social structure proposed in this article⁴; the same situation is given among the working classes, autonomous or salaried, registered. On the other hand, the working class not registered and the marginal class, the trend is the way back; a great part is recruited among whom they belong to working classes⁵.

If a population inhabitant of a segregated and marginal neighborhood, is characterized by a wide mobility, with a slight predominance of the descending mobility, and a strong association between origins and destinations, it becomes important to answer what factors are defining such processes.

⁴ The construction of the categories is detail in the paragraph 3 Methodology of Analysis.

⁵ The similarity of percentages of exit in the class of origin the III probably answers to the consequences of a process of structural change and not salaried (Schvarzer, 1998; Torre y Gerchunoff: 1996; Salvia, 2002; Donza, et. al. 2008) that crossed Argentina from the year 1976 and particularly during the nineties. We do not go deeply into this question because it would be object for another article.

On the basis of this brief presentation of our population of study, and in works previously realized (Chavez Molina and Molina Dearteano and Pla, 2009; Chavez Molina and Gutierrez, 2009), in this article we try to inquire on which are the factors that influence the belonging to a particular social class in a marginal neighborhood of the Great Buenos Aires, in a period of relative economic stability.

We will look for the response from the following hypothesis of work: in a population territorially segregated, the belonging to a social class is determined not only by the social origin of the population, but also by structural factors and acquired factors, which act together in the develop of the social structure.

First, there are checked theoretical and empirical background for the study of the social mobility in our country, which give shape and context to the question that is tried to answer along the article; then we present in detail the used methodology and the evidences found; finally, some preliminary conclusions on the phenomenon are exposed.

1.1 Theoretical background

The subject of the social mobility is probably one of the most significant inside the world of the classic sociology. From the studies of Pitirim Sorokin (1962) up to the works of Parsons (1967), almost all the principal modals of the sociology have reached somehow to the comprehension of the forms in which the tension between the reproduction and the social change was solved. During the 20th century, numerous literatures realizes of this concern from different theoretical sights (Lipset and Bendix, 1959; Featherman, Jones, and Hauser, 1975; Kerbo, 2003, between (among) others).

Nevertheless, the frame of the salaried society (Gorz, 1997) under which this debate was taking form, the central countries were far enough of the nucleus of worries and dilemmas that the peripheral societies were facing: instead of the dialectics between (among) recoveries and conquests of the minor classes of an mature industrial society, the analyses were orientated to understand the characteristics that were assuming the processes of modernization, the intensive urbanization, the industrialization and the emancipation, among others.

A point of unavoidable reference to these studies in the Latin-American context was the paradigm of the modernization (Rostow, 1961; Hoselitz, 1960; Germani, 1962), one of whose premises was to hold that the societies follow a path of development that takes them necessarily

of the lag towards the progress, identified the progress as the socioeconomic - institutionally configuration of the central countries.

This paradigm supposed that the modernization would manage to generate a process of rising mobility that would help to dilute the social conflict and to solve the phenomenon of the marginality, understood as the lack of integration to the institutions, channels of participation and modern values (DESAL, 1965; Vekemans, 1970, Germani, 1962, 1969, 1973). Their empirical referents were the marginal populations seated in the industrial and peripheral cords of the big cities.

Latin America arrives early to the debate on mobility, putting in the center of the problem in the breach of the promises of the above mentioned paradigm. The studies on social mobility were emphasizing the disability of the productive device to generate opportunities for all. Still in case of generating them, these were not adjusting to the demographic paces. Inside of this variant, the volume of the migrations of the field to the city occupies an out-standing place (Kessler and Espinoza, 2007).

Even more, the economic growth itself was not balanced not supported. In these countries (especially Brazil) existed a strong contradiction in the traditional processes of mobility for to action of two centripetal opposite forces: the trend itself towards the structural rising mobility and the trend towards the marginality. In other words, in spite of the growth of the product and of visible processes of a social rising mobility, the Latin-American nations seemed to exhibit chronic disabilities to stop the growth of marginal nucleuses (Filgueira, 2007)

The historians of the developed countries knew about this phenomenon as a process of transitory character towards ends of the middle Ages. But also persistent phenomenon the question seems to be new⁶. Since Hobsbawn raises it, " we want to know what forms adopts this marginality in the practice, why the marginal population is not absorbed by the industrialized labor market, under what circumstances it might be and what is necessary to do in the matter " (Hobsbawn, 1969: 238).

A series of pioneer researches in the Cone South recaptured these approaches and formed them in studies: Costa Pinto (1956, 1959) in Brazil, Solari (1962) in Uruguay, Gino Germani (1963) in Argentina, and Chaplin (1968) in Peru. But these analyses found something more. Latin America, especially the Cone South, seemed to continue in contradictory form the patterns of

⁶ To explain this difference, we proposed the consideration of the strong migratory processes during the European industrialization, of the technological archaism that was demanding big masses of not qualified workers and the absence of megalópolis, propitious structures for the "social disorganization " to which the immigrants can be dragged (Hobsbawm, 1969).

the first functionalist approaches. The variables of social stability, industrial development, demographic growth and political order were not articulated of the foreseen form.

In the middle of 1980s, Filgueira proposes to rethink these studies of social mobility because, from his optics, "they would have been limited by the paradigm of the market, which leads to conceiving the individuals as rational entities that act to maximize his benefit ". From the point of view of the results, the evidences of these studies were showing that the "pure" mobility, the one that is characterized by the individual competition, was possessing many minor relevancy that the "structural one", that is to say, that one who arises because of the increase in the offer of working places and for demographic reasons (differential of fecundity) (Kessler and Espinoza, 2007). That is way the concept of structure of opportunities is proposed, which refers to the capacity of the subjects to get in touch with the channels of mobility and with the "vacancies" created by the economical structure, the demographic dynamics or the migratory processes.

The decade of 1990 and its structural changes affect these processes in two complementary senses. On the one hand, the force of the "ways" of the past already would not be indisputable: facing a context of growth, but of contraction of the employment and increasing precariousness, does not give an expansion "up" and the opportunities already are not numerically equal. The transformation, according to Filgueira (2007), is not only a simple tightening of channels but a qualitative change where the insufficiency of the credentials occupational and educational must be compensated with other factors, as social networks, contacts, social capital, etc., factors that always were present, but whose relative weight was minor in the past. In turn, the second process is subsidiary: one speaks about certain confusion in the working sectors because the occupational categories get blurred or the promotion roster is kept but with out the, material and symbolic social recognition of the past (Kessler and Espinoza, 2007). In this context, the studies must be re-defined given the increasing heterogeneity of the processes of precariousness of work and the new social stratification.

The work of Kessler and Espinoza emphasizes that in the Argentina there are two antagonistic processes: one of rising mobility linked to the increase of the relative weight of the technical and professional positions, and an opposite pole, where the pauperization and the descending mobility are concentrate for the disappearance of positions of salaried workers and of public employment and its refill for informal services or discontinuous generators of precarious and unstable employment.

To drive set of these two trends reinforces the double traditional tendency of Latin America of raising mobility and expansion of the economic marginality. But there is more. Due to the mutations of the Argentine society and the effect of confusion mentioned above, the authors

speaking about a process of “spurious or weak mobility”, product of dislocation between the previous schemes of rising promotion roster and its current poor material and symbolic correlation.

The hypothesis that the authors propose to explain this mechanism sends to a new functioning of the “structural processes” that tense the mobility:

a) The education does not contribute like long ago to the ascent in the work path, and these movements do not associate necessarily with improvements in the income (Espinoza, 2006; Filgueira, 2007, Kessler and Thorny, 2007; Torche and Wormald, 2007).

b) A change has taken place in the structure of opportunities from disconnection among the productive structure and the population growth (Filgueira, 2000 mentioned by Kessler and Thorny, 2007).

c) The relative weight of the factors that determine the mobility: education, the human capital, social capital, occupation, income, belonging to networks, are not in the same order of hierarchy that in the past (Kessler and Espinoza, 2003; Filgueira, 2007; Márquez; 2007).

In relation with the first aspect, the authors verify the low importance of the occupational inheritance in the explanation of the current position: this means, there is a low rate of auto-recruitment among the occupations of parents and children in the majority of the work categories, with exception of the salaried positions. Nevertheless, the movements show a pattern already distinguished by previous studies (Jorrot, 2000) that mark the segmentation in the mobility among occupations of agreement with its levels of qualification. The above mentioned incongruity shows also the results of structural mobility of a society who has suffered an important process of industrialization – industrialization -tertiarization.

2. Objectives

This article seeks to present the first results of a project of investigation carried out in the frame of the “Structural Change and Social Inequality Program” of the Gino Germani Research Institute of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Buenos Aires. The project was orientated to knowing the characteristics that assumes the reproduction of the economic marginality (Nun, Marín and Murmis, 1968; Nun, 1971; 1989; 2001) in a specific context of geographical marginality: the third cord of the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area.

The intention of this article is to approach, by means of a study of case, the patterns of intergenerational mobility that are observed in the population of a peripheral neighborhood of

the Great Buenos Aires, of marginal characteristics, from primary information obtained in the frame of the mentioned program.

For it, this paper proposes the analysis of a statistical specific model, the log – lineal one, which allows to identify the series of factors that affect in the belonging to a social class, allowing a more exhaustive and explanatory development of the above mentioned process. Acquired factors will be distinguished, as the education, ascription factors, how is the home of origin of the respondent and structural factors, as the year of starting to the current employment.

The importance of observing these processes in a peripheral neighborhood takes root in that it allows indicating the differences with the observed national trends, offering this way an approximation to the analysis of the existing inequality of opportunities.

3. Analysis Methodology

3.1 Universe, sample and instruments of data collection

The project of investigation within which the data on this paper are framed used an instrument of data collection that had questions about the respondent socio-labour situation and other retrospectives related to the respondent and his/her home at the moment he/she was 14 years old.

In that sense the analysed data are a first approach to the intergenerational mobility, considering the socio-labour inscription of the Home's Main Breadwinner that the respondent was part of at the age of 14 as well as his/her situation at the moment of the survey. Before analysing the results it's necessary to state some warnings and clarifications.

The universe of study was defined according to the following criteria: active population, between 25 and 69 years, which had family responsibility during the last 14 years of their active life⁷, residents of Minister Rivadavia Neighbourhood, *Almirante* Brown, third cord of the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area, Argentina. The applied sample design was stratified not proportional and by sex, age and occupational category quota and, therefore, non probabilistic.

⁷ As an operative criterion, those who were living with a couple, whether legally married or not, were included in 1994. The 95% of the cases even today keeps having responsibility on the family economic reproduction. These criteria were defined with the objective of having enough information related to the occupational insertion and the life strategies of the people who were interviewed.

More than 500 inhabitants of the neighbourhood were respondent between June 2008 and February 2009, using a semi-structured survey by having as a methodological reference a similar work carried on by Balán, Jelín y Browning (1973) in México.

The preliminary study presented here was made on the current data (2008-2009) of the respondents which were active. For those respondents whom by the time of the survey implementation were unoccupied or inactive, the last available job was considered for the categorization of the social class.

It's necessary to point out that the information we're going to analyse shares with the mobility studies through retrospectives the limitations related to the data of origin representativeness, the loss of cases and the information reliability. On one hand, the fact of starting from a sample of current population leads to an occupational structure of the "parents" which is not a good source to characterize the social structure in an earlier point in time since it only contextualizes the individual stories. In that sense, the structural mobility can be approximate (Kessler y Espinoza, 2003). Besides, there are different situations which restrict the reach that can be obtained with this methodology of socio-labour mobility. First, many cases had to be eliminated since the subject of the inquiry had no data of the Home's Main Breadwinner occupation (retired, pensioners, etc.) by the time him/herself was 14. Second, there were cases in which the information on the respondent's parent's main working activity was imprecise and it was decided to exclude them.

On the presented analysis we only included data of those cases with consistent information referred to the working dimension as well as the educational one, considering that all the carried out crosses had the same number of cases. This limited the base of analysis to 488 cases.

3.2 Construction of analysis variables

The construction of "social class" variable on Studies of social mobility has its long debates and background (such as Hout, 1983 or Erikson, Goldthorpe y Portocarero, 1979, whom propound their own classification outlines of society in classes).

For the purpose of our study case, regarding the classification of the social class of the respondent as well as the Origin Home's Main Breadwinner (OHMB), we've chosen the categorization proposed by Torrado (1992) which, according to the author, is useful for the characterization of the class relations in Latin America since it shows a typical characteristic of

this region: the existence of a production system defined by the articulation of capitalist production relationships and simple commercial relationships.

The system propounded by the above mentioned author defines the socio-occupational stratus starting from the combination or simultaneous treatment of the six variables, such as: activity's condition, occupational group, occupation's category, activity's sector, size of the working place and branch of activity. Since it's not the object of our work, and besides the author has already developed it (Torrado, 1992: 459 – 527), we won't expand here on the explanation of each one of the variables nor on the operative definition of the stratus did she build.

We do have to point out that the variable occupational group was built according to the International Standard Classification of Occupation (ISCO).

Additionally, and given the characteristics of our sample and the objectives of our study, for the salaried working class the criteria of being registered or not on the social security system was added because of the importance that the variable has in our country when it comes to cataloguing this population (Tokman, 1999; Salvia y Chávez Molina, 2007).

Finally, the cases were grouped into five classes according to the criteria established by Torrado (1992), and combined with the registration rules of the social security system (with its consequential weight on the sample of 488 cases): High Middle Class autonomous and salaried (16%); Autonomous working Class (22%); Salaried working Class Registered (26%); Salaried working Class no Registered (14%); Marginal Working Class (22%).

As mentioned before, variables will be added to the analysis which intends to be an approximation to the acquisition of achievements, such as educational level of the respondent, and to the structural factors, such as year of starting to the current employment.

The Educational Level resulted divided in two categories: the first one includes all the respondent subjects whom achieve up to a complete secondary level; the second one comprehends all those whom at least began tertiary or university studies. This categorization was decided because it was demonstrated in previous investigations that the access to a superior level of education generates better life conditions and, particularly, incomes ones (Salvia, Pla y Quartulli, 2009; Chávez Molina y Gutiérrez Ageitos, 2009).

Related to the variable “year of starting to the current employment”, we have divided it in three categories in order to reflect different periods which our country has gone through, under the assumption that the access to a working position during the first periods ensures better conditions and social benefits than in the third one (Salvia y Pla, 2009).

The categories, reflecting the mentioned periods, are: the first one includes all the cases where the job was obtained within a model which could be considered as a developmental strategy; the second one comprises all those who got the current job between 1983 and 1991 (a period of crisis and social, political and economic instabilities); finally, the third category comprehends all those who got a job between 1992 y 2008, a period marked by the establishment of measures of a clear neoliberal profile, particularly the nineties, the crisis these neoliberal measures caused in 2001 and the subsequent period, that even of economical growth didn't reverse the trend towards the open structural heterogeneity during the nineties (Salvia, et. al., 2008).

3.3 Why Log Lineal?

In order to know more about the phenomenon of the social mobility in a poor quarter of Buenos Aires, is necessary to consider another variables on the analysis to, as mentioned before, discover the associations which are intervening with the achievement of a certain position in the social structure, and if the relation between the origins and destinations remains when adding variables of the acquired and structural kind. We found limits for this on the tables where the chi-square is calculated. This is the reason why we propose the use of a Log Lineal model. These are similar to the multiple regression analysis but all the variables which are used on the analysis are independent, while the dependant variable is the number of cases in one of the crossed tabulation boxes.

Hence, log-lineal is a technique of parameters estimation of the simultaneously involved variables (their main effects and the different interactions among them) in functions which predict results, to which a Likelihood Ratio Test (L^2) is applied.

A distribution defined in this way is called *saturated model* since such distribution is an expression of all the possible effects in which the considered relation can be decomposed; it's the "everything has to do with everything" due to which we're not allowed to talk about specific relations. This is the reason why the Log-Lineal method explores different models; each one of these is a hypothesis about the relation between the data in order to find which are the relations which explain our data better.

4. Data analysis

As we previously mentioned, the saturated model contains itself all the possible combinations between the considered variables, that's the reason why it is not a good model to find the specific relations we are looking for. Now, the Log – Lineal technique brings us the possibility of trying different models by eliminating some terms of the saturated model.

The first model we are trying is the *statistical independence* one, which eliminates the interaction between variables. However, it's important to notice that rejecting the statistical independence model not automatically means that the relation between all variables does or between some of them exist. That's why is necessary to move forward to more complex hypothetical models.

In a hierarchical model, there are different term's levels, each one of which indicates all the possible combinations between variables. So, in order to describe it, listing the upper level interaction it's enough, constituting the model's generating class. In a three variable's model, the ABC specification indicates that the model contains L/abc and all the lower level's interactions.

To our purposes, the number of cases in each cell must be expressed as a function of the four variables we are using in the analysis: A) Destiny class (Respondent social class); B) Origin class (Main breadwinner social class OMBSC); C) Respondent Educational level; D) Respondent entry's year to actual job. Notice that the letters that designed each variable represent themselves at the tables throughout the paper.

We'll study the relationship between the four variables by three different exercises, each one of which specifies different hypothesis of statistical independence between the set of variables (Boado, 2009).

First, we present the result of tri – variables models, based on the association between destiny class, origin class, and educational level, by one hand and the year of starting to the current employment by other hand. The purpose of this model is to observe what kind of relations take priority. Also, we are trying to observe if the relationship between destiny and origin remains once you incorporate other variables to the model.

Finally, and looking to toughen up our hypothesis, we present a model that incorporates all four variables. In this way, we try to establish the right association between actual social class, origin class, and both, acquired and structural factors.

At tables 2 and 3, the Likelihood Ratio Test's (onwards L^2) outputs are presented, for both tri – variables models. There, all the possible statistical independence's models surged of the combinations of the three variables are presented.

In order to understand the tables, some issues must be taken into account. First, a high value⁸ of L^2 and significance near to zero, indicates that the model's hypothesis must be rejected. Its mean that it's not possible to say that the lack of that specific effect explains the association between variables.

Conversely, a low L^2 and a high significance mean that the hypothesis can not be rejected or, easier, that the relationship must be taken account. But it's also important to consider the model's degree of freedom, or the interaction's parameter that we sacrifice in order to have a data distribution that fits the expected data distribution. We also must remember that the saturated model has a L^2 equal zero and a significance equal 1.

Finally, it must be considered that a L^2 decrease regarding the mutual independence model indicates the contribution of the model to the variable's relationship explanation (Jorrat y Acosta, 2009). At tables 2 and 3 this can be observed at the “improvement” column.

Considering this notes, at table 2 we can observed that mutual independence model is rejected. The question appears is: Which are the models that fit?

Table 2: Statistical Independence Models

Models	Variables: Destiny class – Origin Class – Educational level				
		L^2	DF	SIG.	Improve
1 MUTUAL INDEPENDENCE	{A}{B}{C}	88,000	40	0,000	-
2 PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE A	{CB} {A}	72,680	36	0,000	17,4%
3 PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE B	{CA} {B}	57,989	36	0,012	34,1%
4 PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE C	{BA} {C}	56,467	24	0,000	35,8%
5 CONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE AC	{BC} {AB}	41,147	20	0,004	53,2%
6 CONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE BC	{AC} {AB}	26,456	20	0,151	69,9%
7 CONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE AB	{BC} {AC}	42,670	32	0,098	51,5%
8 HOMOGENEOUS INTERACTION	{BC} {AC} {BA}	14,174	16	0,586	83,9%

Source: Minister Rivadavia Survey, FONCyT Project N° 33737.

By one hand, the L^2 that present the better improvement regarding the mutual independence model is the homogeneous interaction model (83.9%). This situation indicates that a “second

⁸ Notes that more near from zero is the L^2 more adjusted are the expected and the observed frequencies, what means that we are in front of a good association between variables.

order model” fits the data, showing that the destiny class, the origin class and the educational level are associated, in a conditional way by pairs: the association between the first pair remains at all levels of the third.

In this way, having reach higher education must determinate the social class of an individual, but with interference of the origin.

However, this model sacrifices 24 parameters, while the conditional independence model BC improves the L^2 at 69.9% and sacrifice less parameter. This model must be indicating that two of the three variables, origin class and educational level, are independent of the third, but that each one of them is associated to destiny class. In this way, we can say that the educational level and the origin social class are influencing the social class reached by the respondent, although they are not associated between themselves.

Both interpretations go in the same way: shown the importance of education at the reaching of a determinate social class.

At table 3, the association between destiny social class, origin social class and respondent year of starting to the current employments analyzed. As we previously said, the introduction of the last variable at the model has the purpose of searching the importance of structural factors at the intergenerational mobility. This matter is of real importance, due to the population that we are analyzing.

Table 3: Statistical Independence Models

MODELOS		Variables: Destiny class – Origin Class – Respondent entry’s year to actual job			
		L^2	DF	SIG.	Improve
1 MUTUAL INDEPENDENCE	{A}{B}{D}	95,371	64	0,007	-
2 PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE A	{DB} {A}	92,344	23	0,002	3,2%
3 PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE B	{DA} {B}	68,004	56	0,130	28,7%
4 PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE D	{BA} {D}	63,838	48	0,063	33,1%
5 CONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE AD	{BD} {AB}	60,811	40	0,019	36,2%
6 CONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE BD	{AD} {AB}	36,471	40	0,630	61,8%
7 CONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE AB	{BD} {AD}	64,978	48	0,052	31,9%
8 HOMOGENEOUS INTERACTION	{BD} {AD} {BA}	35,046	32	0,326	63,3%

Source: Minister Rivadavia Survey, FONCyT Project N° 33737.

Once again, the conditional independence model BC shows us that not considering the association between ass, origin social class and respondent year of starting to the current employment produces a better model; improvement the explanation regards the mutual

independence model. The structural factors are important in the explanation of social mobility and in the probability of reaching one specific social class. According to this, structural changes or crisis would affect the marginal population, especially in what to life opportunities regards.

In order to a deep analysis, we present the model that considers the four variables and the different options of statistical independence models that arise from it.

As we can see at table 4, several models seem to fit the data, or in other words, improve the statistical independence hypothesis. First, the model named 2 or multiple partial independence, shows an improvement of L^2 of 45.7%, although with a 30% parameter's sacrifice. Nevertheless, the richness of this data is that allows us to say that not considering the interaction with respondent entry's year to actual job, the association between the others three variables improves considerably. Also, it's possible to think that this analysis is strengthened by model named 3.

Table 4: Statistical Independence Models.

MODELOS	L^2	DF	SIG.	Improve
1 MUTUAL INDEPENDENCE {A}{B}{C}{D}	192,455	138	0,002	-
2 MULTIPLE PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE D {ABC}{D}	104,455	98	0,309	45,7%
3 MULTIPLE PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE B {ACD}{B}	124,136	116	0,286	35,5%
4 MULTIPLE PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE C {ADB}{C}	97,084	74	0,037	49,6%
5 MULTIPLE PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE A {BCD}{A}	167,664	116	0,001	12,9%
6 CONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE BCD {AB}{AC}{AD}	103,544	110	0,655	46,2%
7 CONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE ACD {BA}{BC}{BD}	142,576	110	0,020	25,9%
8 CONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE ABD {CA}{CB}{CD}	146,772	128	0,123	23,7%
9 CONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE ABC {DA}{DB}{DC}	161,709	120	0,007	16,0%
10 HOMOGENEOUS INTERACTION {AB}{AC}{AD}{BC}{BD}{CD}	85,937	96	0,760	55,3%

Source: Minister Rivadavia Survey, FONCyT Project N° 33737.

Now, it's important that we focus our attention at model 6. This model analyses each pair of association between actual social class and the rest of the variables, but without considering the interaction between them. The improvement of 46.2% and the high significance, and also the little parameters sacrificed, allows us to confirm, at least in an exploratory way, that our hypothesis raised at the beginning of this paper, is a good one. The model is saying that there is an association between the respondent social class and the rest of the variables, but also say that this association is independent from the interaction between them.

Finally, the homogenous interaction model, read as an all with the last paragraph, make us possible to say that the variables chosen for the paper, are associated by pairs. In others words,

the selection of this set of variables to the exploration has been good and are a good beginning point to study the characteristics of social mobility's processes in a poor quarter of Buenos Aires.

5. Conclusions

Along the paper, we have tried to clarify the characteristics of social mobility's processes in a poor and segregated quarter of Buenos Aires.

Argentinean social mobility and social structure's background, indicates that a national level it's possible to find mobility rates similar to develop countries (Jorrot y Acosta, 2009). Nevertheless, the structural changes that the country has crossed during the nineties have produced changes at the dynamics of labour market. These changes affected the opportunity's life of most vulnerable social sectors. The changes have been both, quantitative and qualitative.

Having developed a trajectory in urban marginality Studies, we started to search at the intergenerational social mobility, not a national level but in a marginal population.

The first thing we found is that this population presents a high mobility rate, even higher that the ones found at national level. However, the decomposition of that rate shown that the intergenerational process in a poor and segregated quarter were qualitative different from other studies.

We were in front of a marginal population, characterized by high mobility but more of it was descending. We also found strong association between destinies and origins. But that was not enough. We wanted to reach a deeper knowledge of the phenomenon, in order to describe the forms that urban marginality adopts, but also the whys of it.

For that reason we found interesting to explore at factors that determinates the membership to a specific social class. According to the high mobility rate that we found, we though it was important to incorporate acquired and structural factors to the phenomenon. In order to this, we apply a Log Lineal Model.

By doing this, we found a number of data that make us possible to affirm, although in an exploratory way, that the association between respondent social class and the OMBSC not only exist, but also is interfered but the educational level the respondent has and the entry's year to the actual job.

Also, the results of the three exercises shown that the variables not only are associated but also are a good choice to analyse the phenomenon.

Both, educational level and the possibility of find a job at determinate historical – economical periods have weight at the explanation of the social class membership. This data is very important according to the characteristics of the population that we have analysed.

If we are in front of a population that have move from its parents, but not necessarily in an ascendant way, the fact that acquired and structural factors interfere at the association, is an example of the vulnerability of this people. They would be the most affected in a crisis, but they also would be the ones with more barriers to reach higher education, not only materials but also symbolic ones.

We do not want to fall down in a methodological individualism. Our purpose is approximate interpretations that make easier the understanding of urban marginality's complex weave. In order to reach this, models that combines different factors must be searched. We hope to have cooperated in this way, although we are conscious that this is an exploratory data and there are much ways to go over.

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