INTERGENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN MEXICO

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INTRODUCTION

In both Mexico and many other countries, the process of industrialization from the 1950s to the 1960s, coupled with the change in the economic model from 1982 onwards, as well as modifications in educational attainment, fertility and cultural patterns have increasingly led individuals to attempt to join the labor market at the same time as occupational structures have been substantially transformed. Within this socio-historic economic context, this paper attempts to determine the way different generations have joined the work dynamics and the extent to which these generations have retained their fathers' occupational status.

The article is structured as follows. The first section summarizes the main theoretical and research antecedents in Mexico on the object of study of this article-occupational mobility. The next section concerns the patterns of participation and methodological aspects considered in this document. This is followed by a description of intergenerational occupational mobility and the models to be used, with the results of these models being analyzed in light of existing antecedents. The last section summarizes the most relevant findings of this exercise, indicating their importance for the field of study.

ANTECEDENTS

In general terms, there are four different approaches to the study of individuals' occupational mobility and status: the theory of status acquisition as a more static approach, the theory of human capital and the theory of competition as semi-static approaches and lastly, a dynamic approach in which the effects of age and the cohort and period are considered (Blossfield, 1992: 30). Both the theory of status acquisition and the theory of human capital prioritize personal characteristics in explaining mobility patterns. Educational attainment, work experience and participation in the labor force are crucial variables in these models oriented by labor supply (Allmendinger, 1989).

The theory of status acquisition (Blau and Duncan, 1967) emphasizes the importance of variables of familial origin as well as education in understanding occupational positions. Thus, changes over time are explained by the long-term effects of these two sets of variables. However, this approach does not explain how the process of change is produced (Allmendinger, 1989).

For its part, in human capital theory (Becker, 1975; Mincer, 1974), education is conceived of as an investment that boosts individual productivity and even influences the economic growth of society as a whole (Robertson 1993 quoted in Suárez 1996). Consequently, the differences in occupational structure are explained by the fact that the market values the educational characteristics of the economically active population through the differential payment of individuals with different educational levels and work experience (Gallart, 1992, quoted in Suárez 1996). Movements on the market occur in imperfect situations linked to labor costs. Blossfield (19929 points out that structural changes in the labor market and the effects on occupational mobility are not included in the analysis from this perspective of study.

Blossfield (1992), however, indicates that competition theory (Sorensen, 1977) has the advantage of considering job positions in the analysis of local mobility. Structural changes in labor influence the possibilities of promotion; the expansion or contraction of the market produces vacancies at every hierarchical level, meaning that individuals entering the job market are randomly distributed according to their qualification levels. A shift to a better job may occur without an increase in individual resources while an increase in resources may not lead to a better job when there is no vacancy (Allmendinger, 1989). Competition theory assumes a model of upward mobility within a structure of inequality, which is why this perspective is regarded as semi-static.

A propos of structural change, Blossfeld (1992) points out that the concept is not new in research on social mobility. Research comparing fathers' occupational position or social class with that of their sons was an effort to isolate the effects of mobility characteristic of a change in the social structure (Rogoff, 1953; Glass, 1954; Haeser, 1977 and Erikson and GoldThorpe. Generally, however, it failed to take into account the fact that fathers were of different ages and

at different stages in their professional life cycle, as a result of which the marginal distribution of the positions of origin did not necessarily reflect the social structures of the moment. At the same time, Blossfeld (1992) argues that a dynamic approach to the study of occupational mobility must also consider entry conditions into the labor market and intra-generational mobility.

In a recent study, Solis and Billari (2002) point out that the parallel development of life course research and the analysis of the history of events has produced a change in the emphasis of the study of long-term mobility, with research focusing on the analysis of individual events with occupational trajectories. To cite just a few examples, life stories have been used to explore the effects of individual, familial and social determinants on job changes (Blossfeld, Hamerle and Mayer, 1989; Shavit, Matras and Featherman, 1990) while others have focused on different events in the occupational trajectory, such as transitions in unemployment (Sorensen, 1990) or the timing of a person's entry into the labor force (Bernardi, 2000).

What follows is a description of the way mobility in Mexico has been studied. Since the 1960s, researchers have explored the possible dimensions of occupational mobility in Mexico. Reyna (1968) held that economic development and social mobility were two closely linked phenomena, meaning that processes not directly related to industrialization but rather to development -particularly education and tertiarization- explained social mobility more than industrialization itself. On the other hand, he indicated that there was a high degree of structural rigidity in the agrarian-rural structure of Mexico, meaning that opportunities for vertical mobility were minimal.

The 1970s saw two groundbreaking studies based on data from biographical histories (Balán, Browning and Jelin, 1973 and Muñoz, Oliveira and Stern, 1977), the objective of which was to discuss the migratory process, particularly in the case of male migrants. The first study sought to determine the point in the life cycle at which migration occurs as well as to analyze different moments in the interviewees' life in order to study occupational mobility. The second study argued that one’s occupation at the time of joining the labor market, the period when a person began engaging in an activity and the socio-demographic characteristics of each cohort

were crucial to understanding the processes of intragenerational occupational mobility of the economically active population (Muñoz, Oliveira and Stern, 1977).

A propos of intergenerational mobility, in the 1970s, Contreras (1978) attempted to explore mobility between grandfathers and fathers and a group of interviewees. After demonstrating a series of methodological problems, he analyzed the intensity of upward or downward mobility and used a simple measurement for discussing the ability to resist or abandon the occupational level of the previous generation (which he called "net inheritance"). He found that net inheritance was greater in high occupational positions, while net rises occurred in intermediate positions.

Three types of study were carried out in the 1980s and 1990s. A first kind, virtually based on case studies, attempted to explore individuals' “careers" (seen as a set of ordered, functionally and hierarchically linked occupations), occupational trajectories or simply job changes to describe mobility between formal and informal and salaried and non-salaried sectors (Escobar, 1986, 1992; Benites and Cortés, 1990; Pries, 1992). Another group used surveys with short-term longitudinal information to discuss the continuity or discontinuity of the work trajectories of individuals living in the country's most highly urbanized zones (Revenga and Riboud; Cerruti and Robets, 1994; Cruz, 1997; Parker and Pacheco, 1995; Pacheco and Parker, 2000), These two sets of research have described the various changes that occurred during the period of economic restructuring in Mexico in the model frequently referred to as "outward looking growth.". None of them, however, refers to intergenerational mobility.

The third group used the methodological tool known as life trajectories, either with data from surveys with broad coverage (Suárez, 1992; Muñiz, 1996a and 1996b; Solís, 1996; Tuirán, 1996; Coubes, 1997) or qualitative information (Quilodrán, 1996; Blanco, 2001) or else with a combination of qualitative and quantitative sources (Blanco and Pacheco, 2001; Pacheco and Blanco, 2002). These studies seek to link individuals' life trajectories, one of which is the work trajectory. They have also attempted to link changes that have occurred at both the individual and structural level.

Using data from EDER, Coubes (2000) analyzes female and male work trajectories. Within the line of temporalities in work, the author shows that there are various female patterns and a single male model. On the basis of this result, she proposes considering the contribution of years' working experience to the study of salary discrimination by sex.

For their part, Parrado and Zenteno (2005) venture into the study of determinant factors in the transition between the educational trajectory and the start of the work trajectory of the cohorts belonging to EDER. Thus, they show that the lack of instruction reduces the "probability" of having a first job and that an additional year of education increases the likelihood of securing a first job by 14%. The authors also point out that the restrictions imposed by marital status are reduced by high education levels, meaning that each additional year of education increases the propensity of married women to secure their first job by 12%. Lastly, although there is an increase in the proportion of women in professional occupations in their first job and a reduction in employment in domestic service between the oldest and youngest cohort, the effect is different when social status and the conditions of the time are controlled for, meaning that the intermediate cohort is less likely to enter professional occupations or office jobs than the mature cohort.

For his part, Solís (2002) specifically studies the intergenerational mobility of a group of males living in the third largest city in Mexico (Monterrey). The author holds that despite the advances in education levels and an upward occupational movement between generations, the social origin of the males studied is still a major determinant of occupational status, either as a direct or indirect effect through education. And Solis and Billari (2002) analyze the occupational trajectories of males ages 14 to 30 living in the third largest city in Mexico, Monterrey. On the basis of statistical methods, they construct a typology and find that cohorts tend to display more continuity than changes in occupational trajectories, explained by the structural changes experienced between 1980 and 2000. They also find that career patterns are closely linked to family origin and educational attainment.

A series of articles have recently been written in Mexico, using various perspectives to deal with the issue of mobility. A book has been compiled of a representative set of this work, asking "whether, as a result of the modification of the orientation of the model- normally called structural change- there were variations in the patterns of social mobility and what they were" (Cortés *et al,* 2007).

The articles quoted here constitute an important antecedent to this paper. The aim now is to focus on the discussion from a longitudinal perspective and to specify the characteristics of intergenerational mobility while recovering the father's occupational status.

MOBILITY IN SONS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN RELATION TO THEIR FATHERS' STATUS FOR THREE COHORTS OF MEXICAN MALES

Some methodological aspects

In order to achieve the central aim of this study, I would first of all like to clarify a number of methodological issues. First of all, the discussion of mobility in sons' occupational status vis-à-vis that of their fathers will be carried out using information from EDER on males. The central argument behind this decision is that the determinants of a person's insertion in the labor market may be very different between men and women, which would imply beginning with different theoretical frameworks to analyze occupational mobility.

Another methodological aspect involves indicating the procedure I will use to compare the occupational structures of fathers and children. I will use the age of 30 as a referent for comparing the occupational structure of the three cohorts and take the fathers' occupation from the indicator used in EDER (fathers' occupation when the individual was 15 years old.) Thus, on the one hand, we will have to realize that there is a period of possible intra-generational (more precisely intra-cohort) occupational mobility between starting work and the age of 30. However, by using this age, we will avoid the problem that certain males will still be studying or might not have entered the job market yet. Moreover, as a result of the findings presented in the previous section, we know that there is a possibility that between the ages of 14 and 30, males will show

more continuity than changes in their occupational trajectories. On the other hand, we must realize that when we take information on the father when *ego* was 15 years old in order to construct the *ego*-father occupational matrices, strictly speaking we are not controlling the father's age or his stage in the life cycle at that time. Suffice it to say that there is a significant non-specified percentage in the variable age of the father which is approximately 40% for the first cohort.[1]

A third methodological aspect is the classification of occupations used in this article. This was originally tried out with a characterization of five categories (unskilled manual, manual, unskilled non-manual, semi-skilled non-manual and professionals and directors). Nevertheless, given that I only worked with one year of the subjects' life history, there are a number of empty cells in the *ego*-father occupation matrices, which is why this classification had to be grouped into four categories: Agricultural, non-skilled manual (industrial assistants, delivery men, traveling salesmen and workers in various personal services that require a minimum level of training), manual (workers, transport workers and personal service workers that require a certain level of training) and non-manual (established tradesmen, office workers, teachers, technicians, professionals and directors). This classification attempts to suggest an upward occupational hierarchy despite the extreme heterogeneity, particularly in the last occupational category.[2]

Finally, a distinction has been made between cohorts by the type of locality in which they lived when they were 30 years old. In other words, information on occupational mobility is always presented with a distinction being made between urban cohorts (which include individuals living in localities of 15,000 or more inhabitants) and rural cohorts (those with fewer than 15,000 inhabitants).

[1] The fathers' stated age was used to obtain the fathers' average age for the three generations and standard deviation. a) for the first cohort, (1936-1939), the fathers' average age was 49 years with a deviation of 10 years; b) for the second cohort (1951-1953), the father's average age was 48 with a deviation of 9 years and c) for the last cohort (1966-1069) the fathers' average age was 38 with a deviation of 8 years.

[2] It is worth noting that this broad collection of activities helps solve the problem of the historical change in occupations. In other words, this study does not ignore the fact that occupations are transformed over time; however, having such large aggregates guarantees that we have not mistakenly included activities within such a broad period of time (second half of the 20th century). On the other hand, the last category has the problem of having very few cases, making it impossible to achieve greater disaggregation.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SONS' OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN RELATION TO THEIR FATHERS'

One of the first aspects to explore is the differences between the occupational structures of father and son for the various cohorts in both the sphere of urban residence and in rural settings, in other words, we will examine the total percentages of the *ego*-father occupational matrices. In the case of the fathers, there is a predominance of manual occupations, fluctuating between 70% and 90% by cohort and type of locality, with the largest proportion being found in rural contexts (graph 1). This last aspect could be included in the line of findings shown in the previous section regarding the fact that in the 1960s, Mexico's rural agrarian structure was characterized by a high degree of structural rigidity, meaning that opportunities for vertical mobility were minimal (Reyna, 1968).[3] It is worth mentioning the fact that these occupational structures for fathers refer to the periods from 1951-1953, 1966-1968 and 1981-1983, according to the ego cohort, the years located in the minimum and maximum limits of the "import substitution" period, characterized by the fact that industry was one of the main engines of growth. At the same time, in rural settings, agriculture focused on the production of raw materials for industry and food production and also became a market that generated foreign currency for purchasing machinery, particularly before 1975.

Although the fathers' structures did not change much, the sons' structures are clearly modified by cohort and type of residence; in rural settings, non-manual occupations accounted for a quarter of the younger generation (whereas for the survivors of the 1936-1938 cohort, these occupations accounted for a mere 5%) whereas in urban settings, the proportion of non-manual activities among the youngest cohort accounted for 44% of the sons (graph 1).

The first question would be when transformations occurred in sons' occupational structures. For urban cohorts, this change took place between the first and second cohort,

[3] Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out the fact that it is impossible to draw inferences from changes in the fathers' occupation structures, since longitudinal representativeness is acquired through information on *ego*, rather than from the fathers' data.

meaning that the proportion of non-manual jobs is the same for the second and third cohort (in the periods from 1981-1983 and 1966-1968 when members of both cohorts were 30 years old) (graph 1). Once again, it would be worth recovering the results obtained from a study undertaken in the 1960s, which indicated that a high proportion of the economically active population had been obliged to engage in occupations different from those of their fathers, meaning that they moved progressively further away from the "rural model" and joined the "urban occupational model" (Reyna, 1968). Conversely, in rural spheres, the change between the first and third cohort was gradual (Graph 1).

However, the period between the second and third cohort (1981-1998) is immersed in what has often been called "outward-looking growth" in the process of productive restructuring as well as in the most severe crises of the late 20th century. Consequently, urban contexts were the most highly affected, preventing the expansion of the creation of non-manual jobs. A second question would be: what type of occupational mobility occurred during this period?

Before answering this question, let us focus on the ego-father occupational matrices (table 1). On this occasion, the analysis will focus exclusively on the data of the matrix diagonal, in order to explore the "gross occupational inheritance" factor [4]. The term "gross inheritance" is used since we acknowledge the fact that structural processes -particularly changes in production- are also conditioning different types of demand for labor over time, which is obviously reflected in these occupational matrices (later on attempts will be made to control for this aspect).

Rural contexts show high proportions of sons participating in manual agricultural activities when the fathers also worked in these occupations. Given that the change in labor markets is expressed in these matrices, we can only partly infer a certain rigidity in mobility due to the fact that changes between cohorts were minimal (falling from 94.9% to 80% from the oldest to the youngest cohort) although it is worth highlighting the fact that this process of rigidity has tended to decrease. However, the proportions associated with the factor we called

[4] Let us recall that Contreras (1978) used the concept of "net inheritance" to discuss the capacity to resist or abandon the occupational level of the previous generation.

"gross occupational inheritance" for manual activities (with a certain degree of training) are much smaller than in the previous section. Consequently, one can infer that a process of occupational mobility has occurred, but with relative rigidity since a person in a younger cohort is more likely to engage in manual activities if his father worked in this activity. Nevertheless, in this case, a more plausible hypothesis is that this characteristic reflects the change in labor markets (Table 1).

In the urban sphere, the "gross occupational inheritance" factor for unskilled agricultural manual activities is less noticeable than in rural contexts. However, it is useful to consider that the importance of these occupations in the urban occupational structure is extremely minor. For their part, as in rural contexts, manual occupations (for which certain skills are required) are less likely to remain at the father's occupational level (rising from 29.6% to 52.4% from the first to the last cohort of men). Nevertheless, in this type of locality, the "gross inheritance" factor is important in the non-manual occupations of the survivors of the first generation, in which nearly 50% of the sons had had fathers working in a non-manual occupation whereas the other 50% were located in this section due to a downward movement. This situation is observed in the second cohort whereas for the third generation, the "gross inheritance" factor plays a more important role in manual occupations. Due to this description, a third question –linked to the second- would be: when is the urban labor market flexibilized to such an extent that it leads to greater occupational mobility? In order to answer this question, we will examine the upward and downward movements of each EDER cohort according to the residential sphere where *ego* works.

First of all, it is worth noting that although the "gross inheritance" factor referred to above assumes a certain degree of rigidity in the occupational mobility processes in rural contexts-particularly for manual activities-an analysis of occupational mobility processes shows that these contexts were increasingly flexibilized for the three cohorts of males (table 2 and graph 2). Moreover, the younger the cohort, the more the proportion of downward movements increased, with the greatest increase occurring between the first and second generation of

survivors. This process basically occurred during the 1970s, the period when occupations in rural settings had probably diversified, thereby permitting a process of upward occupational mobility. It is worth noting that the proportions of upward occupational mobility in this rural setting never achieved the proportions of urban contexts, leading me to hypothesize that there is a close link between the degree of occupational diversification and the possibilities of upward occupational mobility. In fact, in rural contexts, non-mobility was the main characteristic for the survivors of the three generations studied.

In urban contexts, upward job mobility was the main characteristic of the first and third cohort, with over 40% of interviewees achieving an upward intergenerational movement (table 2 and graph 2). Particularly in the case of the first cohort, this rise was very closely linked to the migratory process, since of all the sons who had achieved higher job status than their fathers, nearly 80% had emigrated before 1969. On the other hand, a lack of occupational mobility prevailed among the survivors of the 1951-1953 cohort. One hypothesis for this is that, for this generation of survivors, 25 years after they were born, the inability of the import substitution model to create jobs, particularly those with higher social status, was being reflected. One question would be what happened in the case of the youngest cohort to make new opportunities for intergenerational upward mobility available? One hypothesis is the increase in educational attainment (an element that will be taken up later).

In short, on the subject of the type of intergenerational occupational mobility, one can say that in urban settings, the first cohort had already begun showing significant signs of upward mobility in relation to their fathers (movements that had occurred since 1969) whereas in rural settings, the possibilities of intergenerational upward mobility are more clearly reflected in the second cohort, in other words, these movements occurred before the 1980s.

Since we have already analyzed what could be an initial approach to permanency in fathers' occupations (through the "gross occupational inheritance" factor), and located the movements produced by each cohort, we are now interested in analyzing these movements according to the different types of occupation while attempting to control the structural factor,

i.e. changes in production structures. In order to develop this aspect, the concept of "net occupational inheritance" will be used.[5] Let us assume that there is independence between the father's and son's occupations and that therefore, the expected frequencies in the matrix diagonal will be the multiplication of the marginal totals (in other words, the occupational structures of *ego* and his father) divided by the total number of cases. Thus, by linking the actual frequencies located on the principal diagonal of the occupational mobility matrices to the expected frequencies, we could infer that the further the value moves away from the unit, the greater the "capacity to resist the occupational level of the previous generation".

Let us recall the fact that the bibliographical review showed that the finding linked to "net inheritance" naturally occurred in skilled occupations (Contreras, 1978). The EDER data basically show this fact for the cohorts in the rural sphere, particularly in the case of the survivors of the 1936-1938 cohort, where the "net inheritance" factor increased the likelihood of remaining in non-manual occupations (table 3) by a factor of 4.6. It is interesting to note that the "net inheritance" element of unskilled, non-farming activities is much greater than that of farming activities. It is also the occupational category that most frequently reproduces fathers' condition, even among the youngest generation, and multiplies the likelihood of engaging in the same activity as one's father by 6.9, a fact that makes us think that certain manual occupations in trade and services might be more willingly learnt by sons so that they can follow their fathers' traditional occupation.

On the other hand, in rural settings, the importance of "net inheritance" is virtually the same for the second and third cohort in manual and non-manual occupations (approximately 2.2) despite the increase in the proportions of individuals showing intergenerational stability in this type of activities (table 3). This last aspect shows that there has been a modification in the occupational structure due mainly to demand, which is lending greater weight to these occupations, although strictly speaking, the intensity of "net inheritance" has not changed.

[5] Let us recall that Contreras (1978) used the concept of "net inheritance" to discuss the capacity to resist or abandon the occupational level of the previous generation.

However, in urban settings, the “net inheritance” factor is not as important as it is in rural settings, despite the fact that the proportions of sons maintaining the same profession as their fathers is fairly high, particularly in the case of manual and non-manual occupations (Table 3). Once again, this leads us to the process of structural change in which occupational patterns are modified (an aspect I will try to explore later on). Nevertheless, it is important to note that particularly in urban settings, unskilled agricultural manual activities are those that display the greatest continuity from fathers to sons (especially in the second cohort in which the likelihood of remaining in the same occupation as the father is 3.4 times higher.) Lastly, a propos of the element called "inheritance" it is worth mentioning the fact that the "net inheritance" factor in the urban context is again more prevalent among non-manual occupations, albeit to a lesser extent than in the rural sphere. Consequently, urban settings can be said to contain the occupation extremes and greatest inertias, which of course represent a significant qualitative difference: the rigidity of mobility for unskilled occupations and the possibility of intergenerational permanence in skilled occupations.

This study also explores what one could call “net upward mobility,” based on the idea that there is independence between ego’s higher ranking occupations vis-à-vis fathers’ lower occupation, with the aim of obtaining the expected frequencies; the relationship between observed and expected frequencies will explain "net upward mobility. Contreras (1978) showed that net upward mobility occurred in higher-ranking occupations, whereas lower-ranking occupations displayed acertain rigidity. Nevertheless, for the cohorts included in EDER, this aspect only emerges in the case of the oldest cohort in the rural context (where the probability of promotion increases by 3). In the case of the youngest cohort, this aspect is completely inverted, reflecting certain obstacles to the occupational mobility of semi-skilled manual occupations (chart 3). Moreover, it is worth pointing out that survivors of the intermediate cohort have a distinct possibility of being promoted from non-farming, unskilled manual occupations (the fact that one's father engages in occupations of this nature increases ego's likelihood of promotion by 2.5).

For their part, “net promotions" in urban spheres are very close to the unit, for the survivors of all three cohorts, leading one to take into account the structural processes mediating inter-generational occupational mobility (ego-father) once again and to go beyond the analysis of the contingency table (in other words, the one-to-one relationship between the father's and ego's occupation) through a relational model.

An association model and a multivariate logistic regression model to understand inter-generational occupational mobility.

Given the difficulty of understanding the extent to which ego's occupational structures are linked to his father’s, it was decided to use a relational model with the aim of explaining how intergenerational occupational structures are linked by different cohorts (approximate measure of different experiences in time) and urban and rural settings (proxy indicator of social and economic structures).

It was decided to use the procedure based on a hierarchical saturated model -which includes relations of the third order (father's occupation * son's occupation * type of locality * cohort) and all the relations than can be inferred from the second and third order- to discard relations that are not statistically significant until the best possible (i.e. simplest) relations model is found. In this case, the model found comprised two interactions of a second order, one between the father’s occupation, the son’s occupation and the type of locality and the other between the occupations of the father, son and the cohort as a whole.

Given that the interaction of the third order was insignificant, one can assume that the relationship between ego’s and his fathers' occupation is not mediated by the cohort and the sphere of residence at the same time, but that mediation between the sons' and fathers’ occupations occurs through the locality or rather, through the cohort. In rural contexts, agricultural occupations contain a larger number of cases than one would expect if there were independence in the relationship between the son's occupation, the father’s occupation and the type of locality (chart 4), indicating a process of social reproduction of agricultural activities.

Conversely, if fathers in rural contexts engage in a non-manual activity, there are a greater number of sons engaging in agricultural activities than one would expect with independence, while at the same time, there are a greater number of sons engaged in non-manual activities. This last result suggests intergenerational reproduction when fathers enjoy high job status.

In rural contexts, however, the relationship between sons' and fathers' occupations is also significant in the cases where the father engages in unskilled non-agricultural, activities and the son engages in unskilled, non-agricultural activities, semi-skilled manual activities and non-manual activities. At the same time, it should be pointed out that there are more sons in non-manual occupations than one would expect if there were independence, an aspect that fails to reflect a clear process of upward mobility. However, we can also infer certain processes of downward mobility, since in the cases where fathers were engaged in non-manual occupations, there are more cases than one would have expected of sons working in manual occupations. This last result reflects the complexity of mobility processes, since movements occur in a different direction which may be go unnoticed in the set of subjects as a whole.

In urban spheres, the intergenerational link is particularly evident in unskilled manual occupations, where there are a higher number of cases than one would expect with independence (chart 4). At the same time, it is obvious that in the case of fathers with non-manual activities, there are a lower number of cases than one would expect for manual occupations. This aspect takes one back to the idea of the ability to resist the occupational level of the previous generation in the case of non-manual occupations or rather, processes of resistance to abandoning the occupational level of the previous generation, in the case of unskilled manual occupations. At the same time, upwardly mobile intergenerational movements basically occur from fathers' manual occupations to sons' non-manual occupations.[6]

However, bearing in mind the cohort factor, how is the relationship between fathers' and sons' occupations structured? First of all, it is worth pointing out that the relationship becomes

[6] For rural settings, it is worth noting that the link between fathers' and sons' occupations is rather difficult to interpret between fathers who are non-manual workers and sons who are farm workers, or fathers who are farm workers and sons who are non-manual workers because of the low number of cases in these boxes.

significant exclusively because of the links through the sons' manual occupations (there is no significant relationship in the case of non-manual occupations (chart 4). In the youngest cohort in particular, the link between the sons' and fathers' occupations is only significant when fathers work in agricultural activities and the sons engage in manual activities, or when the fathers work in manual occupations and the sons engage in unskilled manual activities. This link brings us to a process of upward intergenerational mobility or rather a process of resistance to changeing to a less skilled occupation, since for the first relationship, there are more cases than one would expect from independence and from the second relationship, there are fewer cases than one would expect on the basis of the assumption of independence.

The intermediate cohort maintains the same result as regards upward intergenerational mobility from the fathers' agricultural occupations to the sons' unskilled manual occupations, while incorporating a process of resistance to the downward intergenerational mobility of the fathers' non-manual occupations. At the same time, the link between the father's and son's occupations becomes significant as a result of downward intergenerational movements (fathers in non-manual occupations-sons in manual occupations, fathers in manual occupations-sons in unskilled manual occupations and fathers in unskilled manual occupations to sons in agricultural work) (chart 4).

Lastly, in the case of the oldest cohort, the link between *ego's* and the father's occupations is created by a process of resistance to downward intergenerational mobility in the case of the fathers' manual occupations (there are fewer cases of sons engaged in unskilled manual occupations than one would expect with independence.) On the other hand, one can infer upward intergenerational mobility from the fathers' agricultural activities to the sons' manual activities (chart 4).

Now, given that we know that the relationship between the occupational structures of ego and fathers may be the result of multiple factors, the last question we ask is what factors intervene in ego's occupational positions. In order to answer this question, a multinomial regression model was used. The model with the best fit was the one where the dependent

variable was ego's occupational position in four types of activity (agricultural, unskilled manual, semi-skilled manual and non-manual) and which used three types of variables as explanatory factors: individual variables (educational attainment and age at first job), family variables (basically, father's occupation) and lastly, contextual variables (cohort and type of locality at the age of 30).[7]

In general terms, it is worth noting that the type of factor that might be explaining the likelihood of engaging in a particular occupation differs in each type of occupation. Thus, in non-manual occupations, the individual factor predominates (education,) whereas in manual occupations, the family factor is important (in other words, the father's occupation). Finally, in agricultural occupations, the individual factor (education) is important while the family factor is also significant (chart 5).

However, this overview changes when one analyzes the importance of each of the factors within each type of occupation. We will begin with non-manual occupations. The likelihood that a person who has completed senior high school or more will engage in non-manual tasks is fairly high (77.1%) but if he has only completed junior high school or the equivalent, the likelihood is far lower (28.9%) in other words, at least 12 years of study are required for a person to be likely to enter the labor market in more skilled positions. A second explanatory figure concerns the father's occupation. If the father has engaged in non-manual activities, the likelihood of engaging in non-manual activities is nearly 40%, which leads one to the subject of generational resistance to remaining in this activity rather than moving to one with a lower job status. It is interesting to note how having belonged to the older and intermediate cohorts makes a person more likely to engage in this type of occupations than having belonged to the more recent cohorts (chart 5).

[7] An attempt was made to include the number of years worked as a variable, together with the migratory aspect, but the variables were not significant. Consequently, age at first job was chosen because it was a more useful way of explaining the position of manual activities and locality at the age of 30 was also considered because, as we have seen, the relational model is one of the variables that mediate the relationship between sons' and fathers' occupations.

For manual occupations –whether semi-skilled or skilled- the predominant factor corresponds to the father's occupation, which one could interpret as generational job reproduction (if the father has engaged in a semi-skilled or skilled manual occupation, there is a 60% probability that his sons will have the same occupational status by the age of 30). It is also evident that if the father engaged in an unskilled manual occupation, there is a 52.4% likelihood of his sons engaging in semi-skilled or skilled manual occupations, in other words, there are signs of slight upward mobility (chart 5). Having a certain level of educational attainment is crucial to explaining the likelihood of engaging in semi-skilled or skilled manual occupations. Having completed junior high school or its equivalent reduces the likelihood of engaging in this type of occupation by 10% vis-à-vis those who have only completed elementary school or the equivalent. Nevertheless, there is a 44.4% likelihood that a person will engage in this occupation if ego's level of educational attainment is junior high school or its equivalent. It is worth mentioning the fact that joining the labor market before the age of 18 reduces the likelihood of engaging in this type of occupation by 9 percentage points. Finally, there is a 50.8% likelihood that the last cohort will engage in this type of activities (chart 5).

However, in unskilled manual labor, the predominant factor is the father's occupation, which once again could mean generational job reproduction, but in this case, the effect is less intensely expressed than in the case of semi-skilled or skilled manual occupations (if the father had been engaged in an unskilled manual occupation, there is a 23.6% probability that his sons would have the same occupational status by the age of 30). On the other hand, given the result that points to upward mobility in semi-skilled or skilled manual occupations, there is no clear process of mobility in this occupation (chart 5).

Finally, in agricultural occupations, determinant factors include both an individual element (not having gone to school means a 30% likelihood of engaging in this occupation) and a familial one (there is a 25% likelihood of sons being farm workers if their fathers were). On the other hand, if ego joins the labor market before the age of 18, the likelihood of engaging in this occupation is twice as high as if he joined after the age of 18.

In short, the main determinant factors are education and the father's occupation, with factors such as type of locality or the cohort to which the males analyzed belong being far less important.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The main objective of this document was to explore changes in the occupational structures of sons vis-à-vis their fathers, which I called intergenerational job mobility. I would answer the question about the point when changes occur in occupational structures by saying that in rural contexts, the change took place between the second and third cohort, whereas in urban settings, the change took place between the first and second cohort.

The descriptive study of occupational mobility shows a greater preponderance of upward occupational mobility in urban contexts, with a certain degree of stability only in the case of the second cohort. Conversely, in rural contexts, upward mobility gradually occurred between the first and third cohort, to a lesser extent than in urban settings. On the other hand, attempts to determine the extent to which subjects remained in the same occupation as their fathers-which we called “net occupational inheritance"- showed that this aspect is more common in rural settings, whereas in urban contexts, the ability to abandon or resist the occupational level of the previous generation is particularly noticeable in occupations located at the extremes of the occupational structure.

Since the link between sons' and fathers' occupations is mediated by various factors, it was decided to use a relational model. An analysis of the possible relations established between fathers' and sons' occupational structures, controlling for different life experiences (approximately by different cohorts and spheres of residence) showed that the link between sons’ and fathers’ occupations was mediated by either the type of geographical locality or the birth cohort. In other words, the link can be explained by the various geographical spheres or else by the different life experiences undergone by the various cohorts.

Lastly, attempts to explain what factors intervene in the likelihood that ego would have engaged in different types of occupation showed that education was really the variable that best explained the likelihood of engaging in non-manual occupations –which necessarily involve higher skills- whereas in the case of manual occupations, the father’s occupation was a more powerful explanatory factor. In other words, family origin is a more important variable for

explaining the likelihood of engaging in manual occupations, whereas education is more of an explanatory factor in non-manual occupations.

Graph 1. . Occupation of male ego at the age of 30 by cohort and father's occupation at the point when ego was 15 years old (%)

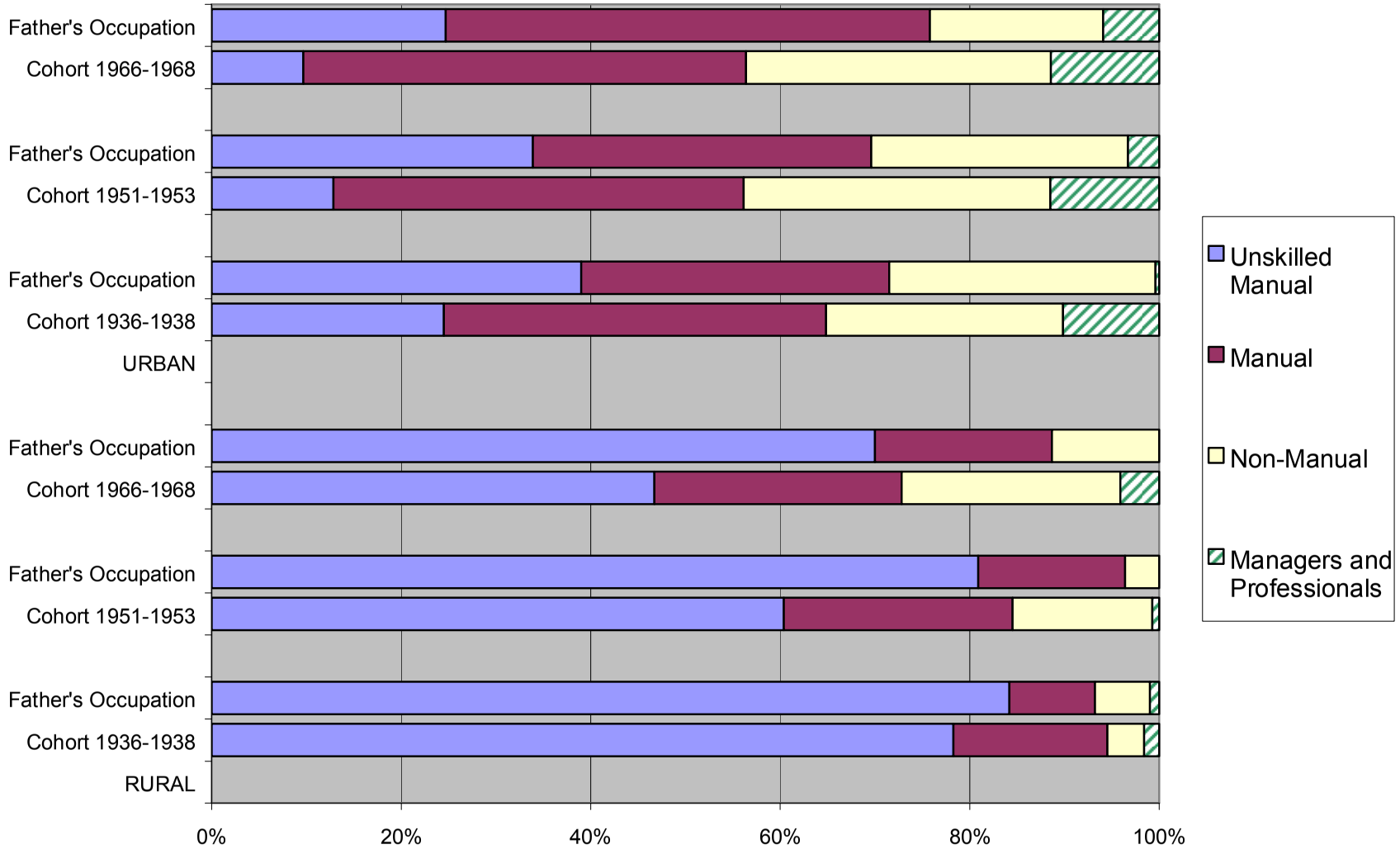

Chart 1. Occupation of male ego at the age of 30 by cohort and father's occupation at the point when ego was 15 years old (%)

Type of locality/Ego cohort/Father's occupation		Ego's occupation			
		Unskilled manual		Manual	Non-Manual
		Agricultural	Non-Agricultural		
RURAL (521)					
1936-1938 Cohort (155)					
Father's occupation	**100.0**	**69.2**	**9.1**	**16.3**	**5.5**
Unskilled agricultural manual	**82.3**	94.9	46.7	61.9	42.3
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	**1.9**	0.4	18.0	0.0	0.0
Manual	**9.0**	0.9	31.4	25.1	26.8
Non-Manual	**6.8**	3.8	3.9	13.0	30.9
1951-1953 Cohort (190)					
Father's occupation	**100.0**	**50.7**	**9.7**	**24.2**	**15.5**
Unskilled agricultural manual	**79.8**	95.7	43.2	59.9	82.1
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	**1.0**	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.0
Manual	**15.5**	2.4	47.7	33.7	10.0
Non-Manual	**3.6**	1.9	9.1	2.2	7.9
1966-1968 Cohort (176)					
Father's occupation	**100.0**	**39.8**	**6.9**	**26.1**	**27.2**
Unskilled agricultural manual	**68.3**	80.0	68.1	48.2	70.5
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	**1.7**	1.7	11.8	1.0	0.0
Manual	**18.7**	14.0	20.0	40.8	4.0
Non-Manual	**11.3**	4.3	0.0	10.1	25.4
URBAN (475)					
1936-1938 Cohort (181)					
Father's occupation	**100.0**	**6.4**	**18.1**	**40.3**	**35.2**
Unskilled agricultural manual	**38.2**	60.8	24.6	60.5	15.5
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	**0.8**	0.0	1.2	0.3	1.3
Manual	**32.5**	39.2	32.4	29.6	34.6
Non-Manual	**28.5**	0.0	41.8	9.5	48.6
1951-1953 Cohort (149)					
Father's occupation	**100.0**	**3.0**	**9.8**	**43.3**	**43.9**
Unskilled agricultural manual	**26.0**	89.0	43.3	26.4	17.5
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	**7.9**	11.0	0.0	10.0	7.3
Manual	**35.7**	0.0	45.2	48.5	23.5
Non-Manual	**30.4**	0.0	11.5	15.1	51.8
1966-1968 Cohort (145)					
Father's occupation	**100.0**	**0.8**	**8.8**	**46.7**	**43.6**
Unskilled agricultural manual	**23.4**	61.9	29.4	30.1	14.2
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	**1.3**	0.0	0.0	1.3	1.6
Manual	**51.1**	38.1	46.5	52.4	50.9
Non-Manual	**24.2**	0.0	24.0	16.2	33.3

Source: Encuesta Nacional Demográfica Retrospectiva (EDER), own calculations

Chart 2. Male ego's forms of occupational mobility at the age of 30 vis-à-vis father's occupation.				
	Ego's occupational mobility in relation to father's			Total
	Upward	No mobility	Downward	
RURAL				
1936-1938 Cohort	15.9%	64.0%	7.8%	100.0%
1951-1953 Cohort	30.2%	51.5%	7.3%	100.0%
1966-1968 Cohort	33.9%	44.9%	10.7%	100.0%
URBAN				
1936-1938 Cohort	41.6%	29.3%	17.5%	100.0%
Cohorte1951-1953	38.4%	43.3%	11.6%	100.0%
1966-1968 Cohort	43.6%	37.2%	13.3%	100.0%
Source: Encuesta Nacional Demográfica Retrospectiva (EDER), own calculations				

Graph 2. Male ego's forms of occupational mobility at the age of 30 vis-à-vis father's occupation.

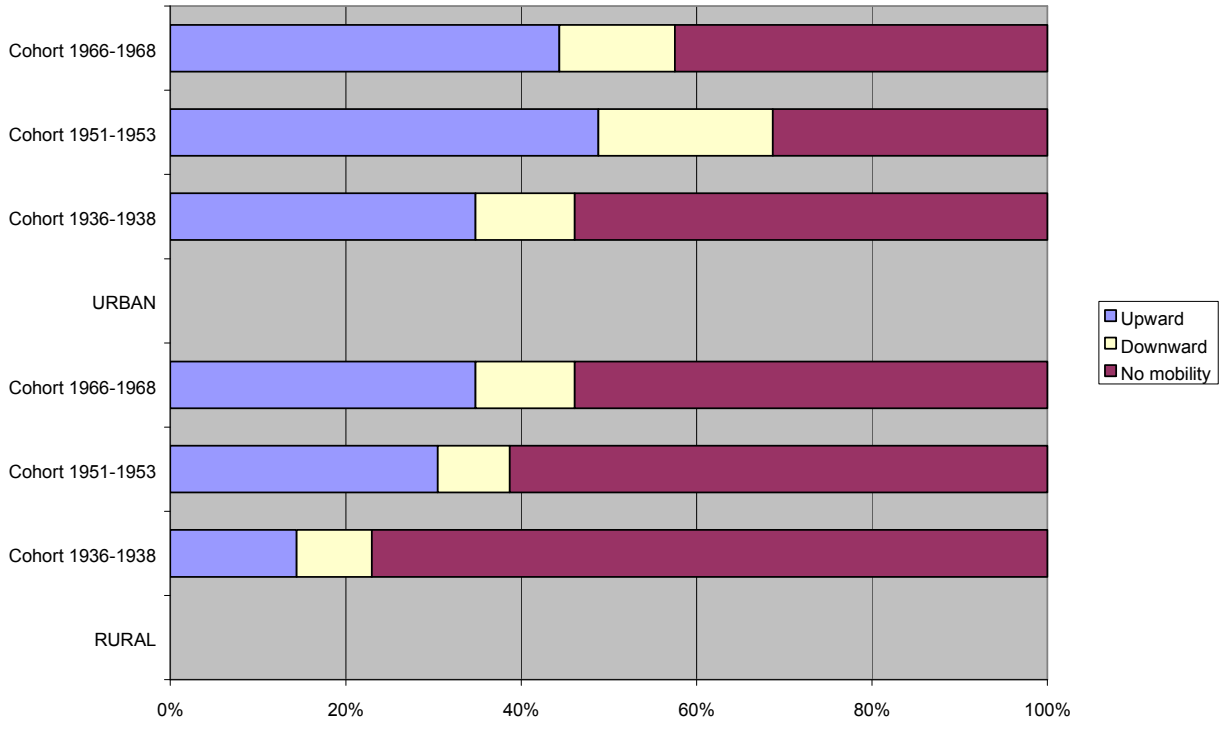

Chart 3. Analysis of Male ego's forms of occupational mobility at the age of 30 vis-a-vis father's occupational status.

	Father's occupation	Ego's occupation	Stable	Gross Stability	Net inheritance	Upward Upward	Gross rise	Net rise
RURAL								
1936-1938 Cohort								
Unskilled agricultural manual	186624	156911	148904	79.8	**1.2**	37720	20.2	**0.7**
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	4334	20650	3713	85.7	**9.4**		0.0	**0.0**
Manual	20485	36909	9264	45.2	**2.8**	3318	16.2	**3.0**
Non-Manual	15394	12367	3820	24.8	**4.6**	-----	-----	**-----**
Total	226837	226837	165701	73.0		41038	18.1	
1951-1953 Cohort								
Unskilled agricultural manual	304408	193267	184912	60.7	**1.2**	119496	39.3	**0.8**
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	3942	36867		0.0	**0.0**	3942	100.0	**2.5**
Manual	59154	92082	31034	52.5	**2.2**	5903	10.0	**0.6**
Non-manual	13724	59012	4651	33.9	**2.2**	-----	-----	**-----**
Total	381228	381228	220597	57.9		129341	33.9	
1966-1968 Cohort								
Unskilled agricultural manual	410392	238968	191098	46.6	**1.2**	219294	53.4	**0.9**
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	10452	41755	4932	47.2	**6.8**	1556	14.9	**0.3**
Manual	112365	156691	63853	56.8	**2.2**	6606	5.9	**0.2**
Non-Manual	67647	163442	41528	61.4	**2.3**	-----	-----	**-----**
Total	600856	600856	301411	50.2		227456	37.9	
URBAN								
1936-1938 Cohort								
Unskilled agricultural manual	95872	16092	9779	10.2	**1.6**	86093	89.8	**1.0**
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	2055	45402	531	25.8	**1.4**	1524	74.2	**1.0**
Manual	81553	101254	29981	36.8	**0.9**	30533	37.4	**1.1**
Non-Manual	71565	88297	42940	60.0	**1.7**	-----	-----	**-----**
Total	251045	251045	83231	33.2		118150	47.1	
1951-1953 Cohort								
Unskilled agricultural manual	129228	15014	13357	10.3	**3.4**	115871	89.7	**0.9**
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	39046	48841		0.0	**0.0**	37389	95.8	**1.1**
Manual	177613	215130	104430	58.8	**1.4**	51117	28.8	**0.7**
Non-Manual	150973	217875	112835	74.7	**1.7**	-----	-----	**-----**
Total	496860	496860	230622	46.4		204377	41.1	
1966-1968 Cohort								
Unskilled agricultural manual	237470	8604	5324	2.2	**2.6**	232146	97.8	**1.0**
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	13490	89863		0.0	**0.0**	13490	100.0	**1.1**
Manual	519872	474729	248850	47.9	**1.0**	225930	43.5	**1.0**
Non-manual	245850	443486	147523	60.0	**1.4**	-----	-----	**-----**
Total	1016682	1016682	401697	39.5		471566	46.4	

Source: Encuesta Nacional Demográfica Retrospectiva (EDER), own calculations

Chart 4. Relational Model between Father and Male Ego's Occupation by Cohort and Type of Locality

Ego's occupation/Type of locality	Unskilled agricultural manual	Unskilled non-agricultural manual	Manual	Non-Manual
	Father's occupation			
Unskilled agricultural manual				
Urban	**-4.50921***	-0.92465	**-4.6376***	**10.07146***
Rural	**4.50921***	0.92465	**4.6376***	**-10.07146***
Unskilled non-agricultural manual				
Urban	-1.30040	**4.77381***	-0.14295	**-3.33046***
Rural	1.30040	**-4.77381***	0.14295	**3.33046***
Manual				
Urban	-0.77615	**3.38369***	1.84217	**-4.44971***
Rural	0.77615	**-3.38369***	-1.84217	**4.44971***
Non-Manual				
Urban	**6.58576***	**-7.23285***	**2.93838***	**-2.29129***
Rural	**-6.58576***	**7.23285***	**-2.93838***	**2.29129***
Ego's occupation/Cohort				
Unskilled agricultural manual				
1936-1938 Cohort	1.20572	-1.20006	0.82990	-0.83556
1951-1953 Cohort	-1.00621	**2.25712***	**-2.23282***	0.98191
1968-1969 Cohort	-0.19951	-1.05706	1.40292	-0.14635
Unskilled non-agricultural manual				
1936-1938 Cohort	**-3.95473***	**3.97436***	**-3.68355***	**3.66392***
1951-1953 Cohort	**4.86574***	**-5.35839***	**5.78688***	**-5.29423***
1968-1969 Cohort	-0.91101	1.38403	**-2.10333***	1.63031
Manual				
1936-1938 Cohort	**2.41909***	-1.52313	1.06652	**-1.96248***
1951-1953 Cohort	**-4.66438***	3.76578	**-2.46008***	**3.35868***
1968-1969 Cohort	**2.24529***	-2.24265	1.39356	-1.39620
Non-Manual				
1936-1938 Cohort	0.32992	-1.25117	1.78713	-0.86588
1951-1953 Cohort	0.80485	-0.66451	-1.09398	0.95364
1968-1969 Cohort	-1.13477	1.91568	-0.69315	-0.08776

Source: Encuesta Nacional Demográfica Retrospectiva (EDER), own calculations
(*) Significant links in ranges below -1.96 and above 1.96

Chart 5. Multinomial Regresión on Occupational Status of Ego at 30 Years of Age					
	Likelihood of being in occupational situation of:				
	Unskilled agricultural manual	Unskilled non-agricultural manual	Semi-skilled and skilled manual	Non-Manual	Number of cases
Schooling					
Senior high school and more	2.8	5.0	14.4	77.7	251
Junior high school or equivalent	14.2	12.1	44.4	29.2	141
Elementary school or equivalent	17.5	18.9	53.1	10.5	475
Did not go to school	27.8	16.9	44.6	10.7	116
Father's occupation					
Non-Manual	6.3	14.5	42.1	37.1	147
Manual	4.5	15.7	57.6	22.2	248
Unskilled non-agricultural manual	6.6	23.6	52.4	17.3	23
Agricultural manual	26.6	14.0	37.2	22.2	565
Cohort					
1936-1938	16.3	15.5	37.9	30.2	329
1951-1953	13.9	12.2	44.4	29.5	335
1966-1968	11.5	19.1	52.5	16.9	319
Locality at 30					
Urban	6.5	20.7	42.4	30.4	466
Rural	25.7	11.0	43.7	19.5	517
Age at first job					
Under 18	17.7	15.2	42.2	24.9	680
Over 18	8.0	16.0	50.8	25.2	303
N	304	106	310	263	

Source: Encuesta Nacional Demográfica Retrospectiva (EDER), own calculations

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