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Structural Change and Men's Work Lives: Transformations in Social Stratification and Occupational Mobility in Monterrey, Mexico

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Structural Change and Men's Work Lives: Transformations in Social Stratification and Occupational Mobility in Monterrey, Mexico

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Structural Change and Men's Work Lives: Transformations in Social Stratification and Occupational Mobility in Monterrey, Mexico

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This study is about the occupational lives of men in the context of the major social and economic transformations of Mexican cities during the last three decades. More specifically, the dissertation focuses on the transformations of occupational stratification and job mobility regimes in Monterrey, the third largest city of Mexico and one of the Latin American cities that has adapted successfully to the challenges of economic liberalization and globalization.

The dissertation makes a comparative analysis of the occupational stratification regime of Monterrey in 1965 and 2000. Additionally, it explores changes in occupational mobility and the occupational attainment process among successive birth cohorts of Monterrey men. The study takes advantage of a survey on occupational and geographical mobility carried out in Monterrey in

1965, paired with an analogous survey specifically designed to replicate the original study, executed in the year 2000.

The study reveals that occupational hierarchies maintain their importance as markers of inequalities in economic and educational assets, as well as in the structuring of values, tastes, preferences, and life-styles. In the last two decades, there has also been a progressive structural upgrading of Monterrey's labor market, associated with the expansion of services and the consequent increase in white-collar positions. This has lead to the continuation of the structural upward mobility observed before the 1980s, although the reduction in incomes for men in white-collar positions indicates that recent upward occupational mobility may not necessarily have conveyed upward mobility in incomes. Finally, the occupational attainment of men remains closely linked to their parental status and other markers of social origins, thus suggesting that the major economic and social transformations of recent years have not promoted equity of opportunity.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is about the occupational lives of men in the context of the profound economic and social transformations experienced by Latin American societies in the second half of the last century. More specifically, I present a study of the emergent patterns of occupational stratification and mobility in Monterrey, the third largest metropolitan area of Mexico and one of the most prosperous cities in the nation. The study was inspired in the original research carried out in the 1960s and 1970s by Jorge Balán, Harley L. Browning and Elizabeth Jelin in Monterrey[1], which analyzed the process of occupational attainment in the city during a period of rapid industrialization and demographic growth, including the multiple connections between rural-urban migration, parental status, education, and occupational attainment. The main aim of this dissertation is to give continuity to this research, by asking whether the intense transformations in the economy, the social life, and the demography of Monterrey over the 1980s and 1990s have given way to new forms of social stratification, as well as whether they have altered occupational mobility patterns and the process of occupational attainment.

Many things have changed in Monterrey and also in the overall context of Latin American cities since the original study of Balán, Browning, and Jelin in the decade of the 1960s. At that time, the accelerated industrializing process associated with the substitution of imports was the main engine for the creation

[1] See Balán, Browning and Jelin (1973), Balán (1968), and Jelin (1968).

of job opportunities and the progressive transformation of labor markets. The expansion of industrial jobs required of an increasing number of workers and this prompted rural-urban migration and high rates of demographic growth. Despite the persistently high poverty levels, most urban residents, regardless of their migratory origin, were able to find channels of upward mobility through their insertion into the thriving manufacturing sector as unskilled and skilled manual workers. Since the overall educational level of the population was low, the lack of educational credentials did not represent a critical obstacle for attaining non-manual positions, although those individuals who had the opportunity to attend higher education had practically a place guaranteed at the top of the occupational hierarchy.

This situation had a dramatic turn since the beginning of the 1980s, with the onset of the debt-crisis and the subsequent transition of Latin American economies from a model of accumulation rooted on the industrialization by the substitution of imports to another based on economic liberalization and the integration of markets into the global economy. This rupture in the model of accumulation that had been prevalent since the 1940s was also accompanied by other secular transformations that contributed to change the social landscape of Monterrey, such as the continuation of demographic growth and subsequent spatial expansion; the reduction of the relative importance of rural migration in demographic growth; the overall increase in educational levels; and a growing offer of services as well as an increasing diversity in the cultural life of the city.

This dissertation focuses on the effects of these transformations on social stratification and occupational mobility patterns. Three broad themes are at the center of my research agenda. First, it is important to study in which ways these changes have altered the structure of social classes in Monterrey. This involves the analysis of the broad transformations of the occupational structure, including a follow-up of trends in the size and composition of the different occupational groups. However, my inquiry extends to other aspects of this problem, such as whether occupational hierarchies continue to mark significant differences among individuals in their welfare levels and life chances, as well as to what extent occupational distinctions are also related to other forms of social stratification, such as the differentiation of individuals according to their tastes, cultural dispositions, and life-styles.

The second theme is the study of the overall changes in social mobility over time. A central question is whether the crisis and subsequent restructuring of Monterrey's economy have translated into greater or lesser opportunities for upward mobility, both in intergenerational terms and within the course of individuals' lives. One of the most debated issues in the social agenda of Latin America in recent years is whether the current model of socioeconomic development is able to increase welfare levels, reduce inequality, and provide enough opportunities of social mobility. So far, however, the evidence presented in this debate has mainly focused on the negative effects of structural adjustment and liberalization on poverty and income inequality, with little attention to the long-term changes that these transformations have produced on social mobility.

In this dissertation I address this problem by studying in detail long-term trends over time in occupational mobility, as well as the most relevant changes in educational mobility.

Finally, the third broad theme is inequity of opportunity, that is, to what extent opportunities of social mobility are unequally distributed among individuals by virtue of ascriptive factors, such as parental status or migratory origin. It is not a secret that Latin American societies are highly unequal in terms of their income distribution. There is also a high segmentation in living conditions and in the access to all kind of services and leisure activities. What is not so obvious is which mechanisms operate in the intergenerational reproduction of these inequalities, as well as whether ascriptive factors have become more or less important after the intense restructuring process experienced by Latin American cities over the last two decades. I look at this problem by studying the current situation and changes over time in the effects of parental status and migratory origins on different outcomes, including educational and occupational attainment levels, the position of entry into the labor force, job shifts patterns, and the entire occupational trajectories. I also explore the role of educational attainment both as an independent predictor and as an intermediate variable in the association between social origins and occupational attainment.

Since the beginning of this project, it became obvious that in order to advance in this agenda it was necessary to produce new data about the occupational trajectories of men in recent birth cohorts, which could be compared with the original information produced by Balán, Browning and Jelin.

These data were obtained from a representative survey applied to 1,200 Monterrey men during the second half of 2000. I personally designed the questionnaire of this survey, putting special attention to issues such as comparability with the original 1965 survey and the inclusion of new themes that deserved attention in light of the transformations experienced by Monterrey in the last three decades[2]. As in the 1965 survey, the 2000 survey includes only men. The reasons for excluding women were mainly budgetary, although another important consideration for this decision was the great theoretical and methodological challenge of integrating men and women into a unified theoretical and methodological framework, a task that exceeded the scope of this dissertation. This means that this study is centered on men's occupational lives, leaving aside the interesting problem of women's emerging patterns of occupational attainment and job mobility. In addition to the survey, I also carried out eight in-depth interviews to men in different occupational positions and varied occupational careers[3]. This information provides empirical support to some of the issues I discuss in this dissertation, although I must emphasize that the core of the empirical evidence I present in this research is based on the 1965 and 2000 surveys. I certainly believe that men's own views about their occupational lives and the process of attainment deserve a more detailed treatment, but the limits of this research force me to focus on the quantitative

[2] The methodology of the survey is discussed in the Appendix A and the questionnaire in Appendix B. A copy of the questionnaire with the life histories in the 1965 survey is presented in Appendix C.
[3] See Appendix E for a methodological note on these interviews.

aspects of the problem and just hint at some topics of in-depth interviews that deserve more attention in future research.

The dissertation is organized as follows. In chapter II I present an agenda for empirical research on occupational mobility in Latin America. The aim of this chapter is twofold. On one hand, it provides a general discussion about the current theoretical and methodological debates in the field of social stratification and social mobility, as well as about their possible future application in Latin America, where research on this field has been scarce in the last two decades. On the other hand, it serves to introduce the main questions guiding the study of occupational mobility and the process of occupational attainment in Monterrey, to be presented in subsequent chapters.

Chapter III provides the historical framework of the study. In this chapter I summarize the most important economic, social and demographic transformations experienced by Monterrey over the second half of the last century, as well as their possible effects on patterns of social stratification and occupational mobility. Special emphasis is given to the radical changes in the economy of the city after the debt-crisis of the 1980s and their impact on the sectoral and occupational distribution of the labor market. The chapter concludes with a schematic view of the confluence between these historical circumstances and the different life course stages of men interviewed in the 2000 survey.

In chapter IV I take a look at long-term transformations in the "social distance" among men in different occupational groups. One of the most relevant consequences of the recent transformation of Latin American societies is the

modification of the class structure, not only in terms of the relative size of the members of each class, but also in terms of the degree of differentiation in privilege and resources between classes. These changes have important consequences for social mobility, because they may have altered the economic and social profits of vertical movements between social positions. I explore this problem by analyzing the inequalities in material resources –labor incomes and educational credentials—among men in 1965 and 2000. I also take a look at more symbolic forms of social stratification, such as differences in values, attitudes, tastes, life-styles, and cultural consumption patterns, exploring whether or not these differences follow the lines of occupational hierarchies.

The empirical analysis of intergenerational mobility trends is presented in chapter V. In this chapter I contrast changes over time in the educational and occupational attainment of Monterrey men with the respective positions of their fathers. I also look at migration to Monterrey and its effects on occupational mobility. Finally, I present a more detailed analysis of the role of men's class of origin on attainment, independently of changes in the overall distribution of occupations. It is in this chapter where I make use of the 1965 data to explore long-term trends in mobility levels, as well as the long-term changes in the process of occupational attainment.

Chapters VI and VII are dedicated to the analysis of intragenerational mobility. The two chapters present complementary views on this subject. In chapter VI I focus on the holistic analysis of men's occupational careers, from age 14 to 30. I discuss the methodological challenges for the study of entire

occupational trajectories, and propose the use of "sequence analysis", a technique originally utilized for the alignment of molecular sequences in biological sciences, as an alternative method to classify occupational trajectories according to their similarities and differences. Then I present the results of the application of this technique to the case of Monterrey. This analysis produces a rich description of the most common career patterns followed by Monterrey men. It also helps to highlight the connections between different events in occupational lives, such as the timing and position of entry into the labor force and subsequent job mobility. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the correlation between men's social background and occupational trajectories. As in the case of intergenerational mobility, the results suggest that men's occupational careers are highly dependent on both their social origins and educational attainment.

In chapter VII I explore the determinants of men's patterns of entry into the labor force and subsequent job shifts. Instead of studying mobility between fathers and sons or entire occupational trajectories, in this chapter I focus on the determinants of individual transitions within individual lives. I utilize event history analysis to test for period, class origins, and educational attainment effects on the timing and position of entry into the labor force. Then I perform a separate analysis for the determinants of job shifts, with emphasis in mobility between manual and non-manual positions. The results of these models serve to confirm, with an alternative methodological approach, most of the findings of the previous chapters.

Finally, in the conclusions I summarize the main results of this research and discuss some of their implications for the debate on social change and stratification in Mexico and Latin America. I also attempt a critical review of the main limitations of this study and propose topics for future research. I call attention to the importance of developing future case studies that allow us to expand our understanding of similarities and differences across regions and countries in the adaptation to globalization and economic liberalization. In addition, I emphasize the importance of including women's occupational lives in future research, not only for their intrinsic interest, but also for their possible effects on the overall stratification structure of Latin American cities, in light of their increasing numerical presence in urban labor markets.

The economic and social transformations of Latin American societies in the last two decades have raised concern for their apparent negative effects on welfare levels and the overall social situation of ample sectors of the population. I hope that this research contributes to this debate by discussing long-term trends in social stratification and occupational mobility in the context of one of the most dynamic cities of Mexico and Latin America.

II. AN AGENDA FOR THE STUDY OF OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION AND MOBILITY IN LATIN AMERICA

Research on social stratification and mobility has a longstanding tradition in sociology. In Latin America, this field occupied a central place in the agenda of social research during the 1960s and 1970s. However, during the 1980s and 1990s the interest on this topic significantly declined, due to a combination of factors, among them an increasing perception amid scholars about the inadequacy of the classical theoretical paradigms of occupational stratification and mobility to reflect the Latin American realities, the growing interest on other aspects of social stratification such as poverty and income inequality, and also the lack of "academic density" in a region where the resources for social research have been always limited (Filgueira 2001). In contrast, in industrialized societies research on this field has flourished, thus giving continuity to the initial boom of the 1960s and extending the debate into other aspects that were not treated in detail by the pioneer studies on occupational mobility and status attainment, such as, among others, the significance of institutional factors in shaping national mobility regimes and the importance of social capital in the process of occupational attainment.

Given the structural transformations that have taken place in Latin American economies during the last three decades, it is important to reconsider the significance of research on social stratification and mobility in the region and to ask what can be learnt from this perspective about the effects of those transformations on individual lives. A renewed research agenda requires

consideration of the most relevant theoretical and methodological developments in the field, but also a discussion about their possible limitations for the understanding of Latin American societies. In this chapter I attempt to outline this agenda, by discussing what I believe are the most salient "areas of opportunity" for future research, as well as the most important obstacles to overcome in order to advance in this field. Of course, this agenda is not exhaustive, nor I treat all the topics outlined on it with equal detail throughout my analysis of the case of Monterrey in following chapters. However, the discussion presented here provides a theoretical background for the rest of the dissertation, as well as some directions for future research. In addition, the agenda is limited to research on occupational stratification and mobility, the central topic of this dissertation. This means that other aspects of social stratification, such as gender inequality, income mobility, or poverty, are not treated in detail.

The field of studies on occupational stratification is characterized by a growing diversity of interests and methodological approaches. However, it is possible to group most research in three broad topics. The first group includes studies analyzing overall levels of occupational mobility. It comprises studies on changes on overall mobility levels over time and between societies. In this group could also be included the research on the structural and institutional determinants of the overall levels of mobility, such as changes over time in the organization of the economy, as well as the influence of welfare policies on occupational lives.

The second group encompasses the studies about the "process of status attainment" (Blau and Duncan 1967), which hereafter I will call the "process of occupational attainment", in order to be consistent with the use of discrete occupational categories instead of measures based on status scales. In contrast with the first group, in this case the interest is centered on the determinants of mobility at the individual level. A debate that has shaped research on this subject from its origin is in relation to the effect of ascriptive factors, such as parental status, race, or gender— on occupational attainment, as well as the supposed reduction of the importance of these factors in contemporary societies, in relation to other variables associated with individual merit (Grusky 1994; Jencks et al. 1994; Kerbo 1996: Chapter 11). Another recurrent area of research has been the analysis of the effects of education on occupational attainment, including its role as a variable mediating between social origins and occupational outcomes (Featherman and Hauser 1978; Ishida, Muller, and Ridge 1995; Jencks 1979; Jencks et al. 1994). In addition to these "classical" themes, research on the subject has also analyzed the effect of other variables, such as psychosocial factors (Sewell and Hauser 1975), the family environment (Mercy and Steelman 1982), as well as the importance of social capital on occupational attainment (Lin 2001: Chapter 6).

Lastly, the third broad topic of research refers to studies about what Grusky has called the "consequences of stratification" (Grusky 1994: p. 19). A frequent question is to what extent social classes in the classic sociological sense, that is, as groupings of individuals with similar positions in the productive

structure, coincide with social strata in the sense conceptualized by Weber, as groups that share consumption patterns, interests, dispositions, life-styles and life-worlds (Weber 1978). This discussion is related to social mobility levels because it is generally thought that it is necessary certain level of social closure between social classes, that is, relatively low levels of inter- and intragenerational mobility, in order to allow for the structuration of class identities (Giddens 1973) (Kingston 2000). Because of this, a great part of the debate in relation to the pertinence of class analysis is focused on the discussion about social mobility levels and their consequences for class structuration (see for example the debate between Western (1996) and Kingston (1996)). It is less frequent to find studies dedicated to the empirical analysis of differences in life-styles, tastes, dispositions and political preferences between individuals located in different positions of the occupational structure. Perhaps the most important contribution on this subject is "Distinction" (Bourdieu 1984), a classical study by Pierre Bourdieu that analyzes the correspondence between the position of individuals in the social structure –including their current occupations— and their aesthetical dispositions, life-styles, and political stances.

I use these three broad themes to organize the presentation of an agenda for research on occupational stratification and mobility in Latin America. In the following three sections I review in greater detail the most important research questions in each of these topics, as well as the possible obstacles that it is necessary to tackle in order to answer to those questions. But before, I would like to call attention to two issues that must be considered more carefully in future

studies: the possible diversification of regional experiences and the incorporation of women into the analysis.

Research on social stratification and social mobility in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s was inspired on the current theoretical paradigms of that time in industrialized societies. Studies such as those carried out by Lipset and Bendix (Lipset and Bendix 1959), Blau and Duncan (1967) and Treiman (1970) were very influential on the theoretical and methodological approaches used by empirical research in the region. The majority of these classical studies were framed within the structural-functionalist paradigm, and made use of modernization theory to explain changes over time and across societies in social stratification and mobility patterns. According to this paradigm, the progressive social differentiation and the advances in work specialization would eventually result in the convergence between societies and over time in social stratification and mobility trends. Among these trends, three were emphasized as the most important: a) an "upgrading" of the occupational structure, produced by the relative increase of positions in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy and the decrease in farm occupations; b) an absolute increment in social mobility, associated with the decreasing importance of "traditional" barriers for the free movement of individuals between jobs, and c) the gradual reduction in the importance of ascriptive factors as determinants of occupational mobility.

In several ways, the findings of research of studies on social stratification in Latin America coincided with these trends. The pioneer work of Germani in Argentina (Germani 1963; 1966), as well as the series of studies in different Latin

American countries that followed it (among them the original research of Balán, Browning and Jelin in Monterrey and a similar study carried out by Muñoz, Oliveira and Stern (1977) in Mexico City), documented common patterns in social stratification and mobility, among them the structural transformations of Latin American labor markets in benefit of positions in manufacturing and services, the high upward mobility rates linked to these structural changes, and a noteworthy expansion of opportunities of social mobility for members of all social strata, including rural immigrants. Of course, this convergence was not the "natural" product of modernization, but the result of similar historical processes of socioeconomic development across the region during the decades after World War II. The economic growth based on the "substitution of imports", the accelerated urbanization, and even the onset of the fertility transition that facilitated upward social mobility, were all coincident features that converged to shape a particular historical period in the socioeconomic development of Latin America.

Later on, the studies about "social marginality", urban poverty, and the informal economy, showed the other face of the processes of economic growth in Latin America, that is, the persistence of social exclusion and social segmentation as inherent elements of the socioeconomic development of the region. The economic crisis and the structural reforms of the 1980s and 1990s have accentuated these structural weaknesses and added a significant regional component to social inequality. As Castells suggests (2000: p.p. 133-135), while some dominant segments of national economies have successfully integrated to

the global economy, entire regions, specific economic sectors, as well as many local societies remain disconnected to the process of accumulation that characterizes the new global economy. Thus, these trends indicate that the structural transformations of the last two decades may have had a diverse impact in different regions and cities across Latin America, even within de limits of national states.

This increasing regional diversity must be incorporated into social stratification and mobility studies. It is necessary to account for the specific effects of the structural transformations of the 1980s and 1990s on local economies, on their occupational structures and, consequently, on patterns of occupational mobility. It is only through the development of case studies with specific cities or micro-regions that it will be possible to understand the specific ways through which economic restructuring has altered the economic structure and the labor markets in the region. The contrast of the experiences of different regions or cities would also help to establish to what extent the economic reforms of the last quarter of a century have derived in a "dual" social structure, characterized by an increasing contrast between the social stratification and mobility regimes of those local societies that have successfully incorporated into globalization and those that remain in the margin of these developments. Of course, it is not necessary to limit this comparative research to cities or regions within the limits of national states. On the contrary, it would be important to include in future comparative research cities or regions in different countries of

Latin America, each with different processes of adaptation and particular institutional responses to the social and economic changes of recent decades.

It is also fundamental to incorporate women into future studies on occupational stratification and mobility. One of the most significant changes in labor markets throughout the region has been the increment of women's labor force participation (Arriagada 1997; De Barbieri and Oliveira 1989; García and Oliveira 1994). One implication of this is that it is impossible to correctly assess the current characteristics of the occupational structures of many Latin American cities through the solely inclusion of the male labor force. In this sense, any structural analysis pretending to capture the emergent forms of occupational stratification in the region must incorporate the female labor force, as well as the male one. In addition, it is necessary to transcend the strictly demographic analysis of women's labor force participation, a subject that has received extensive attention during the 1980s and 1990s[4], and take a closer look to women's occupational trajectories, not only regarding entries and exits from the labor force, but also in relation to the patterns of vertical and horizontal mobility between jobs, and the extent in which parental status, education, as well as other familiar and individual variables, affect occupational attainment. Finally, women's occupations must also be considered in those studies aiming to define the position of households in the social structure. In the past, the great majority of households had only one male head in the work force, and thus it was less problematic to assign the position of the head to the entire domestic unit. Today,

[4] García, Blanco and Pacheco (1999) present a recent review on this subject

a significant number of households have more than one member in the labor force, and in most cases these additional members are women, thus complicating any direct imputation of the household status from the sole characteristics of the household head. For this reason, future studies must consider in which ways the occupations and incomes of women alter the welfare conditions within the household, and therefore its location in the structure of stratification.

STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND MOBILITY PATTERNS

Perhaps the most relevant question in the agenda of social stratification studies in Latin America is what is the impact of the broad social and economic transformations of the 1980s and 1990s on the social stratification and mobility regimes of the region. As I emphasized at the beginning of this chapter, to answer to this question from the perspective of occupational stratification it is necessary to distinguish between effects in three broad areas: a) the occupational structure; b) the process of occupational attainment; and c) the consequences of stratification. In this section I focus on the overall transformations of the occupational structure, and more specifically, on changes in three fields: a) the occupational structure in itself; b) the correlation between occupations and labor incomes; and c) the association between occupations and labor conditions.

Changes in the Occupational Structure

The importance of the overall changes in the occupational structure rests on their direct effects on structural mobility and the creation of opportunities for individual mobility. As I mentioned before, in most Latin American cities the growth based on the substitution of imports produced a relative increase in

higher manual positions in manufacturing, as well as the expansion of non-manual job positions in professional, administrative, and managerial activities. This upgrading of the occupational structure translated into greater opportunities of upward mobility, both for those individuals and families who massively abandoned farm activities in search of work in the cities, and for those who already lived in them. A crucial research question is to what extent this structural mobility continued, was interrupted, or even reverted in Latin America after transformations such as the crisis and economic restructuring, the liberalization of markets, and the cutback of employment in the public sector during the 1980s and 1990s.

One of the most interesting debates in developed nations relates to the supposed polarization of the occupational structure, as a result of the changes in technology and in the organization of work in recent decades. According to this hypothesis, the emerging labor markets of "global cities" would be characterized by a gradual reduction of the manual intermediate-level positions that defined the industrialist economic growth, and replace by a reduced number of high-level positions (such as managers, professionals and technicians), and a large number of unskilled service jobs (Sassen 1988). If accurate, this diagnostic would imply the creation of a bottleneck for upward social mobility. However, so far the available evidence seems not to be consistent with these trends. For instance, in his analysis of recent changes in the occupational structure of the so-called "G-7" countries, Castells (2000) shows that higher non-manual positions have continued their expansion, in detriment of manual positions. Nevertheless, as Castells

acknowledges, this does not mean that there is no polarization and increasing inequality in other aspects, such as incomes, or between genders and ethnic groups.

Even when the evidence about recent changes in the occupational structures of Latin American societies is scarcer, the research of ECLAC (CEPAL 1989; 2000) allows us to obtain an initial approach to the subject. In a recent study, that compares the occupational structures of eight Latin American countries (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela) *circa* 1997, a notable feature is the continuity of the expansion of non-manual positions, even during the decade of the 1990s[5]. Nevertheless, as the study repeatedly emphasizes, the positive effects of this structural "upgrading" are questionable, given the low incomes associated with many of the non-manual positions of recent creation. This leads us to the other two themes of this section: the association between occupations and incomes, as well as between occupations and labor conditions.

Changes in the Income Differential among Occupations

One of the basic assumptions of studies of social stratification based on occupational hierarchies is that these hierarchies reflect substantial differences in the position of individuals in the social structure. This essentially implies the existence of significant inequalities in the "reward packages" across occupations

[5] It must be noted that this study compares the occupational structures of entire countries, without considering the heterogeneity between regions or cities within them. As I mentioned before, it would be convenient to develop additional studies that allow us to look at the regional diversities in the transformation of the occupational structure.

(Grusky 1994). In these reward packages, monetary incomes are particularly relevant because of their exchange power with other goods and assets and their direct relationship with material welfare levels[6].

The association between occupations and incomes may vary as a result of several factors, such as de decline or increase in the demand of certain positions in response to changes in the organization of production; the drop of the profit margins of certain economic sectors; or the implementation of wage restriction policies with uneven effects on different segments of the labor market. In this sense, as Hauser (1998) suggests, the position in the occupational structure and monetary incomes must be considered as two separate dimensions of social stratification, with a correlation which is evident but also susceptible to change across time and between societies.

Therefore, the association between occupations and incomes must be the subject of empirical analysis. In Latin America, research on income inequality and poverty has documented the negative social effects of the debt-crisis, structural adjustment, and market reforms (CEPAL 1999)[7], but so far there is little advance in the clarification of the links between the position of individuals in the occupational structure and their monetary incomes, as well as changes over time in the association between occupations and wages. An obvious obstacle for this research has been the absence of longitudinal information about occupations and incomes for most of Latin American countries. However, there is already a

[6] However, the monetary income should not be considered as the only source of inequalities between occupations, as I will suggest later.
[7] For the specific case of Mexico, see Cortés (2001) and Boltvinik (2001).

substantial amount of data to advance in studies of this kind, at least for the decade of the 1990s.

One of the most relevant questions in this field is to what extent the occupations representing middle-level strata, that after their expansion in most Latin American countries represented the most likely option of upward mobility, have suffered recently a reduction in their income levels that makes them more similar to the occupations at the bottom of the occupational structure. The study of ECLAC (CEPAL 2000) indicates that this is the case for some countries in the region, such as Mexico, El Salvador, and Colombia. In these countries, the wages of sales workers, operatives, and artisans, are only slightly higher or similar than those of unskilled workers in services or in farm activities. This suggests that the living conditions of workers in intermediate positions are getting closer to those of workers at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. In other countries, such as Chile, Brazil, and Panama, there are still important differences in incomes between middle- and low-level positions. All this suggests that in certain national and regional contexts, upward occupational mobility from low- to medium-strata still brings with itself a substantial increase in income levels, while in other places such occupational mobility does not necessarily implies upward income mobility. It is important to increase research on this subject to identify these regional differences, as well as phenomena such as changes over time in the income gap among occupations and the heterogeneity of incomes within strata of similar occupations.

Changes in Labor Conditions

Lastly, studies on occupational stratification and mobility must take into consideration two emerging trends of labor markets in Latin America: the growth of the informal sector and, more recently, the increasing precariousness of labor conditions within formal employment. In relation to the informal sector, the emphasis is in the absence of state regulations on labor relationships (Castells and Portes 1989). Even when the debate regarding the attributes of the informal sector persists, most authors coincide that it is mainly integrated by low productivity occupations, with high labor instability and low incomes. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize the marked heterogeneity among the activities that are commonly classified as informal, which may include jobs as diverse as unpaid family workers, the self-employed, or even small entrepreneurs with employed workers who evade state regulations to reduce operating costs (Portes and Sassen 1987). In this sense, it is important to establish at least an elemental distinction between the employed, the self-employed, and employers when analyzing the characteristics of informal occupations. On the other hand, the precariousness of work within the formal sector is associated with the deregulation of labor markets and its negative effects on contractual forms and job benefits. Some indicators of precariousness are the type of contract (i.e. temporal versus permanent) and the number and quality of job benefits (for instance, whether the position is attached to health, social and/or recreation services).

The changes in labor conditions are relevant for studies on occupational stratification and mobility in Latin America at least for two reasons. On one hand, the differences among occupations in aspects such as job stability and job benefits must be incorporated, along with the nature of the occupations themselves, in the mapping of the emergent forms of social stratification in the region. From this perspective, it is pertinent to study to what extent informalization and precarization have expanded in uneven ways across the different occupations, as well as the current levels of heterogeneity in labor conditions within occupational strata. On the other hand, these two trends may also have affected occupational mobility patterns, through mechanisms such as higher job shift rates linked to reduced job security or the generation of barriers for upward mobility that characterizes segmented labor markets. In this sense, it is possible that labor conditions may have emerged as one of the most significant determinants of individual mobility in recent decades.

THE PROCESS OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT

The second broad theme that has dominated research on occupational stratification and mobility in industrialized societies is the identification of the determinants of mobility at the individual level. In relation to studies about occupational attainment, a seminal topic has been to determine the effects of ascription, represented by characteristics that are assigned at birth, such as parental status, race, or gender, on the position of individuals in the occupational structure. The importance of this subject rests on its relationship with the values of equity and social justice. Ascription is generally viewed as negative, because of

its association with inequity of opportunity and the existence of particularistic criteria in the definition of individual attainment. As I mentioned before, modernization theory predicts a gradual reduction over time in the importance of ascription, as well as its substitution by other determinants associated with individual skills and merit, such as educational attainment, acquired experience, and intellectual abilities (Treiman 1970). On the other hand, certain institutional arrangements, such as the development of the welfare state, may also have contributed to weaken the association between ascription and occupational attainment, through the operation of specific policies aiming to reduce the social disadvantages of the less favored groups and "level the field" between the socially disadvantaged and wealthier individuals (Esping-Andersen 1993; Mayer 1991, 1997). Notwithstanding, the empirical evidence in relation to the reduction of ascription in developed societies is inconclusive and this is one of the unsolved debates in the literature about stratification and social mobility[8].

This subject was incorporated by Balan, Browning and Jelin in their study about Monterrey through the analysis of intergenerational occupational mobility rates, as well as of the role of education as an intermediate variable between father and son occupations. Interestingly, they showed (p. 293) that educational attainment was more strongly correlated with first job in Monterrey than it was in the United States, according to Blau and Duncan's model of status attainment. In

[8] For instance, Biblarz, Bengtson and Bucur (1996) present evidence in favor of the hypothesis of the reduction of ascription for the United States. In contrast, Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) present abundant evidence against this hypothesis with data from several industrialized nations. Ganzeboom, Treiman, and Ultee (1991) present a detailed review of this debate and the comparative research on the subject previous to the decade of the 1990s.

contrast, however, father's education and occupation were more determinant of the respondent's education in Monterrey than in the United States. Balán et al concluded that although education becomes a crucial mechanism for allocating jobs in a rapidly developing economy, the existence of sharp social inequalities restricts equality of educational opportunity. Parental status had less of a direct effect on occupational attainment, but its indirect effect through education reproduced social inequality from one generation to the next.

It is difficult to find, either in Mexico or the rest of Latin America, more recent accounts of intergenerational mobility trends, as well as of the possible transformation of the role of education as an intervening variable in the association between social origins and destinations. Again, part of the problem is the absence of adequate data on intergenerational mobility, which must be obtained from specialized surveys or census modules. In addition to the generation of such data, the research agenda on this field would require consideration of these issues:

a) *Regional disparities, changes over time, and differences across socioeconomic groups in intergenerational mobility rates*. To obtain satisfactory conclusions in this topic, it is determinant to distinguish between structural mobility, that is, the mobility that results from the overall economic, social and demographic changes and that expresses itself in the margins of the distribution of mobility tables, and circulation mobility, defined as all the mobility that takes place beyond the changes that are "forced" by structural mobility. The transformations in structural mobility are treated

in the previous section. Regarding circulation mobility, it would be of great interest to explore to what extent: i) circulation mobility has increased or decreased over time, independently of structural mobility; ii) there are differences between cities, regions, or nations in the levels of circulation mobility –and therefore in the levels of "social openness", even after controlling for the variations in structural mobility; and iii) the inequalities by social origins in occupational attainment have declined or increased in recent times, regardless of the changes in the association between origins and destinations that are "forced" by structural mobility. In order to advance in these topics, it is necessary to adopt statistical approaches such as log-lineal modeling or other similar techniques, which allow researchers to control for the effects of changes in the marginal distribution of occupations and obtain comparable parameters of circulation mobility over time and across societies.

b) *Changes in the relationship between social origins and educational attainment.* Another fundamental transformation in Latin American societies during the second half of the last century has been the increase in overall educational levels. Practically all social strata have benefited by the expansion of education, but despite these advances there are still large inequalities both in schooling levels and in the quality of education (Reimers 1999). Under this topic, two relevant questions are to what extent social origins –measured primordially through parental status at birth— are still an important determinant of educational attainment,

despite the increase in average educational levels and, on the other hand, if emerging forms of inequality are currently replacing the old patterns of inclusion an exclusion, such as the uneven access to private education or to high quality schools even within public education institutions.

c) *Changes in the association between educational and occupational attainment*. The increment and diversification of the supply of education, particularly regarding higher education, has also generated concerns about the possible reduction of the labor market returns of professional degrees. The main argument is that the number of university graduates has grown more rapidly than job positions in professional activities, and therefore professionals, and particularly recent graduates, are exposed to scarce job opportunities, a situation which often leads them to sub-employment or unemployment. Even though there is already some research on this topic (CEPAL 2000; Lorey 2000; Muñoz and Suárez Zozaya 1992; Padua 1995), it would be necessary to advance further in areas such as the inequalities in occupational attainment linked to the social origin of university graduates, the academic quality of the institutions, and their public or private character. Also, new studies could systematically contrast across time the occupational attainment of those individuals who did have access to higher education and those who did not, in order to obtain a clearer perspective of the labor market advantages and disadvantages that higher education brings today in relation to the past.

In addition to these topics, which could be considered within the classical perspectives of research on the process of occupational attainment, there are other issues that have been less explored and could bring new perspectives into the field. I highlight two of these topics:

d) *The incorporation of the household dynamics to the determinants of individual occupational attainment*. Studies on poverty and survival strategies in Latin America have emphasized the importance of the household as an intermediate unit between individuals' work-related behavior and labor markets (Cortés and Cuéllar 1990; González de la Rocha 1994; Selby, Murphy, and Lorenzen 1990; Tuirán 1993). However, most models of job mobility and occupational attainment only incorporate family and household characteristics as indicators of social origins, through the consideration of variables indicating parental status. It is less frequent to find studies seeking to analyze the effects of family dynamics, as well as the particular insertion of individuals into these dynamics, on attainment levels. Part of the problem is a methodological one, because it becomes very difficult to follow <u>both</u> the trajectory of the individual and of the household(s) to which this individual has been integrated over the life course. However, it is important to advance in the solution of this problem in order to explore issues such as the short- and long-term effects of aspects as the household composition, the position of individuals in the household, and household income, not only on

occupational trajectories, but also on their intermediate determinants, including educational attainment.

e) *Social Assets and Occupational Attainment.* Even though one of the main concerns of occupational attainment research is to establish the effects of factors such as the characteristics of the family of origin or educational attainment, there are fewer accounts of the specific mechanisms through which these and other variables operate during the actual matching process of individuals and occupations. As Filgueira (2001) has suggested, the incorporation of the notion of "social assets" may contribute to identify these mechanisms and assess their role on the generation of social stratification in Latin America. In simple terms, social assets may be conceptualized as the set of resources that a family or an individual possesses to increase or maintain its (his/her) welfare levels (Ibid. p. 3). According to Bourdieu (1986), it is possible to identify among the multiple forms of assets (or "forms of capital", in the terms used by the French sociologist), three forms that are the most valuable in social reproduction: i) economic capital, represented by monetary and material goods; ii) cultural capital, that refers primordially to academic titles, but includes also other cultural expressions such as the "proper" use of the language and "cultural competence"; and iii) social capital, that remits to social networks. Regarding these assets and occupational attainment in Latin America, it would be relevant to study in which specific ways parental status translates into the intergenerational transmission of

economic, cultural, and social capital, and how these assets operate, individually or in specific combination with each other, to enhance or decrease individual opportunities of occupational attainment during the job search process[9].

THE CONSEQUENCES OF STRATIFICATION

Finally, a topic that has received only marginal attention in Latin America is the study of the association between the position in the occupational structure and other social processes such as urban spatial segregation and the structuration of consumption patterns, dispositions, preferences, tastes, and life-styles. The topic becomes relevant in the context of the theoretical debate about the importance of work in the generation of social identities in contemporary societies. This debate has been focused on the thesis of the "end of work", which posits that the transformations in the organization of work "have increased the heterogeneity of workers with repercussion on their norms, values, and attitudes…", as well as produced the "… end of the centrality of work in the set of social relationships, in particular in relation to the structuration of collective

[9] Of course, these two topics are not entirely new and have received attention in previous research. As I mentioned before, the differences in educational attainment by parental status, as well as the association between educational and occupational attainment, are part of the classical agenda of research on occupational attainment. Similarly, the study of social capital and its importance in the process of occupational attainment has also a long tradition, although it has received renewed attention in the recent decade (see Lin's (2001: pp. 78-98) revision on this topic). Nevertheless, the challenge would be to integrate all these studies under a unified conceptual framework centered on the role of social assets during the different stages of the process of occupational attainment.

identities"[10] (Neffa 2001: p.52; see also: De la Garza Toledo 1999). The discussion in relation to this thesis in Latin America has been characterized by the scarcity of empirical studies that allow us to accumulate evidences on the current significance of work on patterns of spatial segregation, as well as in the generation of individual identities. Respecting this, it is important to remind us that the structural and institutional contexts of the organization of work in Latin American societies are radically different than those observed in developed countries, where this debate has flourished in recent years. It would be enough to mention among these differences the highly segmented labor markets; the persistence of high levels of income inequality; and the weakness of welfare policies destined to reduce extreme differences in standards of living, in order to understand that it is necessary to restate the discussion about the "end of work" in light of the historical particularities of Latin America. It would be relevant to approach this subject from an empirical perspective, which would allow us to increase our knowledge in the following areas:

a) *The links between occupations and residential segregation.* Only in recent years, with the availability of geo-referenced census data, scholars have been able to explore the social aspects of the distribution of space in Latin American cities. A topic that deserves more attention is to what extent the position of individuals in the occupational hierarchy operates, along with other determinants such as household income levels, as a determinant of spatial segregation. Another relevant question is whether the recent social

[10] Translated from the original version in Spanish.

and economic transformations have produced an increase in the spatial segregation between individuals in different occupational positions, thus altering patterns of social interaction among them.

b) *The association between occupations and consumption patterns*. It is important to explore the extent in which households or individuals with different positions in the occupational structure present variations in their consumption habits, and whether these variations are independent of or interact with other sources of stratification, such as incomes and educational levels.

c) *The effect of occupations on tastes, dispositions, and life-styles*. In addition to consumption patterns, the convergences and differences among social groups in tastes, dispositions and life-styles are fundamental to explain the structuration of social identities. Nevertheless, little is known about the degree in which the borders of these "cultural worlds" coincide with those of work in modern Latin American societies. Several questions may guide research on this area: What are the differences and similarities between individuals with different occupations in relation to their world-views, dispositions, tastes and life-styles? What is the association, if any, between occupations, political identities, and political behavior? To what extent these differences allow us to talk about the persistence of "class cultures" in contemporary Latin American societies? In which ways the world of work interacts with other sources of stratification, such as age, gender, and educational levels, in the structuration of social identities?

d) *Social mobility and social identities*. If we are willing to accept that the position of individuals in the social structure is derived not only from their position in a given moment in time, but also from their *class of trajectory* (Bourdieu 1984: pp. 108-109), then it is important to incorporate to the analysis of the structuration of social identities the occupational trajectories that individuals have followed over their life course, in addition to their present position in the occupational structure. In Latin American societies, where upward occupational mobility was –and perhaps still is-- a relatively frequent experience in individuals' lives, it is even more relevant to as to what extent social origins contribute to the formation of cultural identities and also, of course, to the heterogeneity of these identities among the members of occupational groups that are homogeneous in their current positions but not in their social origins.

FINAL REMARKS

As we have seen, there are multiple and varied topics for future research on social stratification and social mobility in Latin America. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this agenda does not intend to reflect the complete spectrum of social stratification studies, but only those areas that are related to occupational stratification and the patterns of mobility between occupations, the main topic of my dissertation.

From this agenda it is possible to highlight four aspects that I would like to mention in these final comments. First, it would be necessary to develop research at the level of micro-regions and cities, both within and between

countries, which allow us to integrate the regional and local diversity in socioeconomic development patterns to the study of occupational stratification. Second, women must be incorporated to future studies on the subject. Third, it is important to generate adequate and comparable data, allowing us to advance beyond the simple contrast of occupational structures into fields such as the analysis of inter- and intragenerational mobility and the consequences of stratification. Fourth, in order to renovate the agenda of research on occupational stratification in Latin America it is important to incorporate the recent developments of research in developed societies, in addition to those aspects of the "classical" problems that retain their heuristic value for the understanding of the social and economic transformations experienced by the region in recent decades.

Finally, I must emphasize again that the agenda outlined in this chapter clearly surpasses the objectives of my doctoral research. Due to the absence of adequate data or simply to the lack of time and space, some of the themes mentioned in previous pages have been only marginally treated or even completely ignored in my research on occupational stratification and mobility in Monterrey. That is the case, for instance, with the study of patterns of stratification and mobility among women, or with the proper incorporation of the household dynamics to the analysis, both of them subjects that would require more attention in future research. In this sense, this agenda must be read as the origin of a more ambitious program of research that will extend to the future, instead of as a prelude of what comes next.

III. FROM INWARD-LOOKING DEVELOPMENT TO GLOBALIZATION: MONTERREY 1950-2000

One of the principles of this dissertation is that individual life courses do not elapse in a social vacuum, but are bounded by specific historical circumstances. In this sense, "historical time", that is, the set of macro-level changes in social economic, institutional, and cultural conditions, is a major force affecting the opportunities and constrains of individuals over their family, residential, and occupational trajectories (Hareven 1982). In Monterrey, broad economic transformations during the second half of the past century have produced a continuing restructuring of the labor market and therefore progressive changes in opportunities of social mobility. The context of social stratification has also radically changed with the demographic expansion of the city and the consequent urban reorganization, as well as in response to the increasing complexity of its social and cultural life. It is important to review these transformations as a prelude to our analysis of changes in occupational stratification and mobility.

In this chapter I present a summary of these transformations, with emphasis on the economic change and its effects on the occupational structure. I distinguish between the two broad periods delimiting the two modes of accumulation that have characterized the socioeconomic development of Mexico since the decade of the 1940s. The first period extends from the 1940s to the beginning of the 1980s and corresponds to the years of accelerated economic growth and industrialization based on the substitution of imports. Over this

period, Monterrey enjoyed economic prosperity, experienced a high demographic growth, and accomplished its spatial transition from a medium city into a metropolitan area. The second period elapses from 1980 to 2000. This period is marked by the economic crisis of the 1980s, the subsequent economic restructuring, and a moderate resuming of economic growth during the end of the 1980s and the 1990s. Over these two decades, the city's population continued its accelerated growth, although with lower rates than those observed prior to the 1980s. Also in the last twenty years the spatial dimension may have acquired increasing importance for social stratification, due to the rising costs of housing and transportation, as well as to the increasing complexity in spatial segregation patterns derived from the demographic and spatial expansion of the city. Finally, the increase in services and commercial activities, as well as the boost and diversification of cultural life, may have transformed the context of social stratification by opening new channels of differentiation in the access to commodities, services, and cultural goods. In the following sections I take a look at these changes, as well as at their possible consequences for social stratification and mobility.

THE PROSPERITY YEARS: 1940-1980[11]

After the recession of the 1930s, Monterrey initiated a period of high and sustained economic growth that would not be interrupted until the decade of the 1970s. This prosperity resulted from the convergence of several circumstances: at the national level, the implementation of a model of accumulation based on the industrialization by substitution of imports and the open sponsoring of the state to manufacturing activities –the so-called "substitution of imports" or "inward-looking growth" model--. The other circumstance was the promptness of Monterrey entrepreneurial groups to take advantage of these favorable national circumstances and use them to expand their economic activities, a readiness that was the result of the already existent installed capacity of Monterrey's industry, but also of the experience accumulated by local entrepreneurs after several decades of "making business" in industrial activities.

Over these four decades Monterrey also experienced the transition from a medium-size to a large city, and this demographic expansion brought important changes on its spatial organization and social life. It is convenient to review all these aspects of the recent historical development of Monterrey, because they

[11] The material presented in this and the following section of this chapter is primarily based on the extensive research about the economic history of Monterrey's industrial groups developed by Mario Cerutti (Summarized in: Cerutti 2000), as well as in the research of María de los Ángeles Pozas on the restructuring of Monterrey firms during the 1980s and 1990s (Pozas 1993; Pozas 1999). References to the industrial growth of Monterrey during the substitution of imports period may also be found in Vellinga (1989) and in the second chapter of Balán, Browning and Jelin's "Men in a Developing Society". Pozos Ponce (1996) presents an analysis of the transformations of Monterrey's labor market during the crisis and restructuring period of the 1980s.

may serve us to understand the significance of the transformations in social stratification and mobility patterns.

The National Context: Industrialization by Substitution of Imports

At the beginning of the 1940s, the political system of Mexico had finally come to a reasonable degree of stability after several decades of turmoil and internal fractures. The consolidation of the PRM in the Presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas –that not much later would become the hegemonic PRI- had served to legitimate the political dominance of the State and provided central authorities a mechanism to keep under control regional political and military leaders. In the international arena, World War II, and particularly the direct involvement of the United States since 1941, imposed severe restrictions to the import of manufactured goods, which provided most of the supplies for an incipient but growing internal market.

The combination of these internal and external circumstances –political stability, hegemony of the central State, a growing internal market, and external restrictions to imports— offered a favorable context for the implementation of a new regime of economic growth, a model that aimed to modernize the Mexican economy by the industrialization based on the substitution of imports. Several authors have extensively analyzed the characteristics of this model[12] and therefore I will only outline here its principal features. One key characteristic was the decisive role of the State, both as a promoter of industrial growth and as a direct

[12] See, for example, Villarreal (1990) and Todaro (1989).

investor in industrial activities. The main objective was to impulse the industrialization of the Mexican economy by, among other policies: a) imposing barriers to the imports of goods, finished goods in a first phase (1940-1950), and intermediate, perdurable, and capital goods in a second phase (1950-1970); b) generating a regime of fiscal privilege for industrial activities; c) providing credit to industrial activities; and d) sponsoring directly the industrialization of strategic sectors, through direct investment resulting in the creation of large public enterprises.

These policies translated into a decisive impulse to economic growth and particularly to the expansion of manufacturing activities. Between 1940 and 1970, the decades of the so-called "Mexican economic miracle", the annual growth rate of the GDP and the industrial GDP reached an average of 6.6% and 8.2%, respectively. In 1940, 15% of the GDP was linked to manufacturing activities; by 1970 this proportion had increased to 23% (Dussel Peters 1997: p.p. 122-123). The three largest urban centers, Mexico City, Guadalajara and Monterrey, were the main scenarios of this spectacular economic growth. Most of the manufacturing production was directed to the growing urban markets and rural-urban migration gained momentum as the main source of labor for the expanding manufacturing activities.

At the beginning of the 1970s the substitution of imports model started to evidence some signs of crisis in Mexico, as in several other Latin American countries, but after two years of recession the economy found new impulse in the increasing revenues derived from oil exports. Thus, despite serious structural

problems, the overall performance of the Mexican economy during the decade of the 1970s was also very positive: during the period 1970-1981, the average annual growth rates of the GDP and manufacturing GDP were 6.7% and 9.4%, respectively (Dussel Peters 1997).

The Industrial Expansion of Monterrey

As I mentioned before, Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Monterrey were the main scenarios for the accelerated industrial expansion of Mexico between the 1940s and the 1980s. However, few entrepreneurial groups had the installed capacity and experience to take advantage of the national and international positive circumstances as those based in Monterrey. At the beginning of the 1940s, Monterrey's industry had already undergone several decades of expansion and had sorted with success not only the turmoil of the Mexican Revolution, but also the difficulties of the Depression of the 1930s. One of the pillars for this success was the strong integration of Monterrey entrepreneurial groups through family and kinship ties, a persistent characteristic that would also prove to be essential many years later, during the period of restructuring of Monterrey industry at the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s. Cerutti offers a panorama of these initial years of renewed economic expansion:

> The ancient families kept consolidating. The difficult twenties, the tumultuous thirties were behind. Survival and adaptation – exercises intensively practiced during the civil wars and the Revolution—had worked. It was time, now, while the old Europe was in war, for a new era of growth.[13]

[13] (Cerutti 2000: p. 162). Translated from the original in Spanish.

The advantageous situation of Monterrey materialized in accelerated rates of economic growth, even higher than those observed at the national level. In 1940, Monterrey generated 7.2% of the Gross Industrial Product of the country; by 1950 it generated 7.8% and by 1960 almost 10% (Cerutti 2000). A specific characteristic of this industrial expansion is that most manufacturing activities were concentrated in a limited number of large firms. The main areas of production were intermediate goods, capital goods, and consumer durables. For example, the production of steel, which had initiated in the 19th century, received an important impulse with the opening in 1942 of Hojalata y Lamina (HYLSA), which would become later one of the principal producers in its field in Latin America. The manufacturing of other non-metallic minerals such as glass and cement also increased. In addition to these industries, all of them with roots in the original industrial expansion of Monterrey at the beginning of the 20th century, new branches of production were opened between the 1940s and 1960s. The new automotive industry and the production of paper were among the most important.

The expansion of manufacturing was followed by the appearance of new banking and financial services aimed to attend the increasing financial needs of these firms. The more than thirty firms of this kind created in Monterrey between 1935 and 1960 reveal the magnitude of the expansion of financial services during the period. A list of their owners also confirms the trends toward the concentration of the property of local firms in a handful of families (Saldaña 1965, cited in: Cerutti (2000)). Thus, by the middle of the 1960s the city had

experienced at least 25 years of expansion of manufacturing activities and started to show some signs of development of services. Yet, as Balán, Browning and Jelin point out (p.p. 53-54), both public and private bureaucracies were still underdeveloped in relation to the overall size and economic importance of the city.

The initial signs of crisis of the industrialization by substitution of imports were felt in Monterrey at the beginning of the 1970s. After several decades of continuous growth, manufacturing production contracted in 1971, then significantly increased in 1971-1974, and contracted again in 1975-1976 (Cerutti 2000). However, these negative signs were temporarily halted during the last four years of the 1970s, where the economy of the city grew again at annual rates well over 6%, thanks to the oil boom at the national level, as well as to the expansion plans that local corporations put into operation during the period.

In sum, despite the short-term recessions, the 1970s could be characterized as another decade of high economic growth and relative prosperity for Monterrey. By the end of the decade, Monterrey had consolidated as the second most important industrial city of Mexico –only overshadowed by the monstrous Mexico City--, and the leader of heavy industrial production. It also concentrated five of the most important corporations of Latin America (*ALFA*, *CYDSA*, *CEMEX*, *VISA*, and *VITRO*), which concentrated a large fraction of the labor force and dominated almost entirely the economic life of the city.

Demographic Growth and Spatial Expansion

During the four decades that elapsed from World War II to the end of the 1970s, Monterrey also experienced radical demographic and social transformations. The number of residents in the city multiplied more than ten times in this period, from 190 thousand in 1940 to 1.99 million in 1980 (CONAPO 1994). The spatial expansion of the city resulted in the progressive annexation of the surrounding municipalities to Monterrey's urban area: in 1960, Guadalupe and San Nicolás were the two first municipalities integrated to the city, followed by Apodaca, San Pedro, Santa Catarina, and General Escobedo in the following two decades. In sum, during this period Monterrey stopped being a medium-city and became a metropolitan area.

Although it is difficult to quantify with precision the magnitude of migration, the continuous arrival of migrants from San Luis Potosí, Coahuila, Zacatecas, Tamaulipas, and also the rural areas of Nuevo León, was unquestionably a major component of this demographic growth. In 1965, 70% of the Monterrey male residents between ages 21 and 60 were migrants; within this group, 63% had migrated from communities with less than 5,000 inhabitants, a clear indication of the predominance of rural migration. As we will see in later chapters, many of these migrants, regardless of their rural or urban origins, were able to find jobs in the expanding manufacturing sector. However, since the end of the 1960s the spatial assimilation of migrants to the city became increasingly difficult, due to their increasing numbers, as well as the lack of the necessary infrastructure to receive them and provide them with adequate housing.

As in many other Latin American cities, these difficulties derived in the proliferation of shantytowns or "*barrios marginales*" in the 1970s and 1980s. The mountainous geography of Monterrey facilitated the creation of these irregular neighborhoods, even in the hills surrounding the city center, which had originally been discarded for housing due to the steep terrain. These shantytowns also proliferated in the municipalities of the periphery, such as Guadalupe, San Nicolás and, a few years later, Santa Catarina. The typical residents were rural migrants who could not afford better living conditions at their arrival to the city and thus found in these neighborhoods an affordable residential option. Housing conditions in these neighborhoods were poor. Houses were built with the very elemental materials, and very often residents did not count with basic services such as running water, sewage systems, and street pavement. In these early years, the trajectory followed by most of these neighborhoods was one of progressive improvement of living conditions over time. After their initial arrival, migrants assimilated into the local labor market and found resources to gradually improve their houses. At the same time, they gradually obtained access to city services and urban amenities, through collective bargaining and/or the mediation of corporativist groups. In these sense, many of these neighborhoods illustrate the collective experience of upward social mobility lived by many rural migrants during the years of prosperity previous to the 1980s.

Despite the demographic and spatial expansion of the city, it kept a marked provincial atmosphere very well into the 1970s. This was well documented by Balán, Browning and Jelin:

> Vsitors are surprised to learn that Monterrey has arrived to the "million" category". Certainly the core of the city, the downtown area, seems unimpressive for a city of that size (...) Why does Monterrey sometimes give the impression of being a big little city?[14]

Several factors contribute to explain the lack of sophistication of the city during these intermediate stages of its transition into a metropolis. As Balán, Browning and Jelin note, one of them is the underdevelopment of services and commerce, due to the limited size of local bureaucracies and the closeness to the Texas border, which hampered the growth of local commerce. Another reason is the absence of sizeable second-generation middle-class demanding entertainment activities and services of all kind within the city. Finally, the rapid demographic growth was not immediately followed by a similar institutional development in the promotion of cultural activities, and this institutional fragility did not help to impulse the incipient development of the fields of artistic production and cultural consumption in the city (Zúñiga 1993).

CRISIS, ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING, AND LIBERALIZATION: 1980-2000

With the onset of the debt-crisis at the beginning of the 1980s, the economy of Monterrey entered into a period of rapid transformation that had profound and permanent effects in the local labor market. The large industrial conglomerates, which for decades occupied a large fraction of the labor force in the city, were particularly vulnerable to the crisis, and immediately responded to

[14] Balán, Browning, and Jelin, 1973: p. 51

the negative economic environment by downsizing their activities. Subsequently, during the second half of the 1980s and all over the 1990s, these firms adapted to the new macroeconomic circumstances produced by structural adjustment and market reforms with innovative strategies that allowed them not only to survive, but also to reach a second momentum of prosperity. Also during these years the city continued its demographic and spatial growth and experienced a significant transformation in its social and cultural life, with a rapid expansion of commerce, different kinds of services, as well as entertainment and cultural activities.

The Remaking of the Local Economy

The long period of high economic growth experienced by the Mexican economy since the decade of the 1940s came to an abrupt end with the onset of the debt-crisis in 1982. The structural circumstances leading to this crisis are treated in detail elsewhere[15]. However, for the purposes of this dissertation it is important to trace its effects on the economy of Monterrey.

The years immediately preceding the debt-crisis were of relative prosperity for Monterrey's largest corporations. In a national context of affluence associated with the oil boom, and with the easy availability of credit from foreign financial institutions, most of these firms engaged in very aggressive expansion plans during the second half of the 1970s. But later, during the initial years of the crisis, the reality of the economic recession and of their unmeasured expansion forced them to step back and abandon or postpone these growth plans.

[15] See for example: Cordera and González Tiburcio (1989) and Dussel Peters (1997).

The case of *ALFA*, one of the most important corporations of Monterrey, is illustrative[16]. Between 1976 and 1980, *ALFA* extended its activities to virtually all sectors of the economy, including tourism and financial services. During this period, the corporation had access to large sums in loans that it used to modernize its plants and to buy a large number of firms, some of them in bad economic conditions. This expansion reflected in the number of workers employed by the company, which increased from 19,505 to 49,019 between 1977 and 1980. But the high burden of its debt, the bad shape of many of its subsidiaries, and also the onset of the economic crisis in 1982 drove the company into a deep financial crisis which ended in the suspension of payments of its debts in 1982 and the forced turn of over 45 percent of its stock to creditors from foreign banks. From then, the company modified its strategy and focused again only on its most profitable firms. This meant a dramatic downsizing in its occupied labor force, which decreased to 33,951 workers in 1982, that is, a reduction of 31% in two years.

The impact of the crisis on the other corporations of Monterrey varied according to their particular circumstances, but the cases of *VISA* and *VITRO*, the second and third largest private employers in the city, are particularly important for their repercussion in the local labor market. These two firms also instrumented ambitious expansion plans during the second half of the 1970s, but a combination of factors, among them their own inexperience in certain branches

[16] The trajectory of *ALFA*, as well as of the other important corporations of Monterrey during the years of crisis and economic restructuring, is analyzed by Pozas (1993).

of the economy and the contraction of Mexico's internal market during the crisis, also forced them to downsize their activities and, consequently, their workforce. Between 1980 and 1982, *VISA* had its personnel cut back by 13,629 workers (28%) and *VITRO* by 9,243 workers (25%)[17].

As it might be deduced after looking at these figures, the contraction of the economy had very negative short-term effects on Monterrey's labor market. In 1983, the open unemployment rate in Monterrey was 9.3% (Pozas 2002), the highest in urban Mexico and a notably large rate if we take into account that in Mexico there is virtually no unemployment insurance, and therefore open unemployment rates tend to be very low even in periods of crisis (Martin 2000).

The situation hardly improved in the immediately following years. Between 1982 and 1987, most of Monterrey's corporations postponed or canceled their expansion plans and limited to the elemental activities for survival. At the national level, the instrumentation of stabilization and restructuring policies through programs such as the PIRE (Economic Recovery Program) and the PAC (Stimulus and Growth Program) had immediate negative effects on economic growth and, more importantly, translated into a significant reduction of real wages (Lustig 1998). These negative effects were strongly felt by Monterrey's economy, due to its large industrial basis. Furthermore, the shutdown in 1986 of Fundidora Monterrey, the first modern steel mill in the history of Latin America,

[17] In total, the number of layoffs generated by *ALFA*, *VISA* and *VITRO* during these two years ascended to almost 38 thousand jobs. The two other large corporations of Monterrey (*CYDSA* and *CEMEX*) did not generate massive layoffs, but did not create many jobs either. During these two years, their payroll only increased in 1,252 workers (Pozas 1993).

generated an additional direct lost of 11,000 jobs and other several thousands of layoffs in small shops with direct linkages to the steel mill.

The most negative effects of the crisis in Monterrey were over by 1988. A set of circumstances, such as the ability of local corporations to renegotiate their debts with their international creditors, the fixation of the dollar parity, and the more decisive turn of federal policies in the direction of the opening of the economy and the promotion of growth based on the exports of manufacturing products, contributed to generate a more positive environment for the expansion of local firms. Between 1988 and 2000 Monterrey's most prominent corporations renewed their economic growth and recovered the investment levels of the beginning of the 1980s.

However, the economic growth of the 1990s had an entirely different basis than the expansion preceding the crisis. This time the prosperity of Monterrey's industry was mainly based on the integration to international markets, and not only on the production for the internal market. This integration has taken several forms, among them an increase and diversification of exports, the establishment of strategic alliances with foreign partners in ventures both in Mexico and abroad, and the direct acquisition of foreign firms. In parallel with these transformations, Monterrey's corporations also restructured their internal bureaucracies in order to respond more efficiently to globalization. These internal changes included the hiring of professional administrators for their managerial positions (which had been occupied by the owners in the past), as well as a throughout restructuring of white-collar positions.

The case of the cement company *CEMEX*, followed in detail by Cerutti (2000), illustrates the magnitude of the international expansion of Monterrey corporations. In 1982 this firm entered the European market by acquiring *Valenciana de Cementos* y *LACSA/Sansón*, two Spanish cement companies. Later, between 1994 and 1996, *CEMEX* continued its strategy of diversification of markets by purchasing cement companies in Venezuela, Panama, Dominican Republic, and Colombia. Between 1997 and 1999 it entered the Asian market, with the acquisition of two firms in the Philippines and Indonesia, and deepened its presence in Latin America, with the purchase of a plant in Chile and another one in Costa Rica. These acquisitions translated into an increase in the firm's capacity of production from around 25 million to almost 60 million metric tons of cement in only eight years, which located the company among the three most important firms in the world in the sector of cement production and trading.

It is true that the performance of *CEMEX* is exceptional, but it is still illustrative of the dynamism of Monterrey's corporations during the decade of the 1990s. Indeed, in a report of the largest private manufacturing enterprises in Latin America in 1996, five Monterrey's firms are among the top ten, and four of them (*ALFA*, *CEMEX*, *VISA*, and *VITRO*, in that order) are among the top five. (Cerutti 2000: p. 239). The renewed growth of these large corporations, along with the expansion of the *maquiladora* industry[18], revitalized manufacturing activities as well as employment in this economic sector. This recent expansion of

[18] The *maquiladoras* arrived to Monterrey after 1984, after the presidential decree that authorized their expansion from the border to the rest of the national territory. In 1986 there were only 14 *maquiladoras* in the state; by 1998 their number had increased to 160 (Garza 1999).

jobs in manufacturing activities has been characterized by an increasing concentration in large firms: between 1988 and 1995, the number of micro-enterprises in manufacturing (less than 15 workers), reduced from 5,777 to 4,050, denoting the vulnerability of small firms to the liberalization of the economy. In contrast, the number of large firms (more than 250 workers) increased from 114 to 149 during the same period (Garza 1999). However, as we will see later, the recovering of employment in manufacturing activities did not reach the levels observed prior to the 1980s, and service activities prevailed as the main source of jobs for Monterrey workers.

From a "Big Little City" to a Metropolis

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s Monterrey continued its demographic and spatial expansion, although with a slower pace than the observed during the 1960s and 1970s. However, in absolute terms the growth of the city was still impressive. Its population increased from 1.99 million in 1980 to 3.24 million in 2000[19]. Only in the 1990s, the spatial expansion of the city was estimated in 8 thousand hectares, which is equivalent to a growth of 19% in relation to the surface at the beginning of the decade (Garza 1999). During these twenty years, the metropolization of the city also continued with the novelty of a negative demographic growth for the municipality of Monterrey, which suggests the incoming transit to a more advanced stage of the process of metropolitan growth, characterized by the loss of demographic importance of the central city.

[19] Figures based on census data obtained from CONAPO (1994) and the web site of INEGI (http://www.inegi.gob.mx).

The accelerated urban growth, along with the worsening of the already bad living conditions in marginal neighborhoods during the economic crisis, generated new social problems that in some way made evident the increasing complexity of social life in the city. An illustrating example is the emergence of youth street gangs (known in Monterrey as "*pandillas juveniles"*) in the marginal neighborhoods of the city, which started to receive attention from the local mass media since the mid 1980s, mostly in response to the complaints of neighbors about their behavior (Hernández León 1990). The negative educational and occupational prospects, the lack of physical and institutional spaces, and also the evident intergenerational frictions in values, attitudes and dispositions between the "urban peasants" that resided in the poor neighborhoods of Monterrey and their children who were raised in the city, were all factors that contributed to the emergence of this phenomenon (Solís 1995). However, what is truly remarkable about the appearance of these *pandillas juveniles* and their social construction as a social problem is not so much the gravity of their acts or the real threat that they initially posed for public safety[20], but what it meant for the social imaginary of the city: the lost of control over its own youth; the explosion of social problems due to the "excessive" urbanization, poverty, and the deterioration of values; as well as a sudden sensation of lost of public safety and chaos that eventually raised

[20] In most cases, the so-called "*pandilleros*" did not commit major crimes or offenses, and limited themselves to gather in the street corners to talk and, occasionally, drink or ingest other light drugs, such as inhalants or, much less frequently, marijuana. Their violent behavior was mostly directed toward members of other gangs and it consisted principally on street fights, which very rarely produced serious injuries or death.

comparisons with other metropolis such as Mexico City, Houston, or New York City.

Demographic growth also brought with it a substantial increase in services and commerce, as well as the so much delayed consolidation of Monterrey as a regional center for economic activities. In the sphere of health services, for instance, there has been a significant increase in the number of private and public hospitals, which provide attention not only to Monterrey residents but also to patients of other cities of the region[21]. The supply of higher education has also significantly increased, as the space for students in the *Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León* and the *Tecnológico de Monterrey*, the two institutions with more prestige in the city, increased, and new public and private institutions were created, such as the *Instituto Tecnólogico de Nuevo León*, the *Universidad de Monterrey* and the *Universidad Regiomontana*. Commercial activities also boosted, both in the realm of large American-style shopping malls and in the end of the informal and petit commerce. Thus, for example, *Galerías Monterrey*, the first luxurious shopping mall of several currently existing in the city, was inaugurated in 1983, with the prestigious departmental store *Liverpool* as an anchor. Around that time, flea markets such as "La Pulga Mitras" or "Liverpulga" (note the sarcastic reference to the luxury store "Liverpool" in the name of the latter flea market) were very popular among the middle and working classes of Monterrey. Both types of

[21] In 1990 there were 16 general hospitals and 13 hospitals with specialties, including among the latter four private hospitals (Gómez Guzmán 1994). The supply of specialized health services also expanded during the decade of the 1990s. An internet search in June 2001 produced a total of six private hospitals with specialties, that is, two more than in 1990.

commerce took advantage of the disincentives to consumption in the U.S. border cities of McAllen and Laredo that followed the devaluation of the peso and the reduction of real wages.

In the cultural sphere, the last quarter of a century has also been of profound transformations in Monterrey. On one hand, there has been a consolidation of several public and private cultural institutions dedicated to the promotion and diffusion of cultural activities, and this represents an important step forward in relation to the previous period of high institutional frailty. Today, for example, there is a state secretary and offices in most of the municipalities of the metropolitan area explicitly committed to cultural activities, as well as several cultural centers and theaters with adequate infrastructure for these activities[22]. The number of museums has also increased since the decade of the 1970s, with the inauguration of the *Museo de Monterrey*, the first one in the city dedicated to the diffusion of the fine arts. Currently, there are fourteen museums in the city, including a museum of Mexican history, another museum dedicated to the history of Nuevo León, and the outstanding Contemporary Art Museum (*MARCO*), inaugurated in 1991 and with a space of 10 thousand square meters for exhibits and cultural activities (Garza 1998). All these spaces have served to increase and diversify cultural activities.

On the other hand, the emergence of independent musical movements such as the "Colombian" music and rock and pop groups reveals the growing

[22] There are ten theaters in the city, seven of them with capacity for more than 500 persons. Four of these theaters are located in Monterrey, one in San Nicolás, one in Guadalupe, and the other one in San Pedro (Garza 1998).

complexity and internal richness of social and cultural life in the city. The "Colombian" music, as its name indicates, is a variation of the "cumbia" that was originally imported from Colombia more than twenty years ago by young local musicians living in marginal neighborhoods. Since then, this music followed an impressing pattern of underground diffusion (it was not played in the radio nor could be found at formal record stores until very recently) until becoming the emblematic genre of the poor youth, including the so-called *pandilleros*. In recent years, this movement has emerged to the general public and today its leading figure, Celso Piña, has become one of the most popular celebrities in the local music scene, even with national and international projection[23]. The other musical movement is the explosion of rock and pop groups, which have multiplied since the mid 1990s and have made of Monterrey the national center of the scene in this genre. Several of these groups have even transcended the national borders and made their way into other markets in Latin America and the United States[24].

In sum, along with its profound economic and social transformation and its demographic growth, Monterrey has also significantly changed in terms of its cultural life. There is an increase in cultural activities, not only in relation to the "high culture", but also in other aspects more related to mass culture, such as

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[23] Olvera (1998) offers an account of the history of "Colombian" music in Monterrey, as well as of its links with the culture of marginal neighborhoods.

[24] Indeed, several rock and pop groups of Monterrey have participated in musical festivals in the United States, including the SXSW festival in Austin. A chronicle of their participation in the most recent SXSW festival and a brief review of the rock and pop scene in Monterrey may be found in the articles of David Lynch and Josh Kun in the Austin Chronicle and the Austin American Statesman, respectively, published on March 15, 2002.

popular music. In addition, the cultural sphere has consolidated as a field with relative autonomy, encompassing specialized institutions, professional producers, and a variety of publics with different preferences, tastes, and demands. In this sense, the development of the cultural sphere reveals the rapid transformation of Monterrey from a "big little city" into a metropolis, as well as the importance of exploring the significance of the access to culture and the structuration of tastes, preferences, and life styles as emergent forms of social stratification in recent years.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE LABOR MARKET

In the previous sections I focused on the most important economic and demographic changes during the second half of the past century. However, I left aside labor market transformations because their relevance for the study of stratification and mobility demands a more detailed analysis. In this section I explore these labor market transformations, emphasizing the sectoral restructuring of Monterrey's workforce as well as the modifications in the occupational structure.

Sector, Firm Size, and Job Conditions

Table III-1 displays the distribution of the working population of Monterrey by economic sector for different years between 1966 and 2000. The first element to highlight is the strong concentration of the labor force in manufacturing activities in the 1960s, during the peak prosperity years of the model of accumulation based on the substitution of imports. In 1966, 40.9% of

the labor force worked in manufacturing activities, against 25.1% in services and 17.3% in commerce. This reflects the importance of manufacturing activities in the creation of job opportunities during the years of "inward-looking" development. By 1978, the last year with information before the debt-crisis, there was some increase in the proportion of workers in services (31.7%), as well as a moderate reduction in workers in manufacturing activities (36.5%), although the latter remained as the most important activity in terms of the number of workers.

Mainly as a result of the crisis, this situation changed drastically between 1978 and 1983. The relative weight of the labor force in manufacturing activities decreased from 36.5% to 31.1%, and the proportion of workers in services increased from 31.7% to 36.6%. The other sectors maintained their size, which suggests that during the first years of the crisis most of the decline of work in manufacturing activities was absorbed by services. The deterioration of work in the manufacturing sector continued in subsequent years. In 1987, practically at the end of the crisis, the proportion of workers in this sector had decreased to 27.3%, versus 39.0% of services and 18.8% of commerce. In sum, in less than a decade the sectoral structure of Monterrey´s labor market was radically transformed: manufacturing activities ceased to be the most dynamic sector in the creation of employment, giving way to services, and to a lesser extent to commerce, as the main sources of jobs in the city. This was one of the most important outcomes of the crisis of Monterrey's large corporations and the economy of the city as a whole at the beginning of the 1980s.

Between 1987 and 1994, employment in manufacturing activities continued decreasing, reaching a historical minimum of 24.5% in the latter year. This reduction took place even when Monterrey's largest corporations had already completed the most difficult steps of their restructuring by 1988 (Pozas 1993). During this period there was also an increase in the number of workers in commercial activities, from 18.8% to 22.5%. Finally, it is until the second half of the 1990s that there is a recovering of the labor force in manufacturing activities, with an increase in its relative size from 24.5% to 29.9% between 1994 and 2000. Nevertheless, service activities maintained their predominance, with 34.9% of workers in 2000[25].

An aspect to be considered is that the increase in services, and particularly their accelerated growth during the 1980s, was not only linked to the expansion of activities linked to capitalist production, such as finances or producer services, but also to the proliferation of small service firms oriented to consumers, which in many instances served as refugee activities for workers who could not find accommodation in the formal sectors of manufacturing and services. In 1990, only 16.9% of the workforce in services was dedicated to producer services, versus 39.2% in communal and social services (which includes employment in the

[25] It must also be noted that the current sectoral distribution of workers is very different for males and females. For men, manufacturing activities maintain their predominance (31.6% in 2000), closely followed by services (29.4%). Among women, employment concentrates in services (45.8%), although there are also high proportions in manufacturing activities (27.4%) and in commerce (23.7%). Other sectors, such as construction and transportation, continue to be almost exclusively dominated by males.

public sector), and 43.8% in personal services (Oliveira and García 2001: Table 2).

It is also important to note the outstanding role of the *maquiladoras* in the recent growth of employment in manufacturing. Table III-2 presents the percent growth of industrial employment by sub-sector between 1994 and 2000. After the basic metallic industries, one of the traditional industries in Monterrey that was strongly affected by the crisis and showed an important recovery in this period, the sub-sector that had the largest increase in workers was the production of electronic and electric equipment, with a growth of 98.7%. The accelerated growth of this sector made it, along with food, beverages and tobacco, the second largest type of industry in Monterrey in terms of the number of workers, with 14.3% of the labor force in 2000. The expansion of this sector is strongly linked to the proliferation of *maquiladoras* in the city, already documented in the previous section. As research has suggested, employment in the *maquiladora* sector is characterized by high rotation rates, instability, and the precariousness of work conditions, so it can be presumed that many of the new jobs in manufacturing do not have the quality of the positions that were generated by Monterrey´s industry prior to the crisis of the 1980s.

Another element that has characterized employment in Monterrey for several decades is the importance of large firms, which is closely linked to the prosperity of Monterrey's corporations. In 1965, 44% of men between ages 30 and 60 worked in firms with more than 50 workers and 31% did it in firms with 200 workers or larger. This concentration continued during the restructuring

process at the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s. In relation to this, Oliveira and García comment that during the 1990s:

> ...in Monterrey the accentuated reduction in public employment is compensated by the considerable increase of *salaried workers in middle-size and large private firms*. This sector of workers was already important at the beginning of the decade, and therefore the capital of Nuevo León remains as a urban area with an elevated concentration of capitalist activities (...). In this case, restructuring has been accompanied by the widening or persistence of labor opportunities in large and middle-size enterprises in manufacturing and services, which might indicate a more "successful" process in this respect[26]

Finally, the same can be mentioned in relation to the size and the evolution of the informal sector and precarious job conditions. The number of workers in activities often classified as "informal", such as workers without pay or the self-employed, is still considerable (4.6% and 17.0% in 1998, respectively, according to Oliveira and García), but their numbers are lower than the observed in Mexico City and Guadalajara. The proportions of salaried workers in private firms without benefits or with temporal or verbal labor contracts are also lower in Monterrey than in the other two metropolitan areas, suggesting again that the quality of the employment generated in the city during recent years is higher than the offered by other urban metropolis with similar characteristics.

In sum, the recent sectoral transformations of Monterrey's labor market, as well as the continuing predominance of employment in large firms, suggest a moderate improvement in labor conditions and job opportunities, especially in

[26] (Oliveira and García 2001: p. 669). Translated from the original in Spanish. Italics in the original.

relation to Mexico City and Guadalajara. However as we will see in greater detail in the following chapter, it is doubtful that the quality and benefits of the newly created jobs was similar to that prevalent prior to the decade of the 1980s.

The Reshaping of the Occupational Structure

The transformation of Monterrey's economy in the last quarter of the past century also translated into significant changes in the occupational structure. These transformations can be traced in Table III-3, which displays the distribution of the male working population for 1965 and for males and females in 1987 and 2000. The data for 1965 show the high concentration of the male working population in manual activities, a trend that is consistent with the predominance of manufacturing activities. In that year, more than half of male workers held manual jobs: 31.9% held skilled manual positions and 22.9% unskilled ones. Conversely, professional and managerial positions, as well as office jobs and other administrative positions, represented a smaller proportion of the labor force: professionals and managers represented 7.2% of workers; skilled white collar workers 8.0%, and clerical workers and sales agents 12.8%. Finally, 14.9% of men were unskilled service workers.

The lack of comparable information for the end of the 1970s does not allow us to trace the change in the occupational structure during the years immediately preceding the debt-crisis, although the sectoral evolution presented on Table III-1 suggests a possible trend towards the increase in non-manual occupations, linked to the moderate expansion of services. The available data is for 1987, when the economy of the city was at its lowest, just after the crisis and

right before its recovering. It is interesting then to find that, despite the precedent of several years of recession, there was an upgrading in the occupational distribution of the male population. Between 1965 and 1987, the proportion of managers and professionals increased from 7.2% to 10.0%, and the fraction of white collar workers in administrative activities (groups II.A and II.B) increased from 20.8% to 24.0%. In contrast, the importance of unskilled manual and service positions (groups IV.A and IV.B) decreased from 37.8% to 25.5%. The conclusion is that, despite the negative effects of the debt-crisis, there was a long-term upgrading trend in the occupational distribution, characterized by the expansion of non-manual positions and the contraction of employment in unskilled manual and service activities.

The increasing incorporation of women into the labor force was already evident in 1987. According to ENEU data, in that year the participation rate of women in employment was 32.5%, which was equivalent to 31.6% of the total number of workers in Monterrey. Table III-3 reveals that women's workforce was concentrated in three groups of occupations: clerical workers and sales agents (28.8%), unskilled service workers (24.5%) and skilled white-collar workers (23.4%). Their presence was less frequent in professional and managerial positions (5.6%), as well as in skilled (8.5%) and unskilled (0.4%) manual jobs. In this sense, it seems that the initial incorporation of women into the workforce in Monterrey took advantage of job openings in low level activities in services –such as janitorial jobs, domestic work, and other personal services--, as well as in lower and middle-level administrative and white-collar positions –i.e. secretaries and

primary school professors. Given that many of these positions were not attractive for men, it is doubtful that the initial increase in women's labor force participation represented a serious threat for their occupational aspirations.

The occupational structure of Monterrey continued its upgrading during the 1990s. This upgrading manifested mainly in the reduction of the proportion of workers in unskilled service activities (group IV.B), which decreased from 16.2% in 1987 to 12.4% in 2000, as well as in the increase in managerial and professional positions (from 8.6% to 11.8%) and in sales employees and control workers (from 7.5% to 9.9%). Notably, the proportion of clerical workers and sales agents *decreased* during this period, a trend that might have been associated with the reduction of employment in the public sector. In any case, the contrast between the occupational distributions of 1987 and 2000 reflects that the creation of non-manual positions continued during this period, a trend that reflects the continuation of the upward structural mobility pattern that was so characteristic of Monterrey (as well as of many other Latin American cities) prior to the decade of the 1980s.

Regarding the differences by sex, the progressive increase in women's labor force participation has been accompanied by a growing diversity in the type of occupations held by them. In the year 2000, the female's labor force participation rate reached 38.5% and the fraction of females in the total labor force was 33.8%. Women also entered positions that were almost exclusively reserved for men in the recent past. For instance, there was a considerably increase in the proportion of women in professional and managerial positions

(from 5.6% in 1987 to 11.8% in 2000). The participation of women also increased in skilled manual (from 8.5% to 14.4%) and unskilled manual (from 0.4% to 3.1%) occupations.

It can be argued that the rise in women's labor force participation translated into an increasing demand for jobs and therefore represented a new obstacle for the occupational attainment of men. However, it is also important to consider that most of the increase in female employment concentrates in occupations traditionally reserved to women, or in occupations with relatively low wages and/or benefits (with the outstanding exception of professionals and managers). On the other hand, men still represent the majority in top-level positions. This can be appreciated more clearly by considering the degree of feminization of the different occupations (Table III-4). In 2000, the three groups with the largest proportion of women included occupations that have been traditionally monopolized by women. Thus, in the case of clerical workers and sales agents, a group including secretaries and other low-level office laborers, the proportion of women is 55.1%; the group of unskilled services workers, which includes domestic employees, janitorial workers, and other workers in personal services, had 48.5% of women; and finally, in the group of skilled white collar workers, which includes pre-school, primary, and secondary school professors, the fraction of women was 44.5%. In addition, the largest increases in the feminization of occupations between 1987 and 2000 have taken place in skilled manual positions (10.5% to 18.7%) and unskilled manual positions (1.2% to 10.4%), which are not precisely the occupations with the highest prospects of

upward mobility. Finally, despite the increasing participation of women in professional and managerial positions (from 20.6% in 1987 to 31.6% in 2000), men still represent an overwhelming majority at the top of the occupational structure. In sum, these trends suggest that the increasing labor force participation of women did not represent a very substantial threat for the prospects of occupational attainment of Monterrey men during the last two decades.

FINAL REMARKS: HISTORICAL TIME AND INDIVIDUAL TIME IN MONTERREY

The material revised in this chapter allows us to visualize the extent of the social, economic, and cultural transformations experienced by Monterrey in the last quarter of a century. During this period, the city had to face not only the challenges of a collapsing national economy and changing international economic conditions, but also the demands associated with its own demographic and spatial expansion. Monterrey emerged from these challenges as a more complex city, with a more diversified economy, although still highly concentrated on a limited group of very strong private firms, and also with a set of new urban problems, such as urban transportation, pollution, and public safety. The social and cultural landscape of the city also suffered radical transformations: cultural life has increased and diversified, and the city has witnessed the emergence of authentic popular cultural movements that evince the emergence of new and varied urban identities.

This rapidly changing urban landscape is the scenario in which the lives of the men studied in this dissertation have elapsed. Some of these men, the members of the oldest cohorts, lived their entire childhood, the start of their occupational lives, and the consolidation of their job careers in conditions very similar to those described by Balán, Browning and Jelin in *Men in a developing society*. For the youngest ones, the situation has been of more abrupt structural changes, and thus they have been forced to adjust their own individual life course clocks to the fast pace of the historical clock marking the transformations experienced by the city.

In Table III-5 a schematic description of the coincidence of historical and individual time is presented, for three groups of cohorts that correspond to the years of birth of the men interviewed in the 2000 survey[27]. The men born between 1940 and 1950 spent their childhood between the 1940s and 1960s, entered into work in a period of high economic expansion and rapid industrialization of the city, and consolidated their occupational careers under similar favorable circumstances. During this period, the labor market of Monterrey offered plenty of opportunities in skilled manual positions in the growing manufacturing sector, although the supply of non-manual positions, and particularly those at the top of the occupational hierarchy such as professional and managerial jobs, was considerably limited. The conditions at childhood were similar for men born between 1951 and 1960, but by the time they reached the age of labor force entry –at the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s--, the city

[27] Balán, Browning and Jelin present in *Men in a Developing Society* (p.p. 58-59) a similar scheme for the birth cohorts of the 1965 survey (1905-1944).

was already experiencing the onset of its transition into a service economy, with a moderate expansion of services and commerce and the consequent increase in the supply of non-manual jobs. The economic circumstances had changed entirely by the time the members of this intermediate cohort arrived to the phase of consolidation of their work careers, during the decade of the 1980s. This crucial time in the lives of Monterrey men was much affected by the disruptions of the debt-crisis and subsequent economic restructuring, among them the contraction of employment in manufacturing activities and the negative impact of stabilization policies on real wages. Finally, men in the youngest cohorts (1961-1970) were exposed only during their childhood to the economic circumstances that characterized much of the experience of previous cohorts. These men arrived to adulthood in the midst of the economic crisis and restructuring of the 1980s. The years of consolidation of their occupational lives elapsed in a totally different landscape than that of their fathers or even of the men born ten years before, with a renewed economic growth, but this time based on a manufacturing industry oriented to the external markets, and in the expansion of all kinds of services and commerce. They also experienced during these formative and early adulthood years the transition of Monterrey into a *functional* metropolitan area, as well as the flourishing and increasing diversification of the cultural field, which significantly changed the landscape of daily life in a city that was so often accused in the past of lacking of its own cultural life.

This synchrony between historical time and individual time across the different birth cohorts must be kept in mind during the forthcoming analysis of

social stratification and occupational lives in Monterrey. From the perspective of social stratification, it is important to trace the effects of the economic, social, and economic transformations in the emerging forms of inequality among occupational groups. The recent structural changes are likely to have altered not only the size of the occupational groups, but also the "social distance" among them. I explore these transformations in Chapter IV, with special emphasis on the evolution of inequality patterns in income and educational levels, but also looking at differences in cultural dispositions, tastes, and life-styles, which might have emerged as an additional dimension of social stratification in recent times, after the boom and diversification of cultural life in the city.

In terms of occupational mobility, the precedent analysis suggests that, despite the negative short-term effects of the crisis, in the long-term the labor market of Monterrey continued its restructuring toward service-level positions. This translated into a gradual expansion of non-manual jobs, both unskilled and skilled, accompanied by the contraction of manual occupations. In this sense, the economic recession and economic restructuring of the 1980s and 1990s seem not to have interrupted the long-term trend of upward structural mobility that was so characteristic of the labor market of Monterrey during the substitution of imports model of accumulation, before the 1980s. Obviously, these trends do not inform us about the quality of the newly created jobs, and that is one of the reasons that make the analysis of wage trends presented in Chapter IV very relevant for our study. Also, from these overall trends it is not possible to discern which social groups benefited the most from the structural upgrading of the labor market, as

well as which were the most common paths followed by Monterrey workers in their occupational lives in order to attain better job positions. These issues are treated in chapters V, VI, and VII, where I take a look at intergenerational mobility, the process of occupational attainment, and the occupational trajectories of Monterrey men.

Table III-1. Distribution of Active Population by Type of Industry 1966-2000

	1966	1978	1983	1987	1991	1994	1998	2000
Extractive*	2.2	2.5	1.8	1.6	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.1
Manufacture	40.9	36.5	31.1	27.3	28.1	24.5	25.1	29.9
Construction**	7.7	8.5	9.5	8.8	7.3	9.4	9.8	9.2
Commerce	17.3	16.1	16.0	18.8	21.6	22.5	21.8	18.7
Transport	6.8	4.7	5.0	4.6	5.2	5.4	5.7	7.2
Services	25.1	31.7	36.6	39.0	37.0	37.8	37.1	34.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

* Includes farm activities
** Includes utilities

Sources: 1966: Balán 1968, p. 49; 1978, 1983: Pozos 1992, p. 186: 1987-2000: National Survey of Urban Employment, 2nd quarters

Table III-2. Distribution of Employment in Manufacturing Activities by Type of Industry in 2000 and Percent Growth in Employment Between 1994 and 2000

Type of Industry	% Distribution 2000	% Growth 1994-2000
Food, Drinks and Tobacco	14.6	24.5
Textiles, Garments, Leather, and footwear	7.8	-18.8
Wood Products	3.1	-3.2
Paper and Editorial Industries	7.1	60.9
Chemical and Oil-based Products	11.2	66.2
Other Non-Metallic Mineral Products	8.7	32.4
Basic Metallic Industries	6.1	123.6
Metallic Hardware and Machinery	15.1	28.8
Electric and Electronic Equipment	14.3	98.7
Automotive Industry	10.9	47.6
Other Industries	1.1	146.7
Total	**100.0**	**39.3**

Source: National Survey of Urban Employment (ENEU), Second Quarters, 1994 and 2000

Table III-3. Occupational Distribution of Workers Between Ages 20 and 60 in 1965, 1987, and 2000

Occupational Group*	1965	1987			2000		
	Males	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
I. Managers & Professionals	7.2	10.0	5.6	8.6	12.2	11.0	11.8
II.A. Skilled White-Collar Workers	8.0	13.6	23.4	16.7	14.2	22.2	16.9
II.B. Clerical Workers & Sales Agents	12.8	10.4	28.8	16.2	8.7	20.8	12.8
II.C. Sales Employees & Control Workers	2.4	6.9	8.8	7.5	9.6	10.6	9.9
III. Skilled Manual Workers	31.9	33.6	8.5	25.7	32.0	14.4	26.1
IV.A. Unskilled Manual Workers	22.9	13.2	0.4	9.1	13.7	3.1	10.1
IV.B. Unskilled Service Workers	14.9	12.3	24.5	16.2	9.7	17.8	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* See Appendix C for a description of this occupational classification
Sources: 1965: Monterrey Mobility Study Survey; 1987 and 2000: National Survey of Urban Employment (ENEU), Second Quarters

Table III-4. Proportion of Females within Occupational Groups, 1987 and 2000

Occupational Group	1987	2000
I. Managers & Professionals	20.6	31.6
II.A. Skilled White-Collar Workers	44.3	44.5
II.B. Clerical Workers & Sales Agents	56.1	55.1
II.C. Sales Employees & Control Workers	37.1	36.2
III. Skilled Manual Workers	10.5	18.7
IV.A. Unskilled Manual Workers	1.2	10.4
IV.B. Unskilled Service Workers	47.9	48.5
Total	**31.6**	**33.8**

Source: National Survey of Urban Employment (ENEU), Second Quarters

Table III-5. Schema of National and Local Conditions at Different Stages of the Life Course for Three Cohorts of Monterrey Men

	Stage of the Life Course		
Birth Cohort	Childhood (Less than 16 years of age)	Labor Force Entry (15-20 years of age)	Consolidation of Occupational Career (around 30 years of age)
1940-1950	High economic growth; Industrial expansion; abundance of skilled manual positions; few non-manual positions; underdevelopment of commerce, services, and cultural life	High economic growth; Industrial expansion; abundance of skilled manual positions; few non-manual positions; underdevelopment of commerce, services, and cultural life	High economic growth; Industrial expansion; abundance of skilled manual positions; limited non-manual positions; incipient development of commerce, services, and cultural life
1951-1960	High economic growth; Industrial expansion; abundance of skilled manual positions; few non-manual positions; underdevelopment of commerce, services, and cultural life	High economic growth; industrial expansion; abundance of skilled manual positions; moderate expansion of non-manual positions; incipient development of commerce, services, and cultural life	Economic recession-industrial restructuring; shrinking of manual positions; expansion of non-manual positions; rapid growth of commerce and services; metropolization of the city; incipient expansion of cultural life.
1961-1970	High economic growth; industrial expansion; abundance of skilled manual positions; moderate expansion of non-manual positions; incipient development of commerce, services, and cultural life	Economic recession-industrial restructuring; shrinking of manual positions; expansion of non-manual positions; rapid growth of commerce and services; metropolization of the city; incipient expansion of cultural life.	Moderate to high economic growth; renewed growth of manufacturing; expansion of both non-manual and manual positions; consolidation of services and commerce as principal activities; rapid expansion and diversification of cultural life.

IV. THE CONTINUING IMPORTANCE OF OCCUPATIONAL HIERARCHIES

Why is it relevant to study occupational stratification and mobility in Monterrey? I already enumerated several substantive reasons that make of this study and interesting case in the context of the broader debate about structural change, labor markets, and opportunity in Mexico and Latin America. However, these substantive reasons must find their ultimate justification in a more basic premise: studying patterns of occupational stratification and mobility is important because occupational hierarchies reflect economic, social, and cultural inequalities. The greater the "social distance" among members of different occupations, the more significant becomes studying patterns of stratification and mobility. On the contrary, if the inequality in welfare levels, assets and life experiences among individuals with different occupations is minimal, then the study of occupations and mobility across them should be relegated to the analysis of other dimensions that truly reflect social disparities.

It should not be surprising, given the subject of this dissertation, that my position is that in the case of Monterrey occupational hierarchies indeed reflect large economic, social, and cultural disparities, and therefore the study of occupational stratification is essential to understand current trends in social inequality. However, some precisions are necessary. As I will show later in this chapter, there are some indications of a reduction in the "social distance" among occupations in certain dimensions, as well as continuing inequalities in others. It is clear that a revision of the available empirical evidence on inequalities of

different sorts among occupations is necessary. This is the main objective of this chapter.

The historical emphasis of my inquiry introduces a second but equally relevant problem. As I described in the previous chapter, Monterrey has experienced profound economic, social, and demographic transformations in the last two decades. The question with all these changes is whether they have affected patterns of inequality among occupations. In order to explore this problem, here I trace the most significant changes in inequality levels in incomes and education among occupations between 1965 and 2000.

This basic organizing principle of this chapter is that the "social distance" among members of different occupations must be assessed by considering their position across two relatively autonomous but correlated dimensions: the material dimension, which centers in "the *distribution* of *material* resources and means of appropriation of socially scarce goods and values" (Wacquant 1992: p. 7), and the symbolic dimension, "in the form of systems of *classification,* the mental and bodily schemata that function as *symbolic* templates for the practical activities –conduct, thoughts, feelings, and judgments-- of social agents." (Ibid p.7) Following this distinction, in the first part of this chapter I focus on the economic aspects of occupational stratification, by contrasting differences among occupations in labor incomes and access to other assets. The second part centers on cultural aspects, exploring the extent in which occupational differences lead to distinct values, tastes, and life-styles among Monterrey men.

OCCUPATIONS AND MATERIAL INEQUALITY

The departing point of this section is that in establishing measures of inequality across occupations, it is necessary to consider not only one type of asset or resource (i.e. income), but also other types of assets that might bring advantages and privileges to their beholders. A simplified representation of this multidimensional approach may be achieved by utilizing the notion of "social space", introduced by Bourdieu to study material and symbolic distinctions among social classes in France (Bourdieu 1984). The social space is conceptualized as a structure of juxtaposition of social positions, which are defined "as positions in the structure of distribution of the various kinds of capital" (Bourdieu 2000: p. 134). Thus, according to this perspective:

> [...] social agents (...) are situated in a place in social space, a distinct and distinctive place which can be characterized by the position it occupies relative to other places (above, below, between, etc.) and the distance (...) that separates it from them.[28]

Of course, the initial task to elaborate such a representation of social space is defining which types of assets (or "species of capital", in Bourdieu's terminology) to consider. Bourdieu suggests that capital presents itself under three fundamental species, namely, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital (Bourdieu 1986). The notion of <u>economic capital</u> is the most widely known and it refers to those assets that are directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights. This particular form of capital is the most valuable, not only because it provides immediate access to

[28] (Bourdieu 1984: p. 134)

valuable goods, but also because it possesses the highest degree of convertibility into other forms of capital. Cultural capital may present itself in three variants: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. Here I am particularly interested in institutionalized cultural capital, that is, "the objectification of cultural capital in the terms of academic qualifications" (ibid p. 247) or, in plain terms, formal schooling and academic credentials. Finally, social capital represents "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition." (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: p.119)

The following sections focus on the distribution of economic and cultural capital among men in different occupational groups. I explore the income differential among occupations and its evolution over time. I also take a look to gaps in the possession of certain valuable household goods. Then I study inequalities in educational levels among occupations and their evolution over time. Finally, I integrate these two dimensions to obtain a general picture of the variations in the position of occupational groups in social space in 1965 and 2000. In relation to social capital, the available quantitative evidence is very limited, and therefore I will focus my presentation on the information obtained during the in-depth interviews, with the ultimate aim of illustrating the importance of social networks in the occupational attainment process and the need to analyze this problem in greater detail in future research.

Income Differentials

Table IV-1 presents average labor incomes[29] for men by occupation between 1987 and 2000, according to the detailed version of the occupational classification described on Appendix D. The top panel shows trends for Monterrey. The middle and bottom panels present equivalent data for Guadalajara and Mexico City, which might serve to situate Monterrey in the overall context of Mexican metropolitan areas. In the analysis of labor income trends, it is important to keep in mind the cycles of Mexican economy. The series start in 1987, a year of economic recession. The years between 1988 and 1994, those corresponding to the Presidency of Carlos Salinas, were of sustained economic growth. During the first two years of Ernesto Zedillo's Presidency (1995-1996), the country experienced a financial crisis. Finally, between 1997 and 2000 the national economy experienced some recovery and positive economic growth.

These fluctuations clearly shape labor income trends in the three cities. Virtually in all occupational categories, the overall pattern is similar: a) in 1987 average earnings are relatively low; b) there is a gradual increase between 1987 and 1994; c) earnings drop in 1995-1996; and d) earnings recovery between 1997 and 2000, but do not reach the levels observed in 1994.

However, this overall pattern should not conceal a more relevant feature: earning trends vary across occupational categories, thus altering the income gap

[29] Labor incomes are adjusted for inflation to their real value in August 2000, using National Index of Prices (El Banco de México 2001).

among occupations. A clearer representation of these trends may be visualized in Figure IV-1, which presents the series for Monterrey. The graph reveals that:

1. There is a trend towards greater inequality in average earnings between top-level occupations (group I.A) and the rest of occupations. This trend shows itself more clearly between 1987-1994. It is somewhat reversed during and immediately after the recession years of 1995-1996, but seems to regain momentum in 1999 and 2000.
2. A similar but less marked trend can be identified between skilled white-collar workers (II.A) and workers in lower occupational groups. It is remarkable the increase in the gap with clerical workers and sales agents (II.B). In 1988, the average income of these two groups was similar. In 2000, wages for skilled non-manual workers had increased an average of 46%, while earnings for unskilled non-manual workers remained in the same levels of 1988.
3. Finally, there are moderate gains in incomes among manual workers, despite the generalized drops of 1995-1996. The average earnings for skilled manual workers increased from 2,870 pesos to 3,680 pesos between 1987 and 2000, and equivalent increases are observed for unskilled manual workers and unskilled workers in services (IV.A and IV.B).

The overall picture that emerges from these trends is one of an increasing labor earnings gap between men at the top of the occupational structure and workers in lower level occupations. Even white-collar workers in skilled

positions, such as intermediate supervisors, school teachers and technicians (group II.A) have not escaped to this course of events, since the distance in incomes among them and professionals and managers has also widened. However, from another perspective, they have maintained their earnings advantage against manual workers. The same can be said about foremen and sales employees (II.C), but not about clerical workers and sales agents (II.B), who did not experience significant gains in their earnings and therefore lost some of their income advantage against manual workers. In sum, these results show that during the last decade the income gap in favor of men in top level positions has widened, but the distance between some lower white-collar positions and manual occupations has decreased, thus giving some indications of a polarization of incomes in two groups of high- and low-earnings workers.

One of the limitations of this analysis is the absence of information before 1987. It must be remembered that minimal wages reached a historical maximum at the end of the 1970s and that the country experienced a severe economic crisis between 1982 and 1986. These years also correspond to a period of deep transformation in Monterrey's productive structure, already described in Chapter III. The information between 1987 and 2000 only captures the last part of this restructuring period and therefore it can lead to misleading interpretations of long-term trends in the evolution of earnings. A detailed perspective of such long-term trends would only be obtained if we had the complete series of earnings from the end of the 1970s to the present.

The lack of data for the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, however, does not impede us from taking a look to long-term trends in incomes using the data collected by Balán, Browning and Jelin in 1965. These data are presented in Table IV-2, along with the equivalent distribution for ENEU 2000[30]. The most evident feature resulting from the comparison of 1965 and 2000 is the overall decrease in real labor incomes. The proportion of men with intermediate earnings (between 2,725 and 8,173 pesos) has reduced from 71% to 49%, while men receiving low wages (less than 2,725 pesos) have increased from 13% to 34%. At the same time, the fraction of men receiving more than 8,174 pesos is similar in both years (16% vs. 17%). The combination of these trends suggests again a polarization process in the overall distribution of earnings, characterized by the reduction in the number of occupations offering middle-level incomes and the relative abundance of low-paid positions.

The evolution of the occupational distribution over time presented in Chapter III indicates an overall upgrading in Monterrey's occupational structure between 1965 and 2000. With jobs at the bottom of the occupational structure being replaced by white-collar occupations, how to explain the overall reduction in the proportion of men receiving middle-level incomes and the increase in men receiving low incomes?

To answer this question it is necessary to take a closer look to income trends <u>within</u> occupations. The first remarkable feature in the 1965 distribution is

[30] The data is displayed using the wage groups of the 1965 data set. The equivalent cutoff points for 2000 were obtained by adjusting the 1965 wages for inflation to their value in 2000.

the clear correlation between occupational groups and income levels. The proportion of men in the lower income categories tends to increase as the occupational category changes from professionals and managers to unskilled manual workers in services. A second important characteristic of the 1965 distribution is the relative low dispersion in the distribution of incomes within occupations. With the exception of group II.A, in all occupational groups two contiguous categories group at least 70% of the total number of cases. This concentration is specially notable among professionals and managers, where 99% of men received a wage higher than 8,174 pesos, but it is also present among workers in groups II.B and II.C, where more than 70% received at least 4,416 pesos, groups III.B and IV.A, where more than 78% received between 2,725 and 8,173 pesos, and the lowest occupational group, where almost 85% of men reported a wage lower than 4,415 pesos.

These patterns reveal a stratification system characterized by gradational rewards and high consistency between occupations and incomes. At the highest end of the occupational distribution, professionals and men in managerial activities had guaranteed access to high incomes. Many men in intermediate and lower level white-collar positions did not get such high incomes, but in exchange these positions practically secured the access to a middle-level salary. A similar process occurred within skilled non-manual positions, with the notable advantage of foremen and "blue collar salesmen" (group II.C), where more than 40% of men were in the highest income category. Finally, the lowest incomes were those

of men in unskilled manual positions, although it is important to remark that their fate was not inevitably linked to very low incomes.

The situation by 2000 has significantly changed in several ways. The correlation between occupations and incomes prevails, but it is less marked than in 1965. The dispersion in income levels within occupational groups also increases, with the exception of unskilled manual workers (groups IV.A and IV.B), who concentrate in the lowest earnings category more than in the past. A middle-level position, both in manual and non-manual activities, no longer guarantees a middle-level salary: the proportion of men receiving 2,725 pesos or less has increased to 33% among unskilled non-manual workers, 30% among foremen and sales employees, and 39% among skilled manual workers. At the top of the occupational hierarchy, professionals and managers still obtain the highest income, but the certainty of high earnings has disappeared: 37% of men in top-level positions received less than 8,174 pesos, against 1% in 1965.

These trends suggest a transition from a regime of high consistency between positions and earnings to another where the access to higher-level positions is still a necessary but not anymore a sufficient condition to obtain higher incomes. More than in the past, a place at the bottom of the occupational structure is linked to a low income, but men who attain middle-level positions no longer have guaranteed a significant improvement in their salaries, as they did 35 years ago. At the other extreme of the occupational hierarchy, top-level positions still give men the assurance of not falling at the bottom of the income

distribution, but are not necessarily linked to top-level earnings, as they were in the past.

The precedent analysis provides a more detailed perspective of historical changes in the relevance of occupational stratification and mobility in Monterrey. As economic transformations gave way to higher structural mobility from manual to non-manual positions, the latter became less clearly indicative of a privileged place in the income distribution. Under these circumstances, an increasing number of men could have been able to attain higher job positions both in relation to their own previous jobs and their father's occupation, but many of these upward-movers found that their occupational attainment did not deliver a higher income. It is important to keep in mind this increasing inconsistency between occupations and rewards when analyzing occupational mobility trends in the following chapters.

Ownership of Commodities

Even when the trends just described point to some reduction in the social distance among low-level and middle-level occupations, this in no way means that standards of living are similar among them. The available evidence on the access to other material resources indicates that the gap among occupations persists, despite the increasing inconsistency between job positions and reward levels. In this section I present this evidence in relation to the access to valuable material goods within the household, as well as the possession of automobiles.

Table IV-3 presents the proportion of men who declared possessing certain consumer durables, as well as having access to certain services in their

household, obtained from the Monterrey 2000 survey. The items are listed in descending order according to the dissimilarity index, which measures the extent in which any particular good or service is unequally distributed across occupational groups. Before proceeding with the description of the table it is necessary to introduce some caveats to the analysis. Since these figures report consumer goods within the household, they may be correlated not only to the consumption power of the respondent, but also to the extent in which other household members contribute to the household economy. It is also important to note that, due to their cumulative nature, the access to the consumer durables listed on the table does not necessarily indicate current consumption patterns, but may also reflect consumption behaviors that took place months or years ago. For these reasons, the conclusions obtained from the data in table IV-3 may differ from those of the previous table.

It should not come as a surprise that the first item in the list is personal computers, an expensive and relatively newly introduced household good. Even in developed countries, where lower prices make electronics more accessible to new technology, there is evidence that points to the existence of a "digital divide" between those who can afford access to computers and the internet at home and "the information poor", a group where those with lower income and education levels are over represented (U.S. Department of Commerce 2000). Higher prices of personal computers and greater income inequalities make the situation worse in developing countries. In the case of Monterrey, the data shows that the "digital divide" closely follows the contours of our occupational classification. At the top

of the occupational structure, almost 70% of professionals and managers have a personal computer at home. These rates of ownership sharply drop among semi-skilled and unskilled white-collar workers (31% and 24%, respectively), and keep decreasing as we move down in the occupational hierarchy, reaching a minimum of 3% among unskilled industrial workers (Group IV.A). In other terms, the odds of owning a personal computer are at least ten times higher for men at the top of the occupational distribution than for men at the bottom. The dissimilarity index indicates that in order to obtain an even distribution of computers across occupational groups, 37.6% of the computers would need to be transferred from the wealthiest to the poorest households.

The following two items in the list are cable and TV dish services and dishwashers. In the case of cable and TV dish services, the differences among occupations are likely to reflect not only income gaps but also patterns of spatial segregation, because cable TV companies do not provide the service in low-income neighborhoods. The access to paid television reaches 64% among men in top-level occupations and 42% among skilled white-collar workers, against only 7% among unskilled manual workers. The situation with the distribution of dishwashers must be analyzed apart, because this consumer durable has very low overall use rates[31]. Still, the distribution of dishwashers is very unequal among occupations: the ownership of dishwashers rises to 8% among professionals and managers, versus 1% among unskilled manual workers.

[31] The survey estimates that only 3% of households have a dishwasher, against 22% with a personal computer, the next scarcer item among those listed in table IV-3. The low use of dishwashers may be associated with the relative low cost of domestic service

The next five items present a moderate unevenness in their distribution, with dissimilarity indexes ranging from 0.202 to 0.099. The list is headed by microwave ovens, which are widely used in the households of men in top-level occupations (91%) and skilled non-manual positions (70%), but only moderately present in the households of manual workers (26% to 47%, depending on the occupational group). Air conditioners, which represent a valuable commodity in a weather that is hot from March to September and usually reaches 100 or more Fahrenheit degrees during the summer, are also present in most white-collar workers' households (61% to 86%). The use of air conditioners is also high in top-level manual workers' households (60%), but drops below 40% among workers in other manual occupational groups.

Finally, three items are so widely distributed that they do not represent anymore a source of inequality among occupations: washing machines, kitchen blenders, and televisions. Virtually all Monterrey households have a kitchen blender and a television[32]. Of course, this does not mean it has always has been so, or that the apparent "TV democracy" might be hiding more subtle forms of inequality. It is not difficult to imagine that the ownership of a television set or a blender were more indicative of high status and standards of living in 1965 than today. On the other hand, the inequality in the access to cable and TV dish services already shows that the difference might not be in the ownership rates of

[32] Kitchen blenders are perhaps the most popular wedding present in Monterrey. It is not unusual for couples to receive two or three kitchen blenders as wedding presents. Ironically, this trend is reinforced by the same newly wed couples, because many decide to recycle the "surplus" of blenders by using them as presents in future weddings.

television sets, but in the quality of the set and the services attached to it. In other words, it is not the same to watch the Sunday soccer game in a 15" TV with a blurred signal than in a 25" home theater system with the clarity of TV dish digital broadcasting.

Another valuable commodity in Mexican cities is the automobile. In developing societies, where overall income levels are lower and credit for automobiles is very scarce, the ownership of a car is more important indicator of status and standards of living than in developed countries. The automobile ownership rates by occupation[33] (top panel of table IV-4) reveal these patterns of privilege and exclusion: almost 90% of men in top-level occupations report owning an automobile. More than half of them own two or more. The proportions of car owners drop to around 70% among men in other white-collar occupations, 55% among foremen and sales employees, 35% among skilled manual workers, and less than 28% among unskilled manual workers[34]. When we turn our attention to the year of the most recent automobile (bottom panel of Table IV-4) another dimension of inequality emerges: as we move down in the occupational hierarchy, the proportion of men with old automobiles (built before

[33] In interpreting table IV-4 it is necessary to exert the same cautions than in household consumer durables, because the data do not refer to personal ownership but to automobile ownership within the household.

[34] These remarkable levels of inequality in car ownership rates persist despite the closeness of Monterrey to the United States, which tends to alleviate the problem by providing access to old, used American cars for middle- and low-income families. It is not legal to import these cars, but faced with necessity and tempted by lower resale prices in Texas, many ignore these regulations. City authorities estimate that the number of illegally introduced cars ("carros chuecos") circulating in Monterrey by March 2001 might be as high as 120,000 (El Norte 2001).

1985) notably increases, from 6% among professionals and managers to 68% and 49% among unskilled industrial and service manual workers, respectively.

In sum remarkable levels of occupation-based inequality persist in the access to valuable commodities. Professionals and managers stand apart as the most privileged group, but there is also an important gap between men in middle-level occupations and men in unskilled manual activities. This suggests that despite the reduction of labor earning differentials among middle-level and low-level occupations, the position in the occupational structure is still an important marker of differences in standards of living. Of course, there is not available data allowing us to follow the differences in the access to commodities and thus we are not able to establish whether the gap between middle-level and low-level occupations has declined over time, a hypothesis that seems plausible given the evolution of labor incomes. In any case, the evidence for 2000 shows that these differences persist and therefore occupations are still valid as categories to study social stratification and mobility in Monterrey.

The Educational Gap

At the beginning of this section I emphasized the importance of including the access to different types of assets or "species of capital" in the analysis of the significance of occupational stratification. So far, I have focused on occupation-related differences in the access of Monterrey men to economic capital and other commodities that can be directly accessed with it, such as household consumer durables and automobiles. Now I point my attention to gaps in the access to cultural capital in its institutionalized form, namely formal education.

The relationship between education and occupational achievement has long been acknowledged in social stratification research. In their classic study, Blau and Duncan found that education was the single most important predictor of occupational attainment. Remarkably, Browning and colleagues' findings in Monterrey concluded that the predictive power of education on attainment was even larger than in the United States (Balán, Browning, and Jelin 1973: p. 164). The evidence for 2000 indicates that education is still closely related to occupational attainment, although there are important changes that I will discuss in following chapters.

In this section, instead of analyzing the effect of education on attainment, I am interested on exploring what differences in formal schooling can tall us about the "social distance" among occupations. Two features make of formal education a distinctive indicator of social inequality. First, formal education is usually obtained in the early stages of the life course and it requires the investment of large amounts of time –individual time, but also time "free of economic necessity" provided by the family--. Therefore, formal education is linked to social and family origins. A second distinctive feature of formal education is that it presents itself in the institutionalized form of academic qualifications (academic degrees, titles, certificates, etc.). These qualifications share a market value that is independent of the beholder and is largely determined by the "officially recognized" amount and quality of skills associated with them, as well as the overall scarcity of these skills at any given time and place. Thus, gaps in formal schooling not only expose differences in social origins among

members of different occupations, but also reveal how these differences become institutionalized as formal requirements demanded to achieve certain job positions.

Table IV-5 presents the average years of education by occupation for Monterrey, Guadalajara and Mexico City men, in 1965, 1987, 1994, and 2000. During this period, the average years of education almost doubled from 5.0 to 9.7, reflecting the massive increase in the access to formal education in the last three decades. These gains, however, are not equally distributed: among professionals and managers, the average years of education increased only 2.8 years (from 12.3 to 15.1). In contrast, skilled non-manual workers (group II.A) and foremen and sales employees (group II.C) present the largest gains (5.6 years and 5.4 years, respectively), followed by unskilled manual workers in services (4.7 years) and their counterparts in industrial activities (4.2 years).

The interpretation of these results is difficult because "ceiling effects" have limited further gains in years of education among men at the top of the occupational hierarchy, many of whom already had or were close to the maximum of 16 years (equivalent to a college degree) in 1965. But despite these ceiling effects, important differences among occupations persist. For instance, in 2000 the average unskilled manual service worker had 7.1 years *less* of formal education than the average man in a managerial or professional position. In other words, the formal education assets of managers and professionals almost doubled those of unskilled manual workers.

Another way of visualizing differences in education is analyzing, instead of years of schooling, the distribution of men by maximum educational level, as table IV-6 shows. The analytical advantage of this alternative is that it represents differences in schooling as they present to men in the labor market, because schooling requirements in the recruiting process are stated in terms of achieved degrees and not in terms of years of education[35]. The results in the table suggest that, when levels are considered instead of years of formal education, the educational divide between men in non-manual and manual occupations remains and even sharpens. The difference is that today the threshold that divides men in manual and non-manual activities is secondary education, whereas in 1965 it was complete primary education. The detailed analysis of these trends can be summarized as follows:

1. The selectivity of men in Professional and Managerial positions has significantly increased: in 1965, only 55% of men in this group had any college education, against 88% in 2000. In other words, the group that possesses the most privileged job positions is increasingly integrated by men with extensive educational training who share similar educational trajectories, whereas in 1965 there was a mix between men with middle-level (secundaria) and high-level education.

[35] Employers seek for individuals with "elementary education finished" or a "high school certificate", instead of individuals with six or nine years of schooling. Thus, rewards associated with a single additional year of formal education may be much larger when this additional year implies the acquisition of a degree (i.e. the increase from five to six completed years of schooling) than when it does not imply such achievement (i.e. from third to fourth grade). These important differences are concealed when we only attend to the average years of schooling.

2. The concentration of schooling levels within middle-level occupations (groups II.A to II.C) also persisted, although the dominant educational groups changed. In 1965, around 90% had an education level between primary incomplete and secondary. By 2000, a similar proportion had secondary education or more. In this sense, men in middle-level occupations became more similar to professionals and managers in their educational experiences, although there are still large differences among them in the access to college education.
3. Finally, there is also an upgrading in the educational level of men in manual occupations (groups III.B to IV.B). In 1965, only a limited number of men in these occupational groups had completed primary school, and very few achieved secondary or higher education. Conversely, in 2000 a complete primary education was the norm and many men have some secondary schooling. However, the increases in preparatory and college education are minimal in relation to those observed among men in middle-level occupations. As a result, the gap in formal schooling between men at the bottom and the middle of the occupational hierarchy increased.

In sum, these results point to the persistence of important differences in formal education, despite the large overall increases in schooling observed in recent decades. In both years there is a clear division of occupations in three large groups, the first integrated by professionals and managers (I), the second by what we could call "middle level occupations" (groups II.A to II.C), and the third by manual workers in the lowest positions (groups III.B to IV.B). However, the

locus of the most significant gaps has changed. In 1965, the larger differences in formal education were between men in top-level and middle-level occupations, whereas men in lower white-collar positions and manual workers shared relatively similar levels of education. By 2000, the differences in education between men in top-level and middle-level positions persisted but were somewhat reduced, while the gap between the latter and manual positions widened.

An integrated Perspective

The first and most important conclusion that emerges from the analysis above is that positions in the occupational structure are still correlated to the access to economic and educational resources among Monterrey men. However, the data also indicate that the access to these resources has changed over time; that these variations are not homogeneous across occupations; and that the pattern of variation changes depending on whether we consider earnings or schooling as individual dimensions. With all these trends in play, it is difficult to reach an overall conclusion about trends over time in material inequality among occupations.

A graphic representation of the conjoint variations in earnings and schooling may be obtained by mapping these changes over time, as figure IV-2 illustrates. The graph shows the location of occupational groups in the "social space" created by the juxtaposition of economic and educational resources available to their members, measured in terms of median incomes and educational levels. The arrows trace changes in the location of occupational

groups between 1965 and 2000, thus indicating their long-term trajectory over time across this imaginary social space.

The graph serves as a summary of the transformations described earlier in this section. The most remarkable feature emerging from the graph is that in 1965 earnings were the most important dimension of inequality between manual (groups III to IV.B) and lower non-manual occupations (groups II.A to II.C), whereas in 2000 the income gap significantly decreased and educational differences became more relevant. The only occupational group that escaped this trend was that of skilled non-manual workers (II.A), which despite the important decrease in real average incomes still shows significantly higher earnings than lower-level occupational groups. The graph also illustrates how top-level occupations (group I) maintain the most privileged position both in relation to economic and educational assets, despite the large drop in median incomes between 1965 and 2000. Finally, the overall trends for Monterrey men (labeled as "Total" in the graph) are of a net gain in educational levels and only a moderate reduction in labor incomes. This overall reduction in incomes would have been much larger in the absence of the structural upgrading of the occupational distribution described in the previous chapter.

The complexity of these transformations defies any simplistic conclusion about long-term trends in the association between occupational hierarchies and social inequality in Monterrey. There is no doubt that men in top-level jobs have maintained an advantaged position, but the panorama is less clear when we contrast lower non-manual and manual occupations. The income gap reduction

between these two broad occupational groups suggests that disparities in life experiences and living standards are less marked than in the past. This finding also provides some support to the popular notion of a "shrinking middle class", according to which the position of the middle class has gradually degraded until resemble that of the most disadvantaged. However, significant gaps in educational levels persist, as well as disparities in the access to valuable goods like consumer durables and automobiles. These enduring inequalities suggest that it would be a mistake to assume that all differences between manual and lower non-manual occupations have disappeared.

In sum, the analysis presented in this section suggests that income inequalities among occupations have decreased, especially at the middle and the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, but differences in education and other resources persist. The material distinctions between occupations are still significant, but it is important to keep in mind this long-term narrowing movement in labor incomes later in our analysis, when we study occupational mobility trends among Monterrey men.

Some Notes on the Importance of Social Capital

As I mentioned before, the unavailability of data on the magnitude and characteristics of social networks is a major obstacle for the incorporation of social capital to the analysis presented above. However, the quantitative information available, as well as the data obtained during the in-depth interviews, suggest that: a) social capital plays a very important role in the job searching process among Monterrey men; b) this importance is not limited to men with a

particular social origin, class background, or occupational standing, but extends across social and class boundaries; and c) the inequality in social capital among men with different occupational positions is not necessarily related to the frequency of utilization of social networks, but to the quality of these networks.

The overall importance of social networks in the occupational attainment process reflects in the proportion of men who declared to have obtained their jobs by the intermediation of a relative, friend or acquaintance, either in a direct way –i.e. the tie directly hired the respondent— or in an indirect way –the tie informed the respondent about the position, or the tie not only informed the respondent but also talked to the appropriate person within the firm in favor of the respondent. From a total of 4,435 new jobs[36] reported in the 2000 survey, 35.7% were "obtained by means of a relative or friend working in the firm", and 18.4% with help of "a relative or friend (who) gave information about the availability of the position". That is, in more than half of the cases (54.1%) there was a direct intervention of a social tie in the attainment of an occupational position. In addition, within the 6.6% of new jobs that represented the opening or acquisition of a business, in almost half of the cases (46%) this new step was achieved "with the help of friends and relatives" or by "taking charge of the family business".

The relevance of social ties extends to men of all class backgrounds, as well as to the attainment of positions at all levels of the occupational hierarchy. Thus, for example, similar proportions of men declared to have benefited from

[36] That is, excluding job positions that are the result of a promotion or a demotion within a firm, which account for 963 of the job spells reported in the survey.

the intervention of a friend, relative or acquaintance in the attainment of their first job, independently of whether their father was a professional or manager (56%) or an unskilled manual worker (60%). Also, the proportion utilizing their social ties was significantly high both for men entering higher non-manual positions (47%) and lower non-manual occupations (60%).

These descriptive figures illustrate the centrality of social networks in the occupational attainment process in Monterrey. The instrumental value of these networks was also evident during the in-depth interviews, where the interrelationship between men's occupational trajectories and their family and friendship ties was a recurrent theme. Let us consider as an initial example the start of the occupational trajectory of Mario, a man with an entire career in manual positions[37]:

> Question: Between dropping school and age 17, what did you do?
>
> Mario: That was a long period… I used to visit my cousin, he worked in Avenida Madero, disassembling cars and stuff like that… then he told me 'they need a boy here to wash pieces (…) if you want to I can go with you so you can do that job and receive a pay'. Ok, I said. I was there for a month or so (…), then my brother accommodated me in 'Cementera del Norte'. I was there for a year, and then a cousin tells me: 'hey, here in the 'Mantequera Lirio' (…) they are looking for a laboratory assistant'. I told him: 'accommodate me there'. He said: 'yes, you will see, I will talk to them'. And immediately after, the next day, he told me: 'come to take a little test they will apply you there, and from there they will see if you get the job'. Well, I was very lucky because I was wrong in one of the little problems of the test, but the man in production

[37] More information on the respondents and the methodology of the in-depth interviews may be found in Appendix E.

> told me: 'OK, from tomorrow you start your job as a laboratory assistant'.

This case shows how a complete sequence of jobs, including occupations in the formal sector, can relate closely to social ties. These ties, and particularly the connections that individuals acquire through their family network, play a predominant role as suppliers of information and "contacts" within firms, but also as a source of other resources, such as apprenticeship and credit, which might result of strategic value during the initial stages of the occupational attainment process. The cases of Eduardo, a "maistro albañil" (mason), and Luis, the manager and owner of a travel agency, illustrate how family ties, and particularly parental resources, are important at both ends of the occupational spectrum. This is the testimony of Eduardo:

> Question: You mentioned that when you are a mason helper, you have to work very hard to become a master ('maistro'). What else do you need?
>
> Eduardo: More than anything, to happen to have a good teacher. In my case I happened to have my father…

And regarding the current relationship with his father:

> Question: What does your father do now?
>
> Eduardo: He is still working… he gets a job and if another job shows up I do it. Then he finishes his job and, if I am doing a job, he comes to work with me and vice versa. But we are always together, since… for several years, since I was 19…

The situation of Luis is completely different. Raised in a wealthy family, he had the chance to attend to a private university and stretch there his social networks. So, when he finished his studies:

> I had an acquaintance and went there with him to ask him for a job (…) one job they offered me was a market research project, very interesting. Another one was a job in a factory of industrial garments (…), where I would work in sales outside the city…

He finally took that job as a sales supervisor, but the pay was not good and, in addition, he wanted to marry. Here it is the description of what happened:

> I was going to get married, and my father offered me a real estate project of development of housing. He asked me: 'where are you going to live?' I answer: "I don't know". So he tells me: 'Ok, here you have this real estate project'. Very interesting project, because it was about creating a constructing firm, ask for a credit for the lots, a big credit, develop a project of eighteen high-level houses, with marble and everything, but not very big houses. That was in 1994 and then…
>
> Interviewer: But it was entering this project as what? To help him or what?
>
> Luis: No. He gave me the idea. He told me: 'here you have this, why don't you do it', and gave me five thousand dollars to start the firm, but in reality I made the job and the firm. I created the firm, asked for the credit, and built the houses…

These two cases show how the most elemental social ties --those established with the members of the family of origin— represent often a fundamental asset in the occupational attainment process. Gerardo, who had a career of more than 20 years in the state oil company PEMEX, offers a final example:

> When I finished my college degree I went with my father to work in a business that he had (…). He used to be the manager of that business, but since the company was closed, he kept the business and owned it… I worked with him until he died. Then, my brothers --my two brothers worked in PEMEX--, a little while after that my two brothers invited me to work with them in

> PEMEX (…) I thought I will go to work with them only for a while just to make them stop bothering me (…). I thought I would work there for a day or two, or two weeks, or one month, and stayed there for twenty years.

It shall not result surprising then that interviewees assign a high instrumental value to social ties. Carlos, with a career as a medium-level manager and professor in the Tecnológico de Monterrey, expresses that importance in this way:

> Carlos: If I want to get promoted in a Latin American organization, I may try to apply for positions, and there are people who do that, although I have never done it. But there is also the chance that somebody else recommends you, and to achieve that you must be a good collaborator (…) There are different personalities (…) There are people who are more introverted, more developers of their own things, more of being in the office doing their work. There are people who are more outgoing and sociable and that like to collaborate with others, people who like to solve problems…
>
> Interviewer: And in that matter, do you feel that people who are more sociable have greater opportunities of development?
>
> Carlos: For these kinds of jobs, yes (…). Not necessarily in your personal life, but in your work life. I am a weird case, with my wife (…) we do not go out at nights (…), but when it is about work and you tell me that I must go and have dinner with somebody, I do it and enjoy it (…).
>
> Interviewer: But one thing is work and another thing friendship. To what extent can friendship have an influence…?
>
> Carlos: OK, but I think that friends are going to take you to good referrals and good job positions.
>
> Interviewer: Even within the institution?

> Carlos: Even within the institution (…). Maybe friendship allows you for a second opportunity when you make a mistake, but does no give you the first opportunity. Your first opportunity does not come because you are friends with somebody… at least that is what I have experienced.

In retrospect, the results of the survey and the in-depth interviews clearly point to the great instrumental value of social networks during the occupational attainment process. These results also indicate that strong ties, such as parents and other family members, play the most important role in the initial attainment process, although there is also evidence regarding the value of weaker ties, such as friends and acquaintances. Additionally, it can be concluded that the utilization of social ties is generalized among men of all class backgrounds, and therefore social networks can be conceived as an important resource independently of men's social origins or occupational standing.

How can then social capital constitute an additional dimension of inequality among individuals with different occupational positions? The key to answer to this question rests in the conceptual distinction between social networks and social capital. All individuals have social networks, but the "instrumental value" of these networks, that is, the potential resources that an individual can invoke by virtue of the set of social relationships that he possesses, significantly varies according to the social position of his social ties. In other words, an individual may have a very wide net of relatives, friends, and acquaintances, but this network may result of little instrumental value due to the low social position of these ties. On the contrary, the availability of a single well-

positioned contact may provide a valuable access to resources and good job opportunities.

The difference that it makes to possess that social capital was already illustrated by the cases of Eduardo and Manuel cited above. In the case of Eduardo, his available social capital gave him only to become a "maistro albañil", while in the case of Manuel it gave him the "know-how" and also the initial financial resources to start his own real estate business. The disadvantages of not possessing social capital are also clearly acknowledged by the two interviewees who have obtained a college degree and are currently struggling to make their way into the top of Monterrey's social hierarchy. One of them is Roberto, an architect who has struggled to start its independent firm and have a share in the business of housing construction for the Monterrey elite. In this segment he talks about his previous job as an employed architect in a prestigious portfolio:

> Interviewer: Did you see people, guys, who had a job trajectory that surpassed you?
>
> Roberto: Yes, there is one. Well, not in the moment in which I was in the office, because casually all the new architects have been people graduated from the UANL, with the exception of his niece, who was from the TEC[38]. But I knew about one person that was in the process of leaving the office when I entered to work there. That guy has more or less my age and he already has his own office. How? Because… somebody knows him, the other one knows him too, and since he is already an architect, he has already his office, then they give him work. That is, he is one of them. That is… 'give me and I give you'. And that is the way they do things, giving him jobs. He lasted only two years with Memo[39] and that was enough to become an independent architect. And he has

[38] The UANL and TEC are the public and private universities, respectively.
[39] The director and owner of the firm of architects.

> my age. In other words, I think that if I had not this economic level I have, I would have an office already and I would be making the same money than Memo, but it is not like that…

There are two remarkable aspects of this testimony. One is a subtle recognition of the superiority of the TEC as a school, not necessarily in relation to its academic quality, but in terms of prestige[40]. But there is also recognition, expressed with some bitterness, of the obstacles that the interviewee has faced because he is not "one of them", and therefore he lacks access to the contacts and social relationships that would have facilitated his independence, contacts that are only available for insiders, that is, the members of the Monterrey elite.

The situation is different for José Angel, a doctor who has made his career in the public sector (IMSS and Secretary of Health) as a practitioner and in medium-level administrative tasks. He has seen another dimension of social capital, which is still very common both in the public and private sector: the "amiguismo" or "influyentismo", that is, the importance of informal ties with individuals in privileged positions as a mechanism to get appointed to jobs. Instead of the bitterness of Roberto, José Angel expresses his opinion with a mix of sarcasm and anger, by referring to the importance of "palancas"[41]

> Interviewer: For the young people who are starting, what do you think they need to make it now?
>
> José Angel: I don't know… *palancas*.
>
> Interviewer: Really?

---

[40] I will go back to this issue in Chapter V, where I discuss current trends of educational attainment in Monterrey.

[41] The term "palancas" is widely used in Mexico as a synonym of "influences" or "pulls".

José Angel: Yes. I feel so. That is what I have heard and seen. Yes, I feel that you need many *palancas*… many people have very brilliant vitas and even so they don't get a job…

Interviewer: If a person does not study, can he make it with *palancas*?

José Angel: It depends. If he is going to get into a job where it is not necessary to study, they get the job. But in the medical profession you need *palancas*, honestly. There are many unemployed doctors and specialists who are around, in the streets, and they do not get a job because (…) they do not have somebody who helps them (…) and then, in the hospital, we had a group of students who failed a test (…). One of the interns is, as people say, "daughter of daddy", that is, daughter of a brilliant doctor here in the city. It results that they are fixing a change for her, so she can have the test again in March instead of July. And what about the other doctors who failed? It should be the same for everyone. So, you can see it, you can feel it (…)

Interviewer: *Palancas*… many people say that the most important thing is education…

José Angel: No… you must have education (…) but if you have studies… between two interns, the one with *palancas* is the one who gets the job (…) I am going to give you a simple example: the director of the hospital, he had never held a public position in any public institution, and even less in an administrative job such as director of a general hospital. He was appointed because he is the son of a friend of the State Secretary of Health.

In sum, the exploratory analysis presented in this section suggests that social capital is not only of great instrumental value in the occupational attainment process, but also that the quality and density of social networks may play an important role in defining the unequal prospects of attainment for men with different social backgrounds and in different occupational positions. The forms that social capital assumes are varied –i.e. as family ties, networks of

friends of acquaintances, or "influences" and "palancas"--, so it is relevant to distinguish between these multiple forms and explore their influence in the occupational attainment process. Finally, the preliminary evidence presented here suggests that social capital –in each of its different forms enumerated above-- is one of the most important mechanisms through which privilege is transmitted from parents to children, and therefore it is important to incorporate this dimension to future research on the process of occupational attainment.

OCCUPATIONS, VALUES AND LIFE-STYLES

The data presented in the previous section indicate that job positions are still related to inequality in the access to economic, cultural, and social assets, despite significant variations over time in the "social distance" across occupations. A different question is whether these material inequalities reflect in distinctive values, beliefs, tastes, and life-styles. In this section I make use of the available empirical evidence from the 1965 and 2000 surveys to explore this problem.

From a theoretical standpoint, the relationship between class positions, values, tastes and life-styles has been object of long sociological debate. There is no place in this chapter for a detailed description of this debate, but it might be useful to discuss here some introductory ideas for our empirical analysis. The correlation between individuals' position in the productive sphere and their beliefs, tastes, and life-styles is at the center of one of the most familiar distinctions in sociological theory, that between the categories of "class" and "status". Since its Marxist origins, the concept of "class" refers to the position of

individuals in the productive sphere, while the concept of "status" was created by Weber to denote differences in life-styles and prestige that may be based on class situation, but not determined by this alone (Weber 1978).[42] The question is, of course, to what extent and in which circumstances is class a determinant of values and life-styles?

The spectrum of theoretical positions ranges from the extremely deterministic stances to those who deny any relationship between the material and subjective worlds. There have been, however, remarkable efforts to produce more elaborate and comprehensive responses to this theoretical challenge. One of the most remarkable efforts to produce a more elaborate and comprehensive view on this problem is Bourdieu's research on classes, tastes, and life-styles. From Bourdieu's perspective, the practices, tastes and life-styles of the different classes are organized in accordance with the structure of objective oppositions between them, through the mediation of the "habitus", an "ensemble of durable and transposable dispositions" internalized by the individual in the socialization process (Wacquant 1992: p.13). In other words, Bourdieu assumes that "classes are highly efficient agents of selection and socialization, (and) then their members will necessarily evince the shared dispositions, tastes, and styles of life that demarcate status groupings" (Grusky 1994: p. 20).

Bourdieu's position has often been accused of being excessively deterministic by exaggerating the role of classes in the socializing process and denying the importance of other factors different than economic positions in the

[42] See also Sørensen (1994) for a more detailed discussion on the use of the concepts of class and status.

generation of values and life-styles (Grusky 1994: p. 20; Kingston 2000). Regardless of the validity of these criticisms[43], they have contributed to the growing popularity of a middle-ground perspective, according to which class and status are related in historically specific and contingent ways. The most salient exponent of this stance is Giddens (1973). He affiliates to the idea that classes are rooted in the position of individuals in the productive sphere, but he further maintains that the "structuration" of such classes depends on the degree in which their members share common patterns of consumption and behavior. The two consequences of this position are that "(1) classes become distinguishable formations only insofar as they *overlap* with status groupings, and (2) the degree of overlap should be regarded as an empirical matter rather than something resolved by conceptual fiat" (Grusky 1994: p.20. Italics in original).

Thus, the association between Monterrey men's position in the occupational structure and their values, tastes, and life-styles is subject to empirical verification. To the extent to which men in different positions show distinctive world-views and practices, occupational hierarchies will exist as meaningful groupings, not only for the purposes of our research, but also for the individuals themselves, who will recognize the presence of class 'boundaries' and their position within this stratification system. In the other extreme, if men in different positions share similar values, tastes, and life-styles, the meaning of occupational hierarchies is less clear, despite the material inequalities described in

[43] In several instances Bourdieu has responded to these criticisms (see, for example, the interviews in Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992).

the previous section. In this latter case, we will be facing a situation of low structuration of class relationships.

The empirical analysis that follows intends to explore this problem by presenting evidence of differences in family values, attitudes about women's work, tastes, and life-styles among Monterrey men. In the case of family values and attitudes about women's work, I present comparable data for 1965 and 2000, which might provide an idea of changes over time. The information about tastes and life-styles is limited to the Monterrey 2000 survey, and therefore our analysis is a "snapshot" reflecting only a moment in time, which nevertheless is informative of the current degree of structuration of class relationships in Monterrey.

Values and Attitudes

In Chapter III I described the social and cultural transformations experienced by Monterrey during the last four decades. Throughout this time, the city has experienced high rates of demographic growth, which transformed it from a medium-size locality into a large metropolis, with more than three million inhabitants in 2000. The physical and demographic expansion of the city is by itself a detonator for changes in patterns of social interaction, but there are other factors contributing to cultural change, among them the massive increase in the access to formal education, the expansion and further dominance of television over other mass media, and the enhancing economic and cultural ties between the city and the United States. In this section I explore these cultural changes and look at their differences by occupation.

Table IV-7 presents the proportion of men adhering to a series of opinions towards family life in 1965 and 2000. This information is disaggregated by current occupation, so we can explore trends within occupations as well as whether the differences of opinion have increased or decreased over time. The first item asks men about their opinion regarding the moral justification of divorce. It can be noted that in 1965 only a third of interviewed men adhered to an opinion justifying divorce ("If a husband and wife are not happy, they can divorce each other"). It is also evident from the contrast between occupations that this "positive" opinion was equally spread among men holding different jobs. In 2000, the overall affiliation to this position had significantly increased (53%) and, even more interestingly, the gap in opinions widened across occupations. According to these results, tolerance to divorce has increased more among professionals and managers (62%), skilled white-collar workers (58%) and clerical workers/sales agents (61%), than among unskilled manual workers (36%) and unskilled service workers (47%).

The panorama is the opposite when we look at the second item in the list, which asked men their opinion about birth control ("If they want to or need to, parents can limit the number of children", versus "Parents should never limit the number of children"). In 1965, there were clear differences in opinions across occupations, with men in top-level positions more inclined to a positive view of family limitation (66% among professionals and managers, versus 38% among unskilled manual workers). These differences almost disappeared by 2000, with

favorable views about family limitation dominating in all occupational groups (proportions fluctuating between 80% and 91%).

The next item in the table refers to autonomy in decision-making for wives ("A wife should make her own decisions, even when she disagrees with her husband", against "A good wife is one who always obeys her husband"). This item presents the largest variation between 1965 and 2000, with an increase from 10% to 65% in the proportion of working men supporting autonomy of wives. However, important differences persist among occupational groups. In 2000, professionals and managers, clerical workers and sales agents, and skilled-white collar workers are clearly inclined to more favorable views regarding women's autonomy (82%, 81% and 70%, respectively), but opinions are more divided among unskilled workers, both in manual (50%) and service activities (46%).

The situation is similar when we take a look at opinions about authority relations between parents and children ("On some occasions, children should be permitted to disagree with parents", versus "The most important thing for a child to learn is obedience and respect for the authority of his parents"). There are significant advances that point to a more favorable attitude about the autonomy of children (14% to 39%), but this change has hardly altered the variation in opinions between men in different occupations. The figures for 2000 show that men in professional and managerial activities stand as a separate group, with 58% adhering to a favorable opinion on children autonomy. The proportions favoring this view fall to around 40% among men in other non-manual and skilled manual positions, and to 27% for men at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy.

The last item explores opinions about filial responsibility, by opposing a notion favoring family support only for the wife and children, to another where family support should be extended to other family members ("The obligation of a man is only to support his wife and children", against "Aside from supporting his wife and children, a man's obligation is also to help his relatives whenever he can, since they too are part of the family"). This item shows the least variation between 1965 and 2000, with a change from 9% to 22% in the proportion of men favoring a view of men's filial responsibility limited to their nuclear family. There is also little variation among occupational groups, both in 1965 and 2000.

A summary of the findings described above is presented on table IV-8, where the different items are classified according to the amount of overall change between 1965 and 2000 (columns) and the direction of changes in differences across occupations in the same period (rows). At first glance, the results appear to be mixed: in one item (divorce) the gap in opinions across occupations increased, in two other differences persisted (autonomy of children and autonomy of wives), in one more item differences decreased (family limitation), and, finally, one item presents low differences across occupations both in 1965 and 2000 (Filial Responsibility).

Clearly, the last two items present the greatest challenge for the idea that the position in the occupational structure is linked to significant differences in family views. However, there are specific reasons that might explain the absence of differences. In the case of family limitation, it is difficult to find a context more favorable to the diffusion of positive attitudes toward family planning than

urban Mexico in the last three decades. The Mexican government officially endorsed family planning as a policy priority in the middle of the 1970s. Since then, it has launched intense mass media campaigns to spread positive attitudes toward family limitation, some of them specifically targeting men's resistance to contraception. These aggressive media campaigns found a fertile terrain in cities as Guadalajara, Mexico City and Monterrey, where the transition from high to low fertility was already underway, probably since the middle of the 1960s. In this context, it is not surprising to find that positive attitudes about family limitation have spread among men in all occupational groups.

In the case of filial responsibility, the change in opinions is minor between 1965 and 2000. The dominant position in both years conceives filial responsibility as extended to other members of the family, in addition to the wife and children. In this case, the wording of the two alternative options offered to the respondents might introduce some bias in the answer to this question[44]. But, in addition to this, the persistence of values encouraging social support among extended family members might indicate the pervasiveness, over time and across social boundaries, of deeply rooted norms and values favoring family solidarity. The persistence of these norms has not been studied in detail in Monterrey or any

[44] The sentence that intends to capture a positive inclination towards filial responsibility ("Aside from supporting his wife and children, a man's obligation is also to help his relatives whenever he can, since they too are part of the family") is too long and contains a double affirmation (one referring to the obligation of a man and another to the inclusion of the relatives within the family). This might have introduced a bias in favor of this sentence. Despite the identification of this problem, I decided to maintain the phrasing unchanged in the 2000 survey to ensure comparability.

other Mexican city, but an explanation of this sort is consistent with some of the most remarkable demographic trends in household and family composition observed in urban Mexico during the last two decades[45].

The picture changes when we turn our attention from family values to opinions about women's work outside home (table IV-9). In general, these opinions are more homogeneous across men in different occupations than those referring to other aspects of family life. Unfavorable views toward single women working were rare even in 1965, regardless of the occupational position, and there are few changes in 2000. The disapproval to married woman without children working outside home has significantly decreased over time, with only a slight trend remaining toward more conservative views among men in lower manual positions. Finally, the disapproval to married woman with children working has also decreased between 1965 and 2000. It is in this issue, notably the most contested among the three included in both surveys, where the largest differences among occupations come to light, yet in a complex pattern: disapproval of women's work outside home is less common among professionals and managers (24%), skilled white-collar workers (25%) and clerical workers and sales agents (27%) –a pattern that is consistent with the notion of more liberal opinions at the top of the occupational structure; however, the strongest opposition to women's work is not found at the bottom of the occupational structure, but among sales employees and control workers (40%) and unskilled

[45] Among these trends are the persistence and even the slight increase in the proportion of extended households (López 1998) and the very small proportion of unmarried elderly persons living by themselves or in nursing homes (Solís 2001).

manual workers (37%). Thus, although there are important differences among occupations, they do not follow a linear pattern as with opinions about family values.

In short, the evidence on family values and women's work outside home is not conclusive and it is necessary to accumulate more data to obtain a clearer perspective on similarities and differences in values among occupations. There are, however, some clear indications that men in higher occupational positions affiliate more to liberal views on certain issues such as divorce, the autonomy of wives and children, as well as the participation of married women with children in work outside home. Opinions about other topics such as family planning and filial responsibility are less divided, but there are specific reasons that might explain the agreement in these particular issues. Finally, favorable opinions about single and married but childless women at work have gained overall acceptance, but have never been very dissimilar among occupations.

Occupations, Tastes, and Life-Styles

We have seen that there is some evidence pointing to the existence of divergent values and attitudes among men in different occupations. But what is the record when we turn our attention to tastes, dispositions and life-styles? Is there any indication of the presence of distinctive "class cultures" among Monterrey men? In order to explore this, I decided to include a group of questions on this subject in the Monterrey 2000 survey. These questions deal with diverse issues associated with cultural dispositions and tastes, such as musical preferences, newspaper reading practices, attendance to museums, and leisure

activities. With this data, as well as with the information obtained in the in-depth interviews, in this section I explore the differences and similarities in tastes, dispositions, and life-styles by occupation in Monterrey.

The principal results of the survey in this matter are presented in tables IV-10 to IV-13. Table IV-10 shows the differences in musical tastes among Monterrey men, by grouping them according to the musical genre of their favorite musician. The musical genres are listed from the most to the least popular among top-level occupations. Table IV-11 displays the proportion of men who have never visited each of the most important museums and cultural centers of the city, and thus gives us some indications of patterns of consumption of "high culture". In table IV-12 men are grouped according to their favorite newspaper. In a society where books are not very popular, newspapers become very often the only source of reading and perhaps represent a better indicator of the affinity for reading than books. Finally, table IV-13 presents the proportion of men who declared performing "frequently" a list of 23 activities of different kind, including shopping practices, leisure activities, and dispositions towards the practice of sports. The items are listed in descending order according to the absolute value of gamma, an overall measure of their dissimilarity among occupations.

A complete analysis of the vast information given by these tables would require a separate research project, in which the inherent cultural meanings and historical roots of the different tastes and practices in Monterrey are disentangled. Instead, my main objective here it to trace the main differences in cultural

practices across occupational groups. However, I also introduce some comments that might serve as the departing point for future research on the structuration of class cultures in Monterrey.

The analysis of musical tastes is a good departing point. Table IV-9 shows that, in general, the preference for rock music, music in English, and ballads, increases as we move up in the occupational hierarchy. In the opposite side, preferences for regional, "grupero", and "ranchero" genres rise when we move down in the occupational hierarchy. This pattern was also evident in the in-depth interviews. Roberto, an architect, expresses his preferences as follows:

> Interviewer: …What kind of music do you like?
>
> Roberto: I like pop music very much. It depends also on my mood, but I like music in my language, in Spanish. There was a time where I liked very much Mecano, Miguel Bosé, and in relation to music in English, there are some groups that I like such as U-2, Sting (…)
>
> Interviewer: Do you listen to the radio?
>
> Roberto: Yes, always when I am driving.
>
> Interviewer: What station?
>
> Roberto: Usually the 99[46], and also the station with classical music, when I want to calm down a little. I do not know much about classical music, but I have learnt listening that station…

Carlos, a professor at the Tecnológico de Monterrey, manifests an even more "intellectual" inclination in his musical tastes:

> Carlos: I like everything. I listen to classical music. I like classical music. I like Mozart's operas. I love them. I think those operas are

[46] A station programming rock and pop in English and Spanish.

> the ones I like the most of the entire repertoire. I like Bach's music (…). I like baroque, the classics (…) I also like other kinds of music. I like the classical rock of the 1980s… well, classical for us…
>
> Interviewer: In English?
>
> Carlos: In English…
>
> Interviewer: Not in Spanish?
>
> Carlos: In Spanish I also like some music. Arjona… I like his style. I like music that has meaning. For instance, classical music has more meaning. When you listen to an opera… I don't know a lot about music, but I can appreciate and listen the voice tones (…) I am looking for more poetical music, more philosophical music. Something more than music by itself…

On the other hand, Eduardo and Mario, the two men with trajectories in manual positions, as well as Gerardo, the only interviewee who was raised in a rural area, declared a preference for "*tropical*", "*grupera*", or "*ranchera*" music. This is the testimony of Eduardo:

> Interviewer: What kind of music do you have at home? Do you have cassettes?
>
> Eduardo: Yes, I do.
>
> Interviewer: All kinds of music? Or do you have something in special?
>
> Eduardo: No. Last year I bought a stereo and I have around two hundred cassettes of all kinds of music, but more than anything tropical music, from now and from the past: Rigo Tovar, or songs of "*corridos*". Also of the new groups…
>
> Interviewer: New groups like whom?

> Eduardo: The ones that people follow. "Bronco", "Liberación"… well, some songs of that group, because I do not like the new ones… and also other new groups that are just showing up, very good groups…

How can we explain these marked differences in musical tastes? A plausible hypothesis –not fully explored in this dissertation— is that these variations in tastes, preferences and dispositions, not only in relation to music but in general, are associated with the material differences as well as to the disparities in work conditions and social origins among members of occupational groups. The most relevant differences in material assets were already explored in the previous section, but it would be necessary to add two additional features that have not been mentioned and may result very important in the genesis of tastes: the nature of the jobs and the social origins of the members of different occupational groups. Men in manual occupations perform very tangible activities; their tool is their hands; their jobs focus on the material transformation or treatment of concrete objects –machines, products, etc; also, given the demographic history of the city, most of these men still maintain very close links with the rural world. Indeed, many of them are children or rural migrants or rural migrants themselves. On the other hand, men in non-manual positions perform more abstract tasks; their main tool is the intellect; in terms of their social origins, they are less linked to rural origins than men in manual jobs; they are also embedded in more intense social and cultural relations with the Anglo subculture of American society.

Thus, a tentative explanation is that these constitutive differences in the characteristics of occupational groups translates into confronted tastes,

dispositions and preferences. Returning to the specific issue of musical tastes, this could explain why men in manual positions align to more rural, more "realistic", and more regionally rooted musical genres, such as "tropical", "ranchera", or "regional" music, whereas men in non-manual jobs prefer the less rural or more Americanized genres of ballads and rock-pop, as well as the more abstract genres of classical music and other cult music variations, such as jazz and world music.

These contrasts in the structuration of cultural dispositions and tastes are patent in all spheres of cultural consumption. Another example is the attendance to museums and other cultural sites (Table IV-11). It can be noted that most men in manual positions (groups III to IV.B) have never visited the principal museums and theaters, even the most publicized and accessible, such as the Contemporary Art Museum and the Mexican History Museum, which are located right in front of the Macroplaza, a very popular and accessible plaza in the city center. On the contrary, most men in higher non-manual occupations have attended to these museums. Part of these differences may be of course due to the admission costs to these museums[47]. However, the results of the in-depth interviews reveal that other reasons could explain the lack of interest of men in manual jobs. This is what Mario has to say about it:

> Interviewer: Do you visit museums?
>
> Mario: Yes, I like that. For example, that one that is in front of the Macroplaza (…)

[47] Yet, it must be mentioned that the entry to MARCO is free on Wednesdays and the cost of entry to the Mexican History Museum is very low.

Interviewer: The orange one, MARCO, the one with the huge dove sculpture at the front?

Mario: (…). Yes, I know that one, but I have not gone there… I am talking about the one who is close to the governor's palace, one that even has its own fountains (…)

Interviewer: The white one, the Museum of Mexican History?

Mario: Yes (…)

Interviewer: Why haven't you visited MARCO?

Mario: Well, indeed I don't even know what it is, or what is being exhibited there.

Interviewer: They exhibit paintings there.

Mario: Oh… paintings…

Interviewer: Do you like paintings?

Mario: Honestly, no, I don't.

Interviewer: Why not?

Mario: I don't like them because I do not understand them. If they were beautiful landscapes, yes… waterfalls, cars, deer, and stuff like that. But if it is about paintings that look grotesque, of women naked in a certain pose, squared faces… no, I don't understand why they paint a square face with an eye over there and a tongue…

Interviewer: And what do you think about people who like it?

Mario: Sometimes I criticize them.

Interviewer: What criticisms do you make?

Mario: Sometimes I think that they are just the same as me, but they pretend that they understand so people don't look at them as neophytes for the painting arts. They think: 'I need to demonstrate

> that I understand the paintings, because if I don't, people would judge me as a red neck that cannot appreciate the advances in the painting art'. Right? And then I think: 'I don't care. I just don't like it'.
>
> Interviewer: You don't like it… but the other museums have things more…
>
> Mario: Understandable. Many things that you look at and think: 'this is nice'. They show you an Emiliano Zapata, a Pancho Villa, a train. Over there, a piece of railroad… so they are talking about the Mexican Revolution… in sum, stuff like that, and then you see over there a landscape with a stuffed animal...

This fragment reveals the existence of a cultural barrier that interposes between Mario's tastes and the appreciation of the visual arts. It is not necessarily lack of motivation, but distaste towards what he does not understand because it is "grotesque", that is, something departing markedly from the natural, the expected, or the typical. Mario immediately opposes to these "grotesque" forms the "understandable" displays, those showing "beautiful landscapes", "waterfalls, cars, deer, or stuff like that", as well as historical facts. In sum, Mario's distaste for the fine arts exhibits derives from his rejection to artistic expressions that are distant from his concrete world, the world of every day life –including the multiple rural references to it— in which he was born and raised.

As I mentioned above, this confrontation of life-worlds appears recurrently during the in-depth interviews in the form of a marked preference for realism, costumbrism, and other figurative artsamong men in manual positions or

with manual social origins. Going back to musical tastes, the way in which Eduardo validates his taste for "*corridos*[48]" is illustrative of this preference:

> Eduardo: '*Corridos*' tell stories that really happened. If you pay attention…
>
> Interviewer: Do you like them very much?
>
> Eduardo: All of us like them (…)
>
> Interviewer: Is it important that they tell stories that really happened?
>
> Eduardo: Yes, more than anything… ninety something percent of the '*corridos*' are about things that really happened (…). You have for example "*Los Tigres del Norte*"[49], they have '*corridos*' about the "wetbacks". They even made a film. That is the music that I like.

Gerardo, who despite possessing a professional degree was raised in a rural area and openly manifests his preference for rural life, offers a final example of his favorable disposition for realism and costumbrism in different artistic fields:

> Interviewer: Do you remember any movie that has impacted you?
>
> Gerardo: Mhhh… I am going a tell you about one movie but it is a Mexican movie… it is a classical movie of the golden age, of course that I am talking about something that we associate very much to our regional life. It is a movie of Pedro Infante. The name is 'La Oveja Negra'. We can see there how the dialogues are so real that it is incredible that anybody could have reflected that, that is, the reality of the countryside, of the town, in just one

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[48] "*Corridos*" are narrative songs whose characters, events and themes are representative of the values and history of local communities in Mexico and the United States.

[49] One of the most famous group interpreting "corridos" and other regional music in Mexico.

movie. It is incredible, I love that movie. Of course, I can tell you about American movies and about other Mexican movies… but we all like that one.

Interviewer: Realism in movies… and going back to the paintings… you mentioned that you do not feel attracted by paintings… would you feel more attracted to realist paintings that show things as they are, instead of abstract paintings?

Gerardo: Yes, I think so. I think it is the same trend… yes, I am positive.

Interviewer: Would you prefer realism?

Gerardo: Of course… actually, talking about paintings… I will not talk too much about that, because I don't know about that subject, but I love paintings. For example, a beautiful rustic painting at home, an old house to hang it at home (…)

Interviewer: And you said you did not like paintings…

Gerardo: Yes, but it was because I perceived the situation as a professional thing of being an expert and stuff like that. Ok? But yes, if we see it from a lower level, I love a rustic painting, or a painting of a beautiful horse (…)

Interviewer: But when it is about abstract paintings that cannot be understood?

Gerardo: No, I do not understand them, or I do not like them, or I do not want to understand them, or, more precisely, I do not wish to do so.

Finally, after being asked about the reason of his preference for "*ranchera*" and regional music, he explains:

Why do I like it? Because it was the music we heard since we were kids. I think that is the reason (…) In the village that was all we had. I think that the subconscious in some way is ordering that taste, right? (…) I think that the reason is the association with the family or the village…

These preferences for rustic, realist, or costumbrist artistic expressions contrast with the more sophisticated tastes of professionals, and particularly of those with some relationship with intellectual activities or the artistic field, such as Carlos and Roberto. This is the opinion of Carlos:

> Carlos: I like all the arts. My favorite painters are the impressionists: Manet, Monet, Van Gogh… all that period. I like even those who depart from impressionism such as Toulouse-Lautrec. I like that line very much. I feel that culture gives me something different. I love baroque, but baroque is not something that I would have in my house. Baroque is for going to appreciate it to the museum. About the romantic period, I like it. It is not my favorite but it has very good things. The most abstract period, the modern period, Picasso and all that, I feel you require more to appreciate it. I do not have the capacity to do that…

Let us look now at the testimony of Roberto:

> Interviewer: Do you like painting?
>
> Roberto: Yes, I love painting. In fact, I paint in my spare time. I also love sculpture (…)
>
> Interviewer: What kind of sculpture do you like? Do you like figurative sculpture or something more…?
>
> I do like both, very impressionist, very figurative. Today there are sculptors that… Marín, he is a genius anatomist, he works with mud, but a red mud, a black mud, and he combines it. He is Mexican. I think he is one of the sculptors I like the most. And I like also abstract sculpture, like Tamayo. Tamayo is one of my favorites, both in painting and sculpture. Henry Moore, who also has great pieces in bronze, some of the work of Botero, but not all (…).

Of course, the cases of Carlos and Alberto represent an extreme of the social spectrum of Monterrey in relation to patterns of cultural consumption and

the appreciation of the arts. They are part of the "cultural elite", a group that despite its growth in recent decades is still relatively small. Most men in non-manual positions do not have such a positive and open attitude towards the consumption of "high culture"[50], but despite that they are prompt to mark their cultural differences with the members of lower classes, which they see as uneducated or "nacos"[51]:

> Interviewer: what is '*naco'* in terms of music?
>
> Manuel: For me the '*cumbias'*, but I like salsa very much. Celia Cruz is my idol[52].
>
> Interviewer: But you do not like '*cumbias*'…
>
> Manuel: No, I do not like them.
>
> Interviewer: Do you feel '*cumbias*' are '*nacas*'?
>
> Manuel: Yes.

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[50] The distribution of the occupational groups by their favorite musical genre (Table IV-10) serves again to illustrate this. The preference for classical music and cult variations, a good indicator of the consumption of "high culture", is scarcely spread even among men in professional and managerial positions (13%). This figure is significantly higher than the 3% and 0% reported among skilled and unskilled manual workers, respectively, but even so it is clear that the appreciation of "cult" musical genres is not in the center of the cultural distinctions between men in the extremes of the occupational hierarchy, as it might be in other countries such as France (Bourdieu 1984).

[51] The term "naco" is used in a derogatory way to refer to individuals with indigenous origins, and by extension is generally applied to a person who is ignorant and dull, or who lacks of education See the definition given by Lara (1996).

[52] It is important to note the social distinction between the tastes for "cumbia" and "salsa". Even when these two styles are within the genre of "tropical" music, the former is deeply entrenched in the local popular culture of Monterrey, whereas the latter is a "foreign" style with few followers. Indeed, there are numerous local radio stations fully dedicated to program "*cumbias*", but none to the programming of "*salsas*".

> Interviewer: And in terms of a life-style here in Monterrey, how would you define the '*naco*', if you could told me how a '*naco*' is as a person…
>
> Manuel: A '*naco*' is a person with no class, somebody who did not have the opportunity of having a good education, a person that does not… that always, even if he makes it, he makes it with a profile very different to the classic one…

Thus, the distinctions in tastes, cultural preferences, and dispositions are also the field for a symbolic struggle among the members of the different social groups, a struggle that manifests itself in the mix of contempt and a sense of inferiority expressed by men in manual occupations towards the "cult" artistical and cultural expressions, mirrored, among individuals in the upper occupational groups, by the labeling of popular cultural expressions as "naco" or belonging to the "uneducated". It is with base on these affinities and aversions that men build they social relationships in their day-to-day lives, and this is the reason why the differences in cultural inclinations constitute a very relevant aspect of social stratification in Monterrey.

Continuing with the empirical data, the distinctions in cultural consumption patterns are also patent in relation to the preference for newspapers (Table IV-12). The proportion of men preferring "*EL Norte*", which is considered a "serious" newspaper, progressively decreases as we move down the occupational hierarchy from professional and managerial positions (86%) to lower manual (14%) and service (30%) positions; conversely, the preference for the sensationalist and yellow press ("El Sol", "Extra!", "Metro") is dominant in the latter occupational groups (68% and 57%, respectively).

Finally, the proportion of men declaring to perform certain daily-life activities "frequently" (Table IV-13) reveal how differences in tastes, preferences and dispositions reflect in life-styles. The activities linked to "elite" consumption, such as shopping in McAllen, Laredo or another U.S. city, as well as shopping in "malls" within the city, are the ones with the largest differences among occupations, closely followed by three kinds of activities linked to the consumption of "high culture": attending classical music recitals; visiting museums or other cultural centers; and reading novels or other books. Men with manual occupations also engage less frequently in activities such as going out to have lunch or dinner; attending to the movie theater; or jogging/working out individually. Finally, the differences between occupations are less marked in activities that require less investment of economic and cultural capital, such as sitting at home to watch TV, talking to neighbors, listening to the radio, or staying at home and rest.

In order to obtain a comprehensive view of the multiple associations between cultural preferences, tastes, and life-styles examined in this section, I aggregated the data in tables IV-10 to IV-13 through correspondence analysis, a multivariate technique that serves to summarize in a lower-dimensional space correlation patterns among a large number of variables. This technique also has the advantage of providing a visual representation of these correlation patterns[53]. In elaborating this analysis, I transformed the data in the following way:

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[53] There is a close relationship between correspondence analysis and principal component factor analysis, although the former is better suited for dealing with categorical data (Clausen 1998). The analysis presented in this dissertation is inspired

- I recoded and grouped the data in table IV-11 to produce a variable with four categories, summarizing the number of museums or cultural centers men have ever visited (0 museums, 1-3 museums, 4-6 museums, 7-9 museums).
- I grouped shopping practices in table IV-13 into a summary variable, reflecting whether or not men declared to be frequent shoppers in one or a combination of the following places: McAllen, Laredo or another U.S. city; shopping malls; and local flea and street markets (8 categories, reflecting all the possible combinations of the three places).
- Another summary variable was constructed from the two items in table IV-13 reflecting whether men performed music or practiced any visual art (4 categories).
- Finally, a scale of "social interaction", ranging from 0 to 4, was built from these items in table IV-13: visiting other relatives; attending to religious services; talking with neighbors; and <u>not</u> staying at home to rest.

These variables, as well as the other items in tables IV-10 to IV-13, were included in the correspondence analysis along with men's occupations. In addition, I introduced age and education as additional variables that might contribute to explain variations in tastes and practices. After excluding inactive men and cases with missing data, a total of 1089 individuals and 23 variables were included in the correspondence analysis. The output of the model (not shown)

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in a similar application developed by Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1984) to analyze patterns of cultural consumption in France.

indicates that the first two dimensions explain 92.4% of the total *inertia* observed in the matrix. The first of these dimensions (Dimension 1) accounts for most of the inertia (77.3%), while the second dimension (Dimension 2) has only a marginal contribution (15.1%). The map that results from plotting these dimensions is presented in Figure IV-2, along with labels for the plotted coordinates that will help to identify each item. To facilitate the identification of these labels, separate colors are used for musical tastes (blue), newspaper preferences (green), number of museums ever visited (red), the social interaction scale (pink), shopping practices (orange), and the practice of music and/or visual arts (olive). Also, the coordinates for occupational groups are marked with squares; the coordinates for educational levels are underlined; and the coordinates for age are marked with the respective age ranges (i.e. "30-39" for ages 30 to 39).

Although there are some caveats to the reading of correspondence analysis plots, it is generally safe to interpret clusters of points as groups with a high correlation among each other. Linking each axis of the plot to the profile of one or several variables of interest also facilitates the interpretation. In the case of Figure IV-2, it can be noted that Dimension 1 (x axis) is closely correlated to occupational hierarchies and education, with occupational and occupational status increasing from left to right. The interpretation of Dimension 2 is less clear, although there is some indication of a relationship with age (from 30-39 at the top to 50-59 at the bottom of the plot), as well as an association to the distinctions between middle-level occupations (center of the plot) and high-level occupations (lower right corner of the plot).

The plot confirms most of the bivariate correlations already described above. Professionals and Managers (group I) have visited more museums and cultural sites; shop more often in McAllen and local malls; like more classical music and modern music in English; and attend more often to classical music concerts. The plot also suggests the existence of some differences between men in top-level occupations and other non-manual workers (groups II.A and II.B) in aspects such as shopping practices (the latter being more frequent shoppers in flea markets); knowledge of local museums (4-6 museums versus 7-9 museums); and musical tastes (ballads versus classical music or music in English). Other leisure activities are also more frequent among men in lower manual occupations (reading novels or other books; reading "El Norte" or other morning newspapers; visiting parks; going to "El Cercado" or to the movies). In the lower end of the occupational distribution (occupational groups III, IV.A and IV.B), the dominating musical tastes are "regional" and "ranchera" music; tabloids are the preferred newspapers; the visits to local museums are scarce and, in general, men tend to report that they engage less in leisure and social interaction activities than their counterparts in non-manual occupations.

In sum, this evidence strongly supports the idea that different occupations translate into distinctive tastes, leisure activities and consumer practices. Returning to the original question posted at the beginning of this section, it is now possible to sustain, with some empirical evidence at hand, that there is a considerable degree of structuration of class relationships in Monterrey: in this sense, we can conclude that occupational hierarchies in Monterrey are not only

markers of the position of men in the productive structure, but also of different world-views, life-defining experiences and life-styles.

FINAL REMARKS

In this chapter I have attempted to systematically study the economic, social, and cultural inequalities by occupation among Monterrey men. I was fortunate in having the 1965 original study as a precedent, because it has helped to provide a long-term perspective about changes in occupational inequalities. I make no claim to have solved the many questions that arise in this area, but only to have tackled some basic issues that might provide an overall perspective of the most significant changes and continuities in patterns of inequality based on occupational hierarchies in Monterrey.

I have already discussed in detail the most important empirical results. Accordingly, in these final remarks I shall not try to summarize these results but rather discuss once again the principal questions I addressed at the beginning of the chapter. My departing point was the idea that studying occupational stratification and mobility patterns is relevant only if occupational hierarchies truly reflect economic and social inequalities. Thus, the main concern here has been to discuss the evidence regarding the existence of these inequalities. In doing so, I have opted for a multidimensional perspective, which includes not only income inequality, but also other resources such as educational assets and social capital, as well as cultural differences, expressed in distinctive values, tastes, and life-styles.

The advantages of this multidimensional approach were evident in the analysis of historical trends in labor incomes and schooling. There is no doubt about the persistence over time of significant advantages for professionals and managers, both in incomes and educational assets. But the situation is less clear with respect to differentials between men in lower white-collar occupations (groups II.B to II.C) and manual occupations (groups III to IV.B). The income gap between these groups considerably narrowed between 1965 and 2000, despite a slight reversing trend in this process between 1987 and 2000. However, differences in educational levels have prevailed, and the analysis of tastes and life-styles also points to the existence of important distinctions in world-views and social practices among manual and lower non-manual workers.

It is important to keep in mind these transformations in the "social distance" among occupations when analyzing trends in occupational mobility. As I described in Chapter III, there has been a significant increase in structural mobility from manual to lower non-manual positions as Monterrey diversified its economic base from manufacturing to services and commerce. However, these new white-collar opportunities did not bring the economic rewards of the past. On the other hand, manual and lower non-manual positions still present some gap in incomes, the distance in educational levels between these groups has increased, and there are also important differences in tastes and life-styles, all this suggesting that mobility between these two groups is still relevant for Monterrey residents.

In this chapter I have also explored an aspect of occupational stratification rarely studied before in Mexico, namely the existence of occupational-related differences in values, tastes, patterns of cultural consumption, and other activities that might be encompassed on the broader category of "life-styles". The results show that men in different occupations diverge in their attitudes about some aspects of family life, and clearly stand in different groups in relation to tastes and patterns of cultural and non-cultural consumption. Thus, occupational stratification not only divides men according to their access to valuable resources, but also in relation to their cultural dispositions and daily life activities. Even when my inquiry does not provide enough data to support a further analysis of this subject, the limited evidence and my own personal experience as a former Monterrey resident strongly suggest that these differences are attached to prestige distinctions, according to which the tastes and life-styles of individuals in higher social positions are regarded as indicative of a "better taste", "more class", or simply "more education" than those of lower classes. All this indicates that we are observing in Monterrey a case of high structuration of class relationships, characterized by the close correspondence between economic positions and world-views and practices.

This association between occupations, tastes and life-styles has important implications for research on occupational mobility in Monterrey. It prevents us from assuming a strictly economic perspective, and reminds us that occupational attainment may be linked not only to increasing income retributions, but also to changing worldviews and practices. It also suggests that there may be more than

material advantages to mobility, because occupational attainment may also be perceived by men as a means to access to more prestigious life-styles and move up in the social hierarchy.

In sum, despite the significant reduction in the earnings gap among manual and non-manual positions, the overall evidence indicates that occupational positions are still indicative of a differential access to material resources, as well as a determinant factor in the generation of world-views, cultural dispositions, and practices. In the following chapters I will take a look at changes in the paths of access to higher occupational positions as well as to the rules governing achievement, through a detailed analysis of mobility patterns and the process of occupational attainment in Monterrey.

Table IV-1. Men's Average Labor Income (in Thousands of Pesos) by Occupation, 1987-2000

Monterrey

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
I	6.7	8.6	11.0	14.1	12.4	14.8	17.8	18.8	14.8	14.5	13.9	12.0	13.9	13.9
II.A	4.3	4.5	5.8	6.3	7.5	7.1	9.7	7.6	5.8	5.9	6.0	7.2	6.6	6.6
II.B	4.1	4.3	4.9	4.6	5.2	4.8	4.7	5.9	4.7	4.4	3.7	3.9	4.5	4.4
II.C	3.1	3.0	4.6	5.4	4.1	5.0	5.1	4.3	3.8	4.0	3.4	4.0	4.5	4.4
III	2.9	2.7	3.2	3.3	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.9	3.1	2.7	3.0	3.2	3.2	3.7
IV.A	2.1	2.1	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.9	2.7	2.9	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.8
IV.B	2.2	2.3	2.7	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.9	2.0	1.8	2.2	2.2	2.4	3.0

Guadalajara

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
I	6.1	8.0	8.4	8.6	9.8	10.9	9.6	11.2	8.2	6.9	8.8	9.2	7.8	10.5
II.A	3.6	4.4	5.0	4.8	5.1	5.1	5.4	5.3	4.2	3.7	3.9	4.0	3.5	4.8
II.B	3.2	3.7	4.2	4.0	4.1	3.8	3.7	4.5	3.3	3.3	2.7	2.9	2.9	3.8
II.C	2.0	2.1	2.5	3.1	3.0	4.2	4.0	3.5	2.5	2.5	2.1	2.5	2.5	3.3
III	2.6	2.8	3.5	3.4	3.6	3.6	3.3	3.7	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	3.2
IV.A	2.1	2.3	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.0	1.5	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.2
IV.B	2.5	2.7	3.0	3.0	2.8	3.1	3.0	3.0	2.2	2.3	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.5

Mexico City

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
I	6.8	11.5	11.0	11.0	12.2	14.2	15.4	18.6	11.9	10.4	9.7	11.3	10.3	13.2
II.A	4.3	5.0	4.9	4.6	5.0	6.0	7.0	6.4	5.1	4.2	4.3	5.2	4.7	5.3
II.B	3.9	3.6	4.0	3.6	3.8	3.8	4.1	4.7	3.5	2.9	3.1	3.7	2.8	3.5
II.C	2.6	2.7	2.9	2.7	3.1	4.1	4.4	3.9	3.1	3.7	2.6	3.1	3.0	3.5
III	3.3	3.2	3.6	3.4	3.3	3.6	3.6	3.9	2.9	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.6	3.0
IV.A	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.7	2.6	2.0	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.7	2.0
IV.B	2.8	2.7	2.9	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.9	3.4	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.1	2.5

Note: Incomes are adjusted to their equivalent in pesos in September 2000, according to inflation figures estimated by El Banco de México.

Source: ENEU (third quarter) 1987-2000

Table IV-2. Percent Distribution of Labor Income by Occupation, 1965 and 2000

1965

	Occupational Groups							
Income Groups	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	Total
< 2725	0	13	2	6	5	22	29	13
2725-4415	1	26	28	9	51	67	55	46
4416-8173	0	21	44	43	37	11	14	25
8174 +	99	40	26	42	7	0	2	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Cases	*106*	*114*	*184*	*38*	*395*	*254*	*225*	*1316*

2000

	Occupational Groups							
Income Groups	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	Total
< 2725	3	15	33	30	39	53	59	34
2725-4415	14	33	38	35	36	37	28	33
4416-8173	20	24	16	17	17	8	7	16
8174 +	63	28	13	18	8	2	6	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Cases	*444*	*526*	*285*	*307*	*1094*	*433*	*323*	*3412*

Notes: 1965 incomes are adjusted to their real value in August 2000, using inflation levels estimated by El Banco de México. Only men between ages 20 and 60 are included.
Sources: 1965:Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey
2000:ENEU (Third Quarter)

Table IV-3. Percentage of Men With Certain Consumer Durables and Services in their Household, by Occupation, 2000

	Occupational Group							
	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	*d index*
Personal Computer	69	31	24	16	9	3	7	*0.376*
Cable TV Service	64	42	29	16	17	6	7	*0.309*
Dishwasher	8	2	4	3	2	1	1	*0.295*
Microwave Oven	91	70	57	47	32	26	32	*0.202*
Air Conditioner	86	74	61	60	39	17	29	*0.199*
Drying Machine	59	45	33	30	22	14	23	*0.195*
Telephone Service	87	79	67	68	54	36	56	*0.108*
VCR	94	81	78	80	64	46	48	*0.099*
Washing Machine	95	96	95	97	91	86	82	*0.021*
Blender	99	99	100	99	97	87	99	*0.014*
TV	100	99	100	100	99	99	99	*0.002*

Source: Representative Sample, Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table IV-4. Distribution of Men According to the Number of Automobiles they Own and the Year of the Newest Automobile, by Occupation

	Occupational Group						
Number of Autos	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B
0	11	31	33	45	65	72	75
1	41	46	50	43	29	24	20
2 or more	48	23	17	12	6	4	5
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*

	Occupational Group						
Year (Newest Auto)*	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B
Before 1985	6	12	21	42	36	68	49
1985-1991	17	30	38	35	33	13	25
1992-1997	36	34	20	16	18	15	17
1998-2001	41	24	21	7	13	4	9
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*

* Men who do not own automobiles are excluded

Source: Representative Sample, Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table IV-5. Average Years of Schooling by Occupation, Men Between 20 and 60 Years of Age, 1965-2000

Monterrey	1965	1987	1994	2000
I	12.3	14.3	15.1	15.1
II.A	5.9	11.4	11.1	11.5
II.B	7.2	10.9	10.6	10.6
II.C	5.4	10.3	10.1	10.8
III	4.6	7.5	7.9	8.3
IV.A	2.5	5.7	6.1	6.8
IV.B	3.1	7.0	7.4	7.8
Total	*5.0*	*8.9*	*9.1*	*9.7*

Guadalajara	1965	1987	1994	2000
I	---	14.0	14.7	14.9
II.A	---	9.8	10.8	10.8
II.B	---	10.0	10.3	10.0
II.C	---	8.4	9.5	9.7
III	---	6.7	7.4	7.8
IV.A	---	4.7	5.8	6.2
IV.B	---	6.2	6.9	7.5
Total		*8.1*	*9.0*	*9.1*

Mexico City	1965	1987	1994	2000
I	---	14.3	15.0	15.2
II.A	---	10.4	10.8	11.5
II.B	---	10.3	9.7	10.2
II.C	---	8.7	9.7	10.1
III	---	7.1	7.7	8.1
IV.A	---	6.0	6.5	6.6
IV.B	---	6.5	7.6	8.0
Total		*8.8*	*9.3*	*9.6*

Sources: 1965: Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey
1987-2000: ENEU (third quarter)

Table IV-6. Distribution of Monterrey Men between 20 and 60 Years of Age by Schooling Level and Occupation, 1965-2000

1965

	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	*Total*
No schooling	0	8	4	0	10	31	25	*15*
Primary incomplete	2	33	17	49	46	51	50	*39*
Primary complete	7	30	24	28	31	15	19	*23*
Secondary	31	12	44	17	10	3	6	*14*
Preparatory	5	11	7	3	2	0	0	*3*
Professional	55	6	4	3	1	0	0	*6*
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*

2000

	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	*Total*
No schooling	0	2	0	1	2	6	3	*2*
Primary incomplete	0	3	4	5	7	16	14	*7*
Primary complete	1	5	6	8	20	31	23	*15*
Secondary	6	30	42	33	53	39	41	*38*
Preparatory	5	18	20	19	13	6	10	*13*
Professional	88	42	28	34	5	2	9	*25*
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*

Sources: 1965: Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey
2000: ENEU (third quarter)

Table IV-7. Changes in Family Values by Occupation: Percentage of Men Adhering to Selected Opinions on the Family, 1965-2000

		Occupation							
	Year	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	Total
If a husband and wife are not happy, they can divorce each other	1965	31	30	37	22	32	35	33	33
	2000	62	58	61	45	54	36	47	53
If they want to or need to, parents can limit the number of children	1965	66	45	60	51	46	38	42	47
	2000	89	90	86	91	85	80	82	86
A wife should make her own decisions, even when she disagrees with her husband	1965	37	18	18	17	9	1	5	10
	2000	82	70	81	61	62	50	46	65
On some occasions, children should be permitted to disagree with parents	1965	34	17	18	19	13	9	9	14
	2000	58	37	40	39	40	27	27	39
The obligation of a man is only to support his wife and children	1965	4	10	8	7	8	13	11	9
	2000	19	21	29	20	24	19	23	22

Notes: Only men between 30 and 60 years of age are included. The numbers reflect the percentage of men who adhered to the selected opinion, versus the correspondent opposite opinion presented in table I-3 (chapter I).

Sources: 1965: Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey
2000: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table IV-8. Summary of the Most Relevant Changes Observed in Table IV-7

Evolution of Differences in Opinions Among Occupations	Amount of Overall Change, 1965-2000	
	-	+
Low → High	----------	Divorce
High → High	----------	Autonomy of Children Autonomy of Wives
High → Low	----------	Family Limitation
Low → Low	Filial Responsibility	----------

Table IV-9. Changes in Attitudes with Respect to Women's Working Outside Home, by Occupation, 1965-2000

		Occupation							
	Year	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	Total
Disapproves a single woman working (%)	1965	2	9	5	3	9	16	9	9
	2000	1	2	2	2	2	6	2	3
Disapproves a married woman without children working (%)	1965	40	48	42	43	47	57	53	49
	2000	5	10	13	12	14	15	10	11
Disapproves a married woman with children working (%)	1965	70	79	62	69	64	66	69	67
	2000	24	25	27	40	32	37	30	30

Note: Only men between 30 and 60 years of age are included
Sources: 1965: Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey
2000: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table IV-10. Musical Genre of the Favorite Musician, by Occupation

	Occupation							
Musical Genre	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	Total
Ballads in Spanish	35	32	33	29	15	8	21	23
Rock & Pop (English & Spanish)	21	13	10	11	5	2	5	9
Classic and "Cult" Variations	13	7	3	2	3	0	4	5
Ranchera/Mariachi	12	15	17	18	17	27	17	18
Grupera/Vallenato/Tropical	8	12	10	14	21	15	15	14
Regional	4	12	13	19	28	39	33	22
Bolero/Trio	4	3	12	4	5	4	3	5
No preference	3	6	2	3	6	5	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: These groupings were obtained by coding the information provided by respondents on their favorite singer, musical composer, musical group, or musician, according to their musical genre. The original list of 387 names was reduced to an initial classification of 23 musical genres, and then collapsed to the classification of 7 genres and the option of "no preference" presented above.

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table IV-11. Percentage of Monterrey Men Who Have Never Visited Local Museums and Cultural Sites, by Occupation

	Occupation							
	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	Total
Contemporary Art Museum (MARCO)	31	57	70	62	86	92	90	70
Monterrey Museum (MUMO)	22	41	57	52	70	80	75	43
Mexican History Museum (HISTORY)	29	46	59	64	75	89	77	63
Bishop House Museum (OBISPADO)	17	35	45	58	59	72	61	49
University Theater (UNIVTH)	58	73	88	85	94	99	93	84
Nuevo Leon Film Library (CINETECA)	56	69	86	82	91	94	95	81
Hall of Fame of the Mexican Baseball League (FAME)	16	20	28	34	47	69	48	38
Luis Elizondo Auditorium (LUIS ELIZONDO)	35	58	73	73	87	93	80	71
City Theater (CITYTH)	18	39	58	58	73	82	69	43

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table IV-12. Favorite Newspaper, by Occupation

	Occupation							
Newspaper	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	Total
El Norte	86	67	57	51	32	14	30	47
Another Morning Paper (El Diario, El Porvenir, etc.)	8	7	5	9	5	4	5	6
Tabloids (El Sol, Extra!, Metro)	4	23	28	39	54	68	57	40
None	2	3	10	1	9	14	8	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table IV-13. Percentage of Monterrey Men Declaring to Perform Certain Activities "Frequently" (Instead of "Rarely" or "Never"), by Occupation

	Occupation							
Activities	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	Total
Shopping in McAllen, Laredo or another US city	43	20	12	2	5	1	3	13
Shopping in "Malls"	55	28	28	16	8	4	8	21
Attending classical music recitals	23	16	13	4	4	1	1	9
Visiting museums or other cultural centers	49	35	20	12	12	5	9	21
Reading novels or other books	61	43	38	34	24	13	24	34
Going to the "El Cercado"* to ramble or eat	53	40	46	38	24	10	22	33
Going to the movie theater	48	40	38	26	27	8	14	29
Jogging or other individual workout	47	45	54	35	32	11	27	35
Assisting to mass or other religious services	56	50	52	42	32	23	31	40
Practicing artistic painting, sculpture, or any other visual art	10	6	6	7	4	1	1	5
Attendig to professional soccer or baseball games	33	33	15	15	24	8	13	22
Practicing a team sport with friends or neighbors	32	28	30	24	25	13	18	25
Playing a musical instrument	22	15	15	5	7	7	1	11
Making home repairs	53	60	58	77	66	72	63	64
Attending to popular music concerts	15	15	12	11	10	5	10	11
Shopping in flea markers or street markets	28	51	57	59	53	39	43	47
Visiting relatives at their homes	52	53	54	65	50	43	46	51
Rambling in parks or plazas	48	55	49	55	46	25	43	45
Watch TV at home	74	85	90	91	80	81	92	83
Talking to neighbors outside home	23	38	39	34	39	29	32	34
Going to the arena to wrestling or boxing spectacles	7	16	11	7	14	7	7	11
Sitting at home to listen to the radio	55	60	60	68	58	57	65	60
Staying in home and rest	82	87	86	85	82	79	93	84

* A popular weekend recreation center located 25 km from Monterrey.
Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Figure IV-1. Average Wages by Occupation, Monterrey Men, 1987-2000

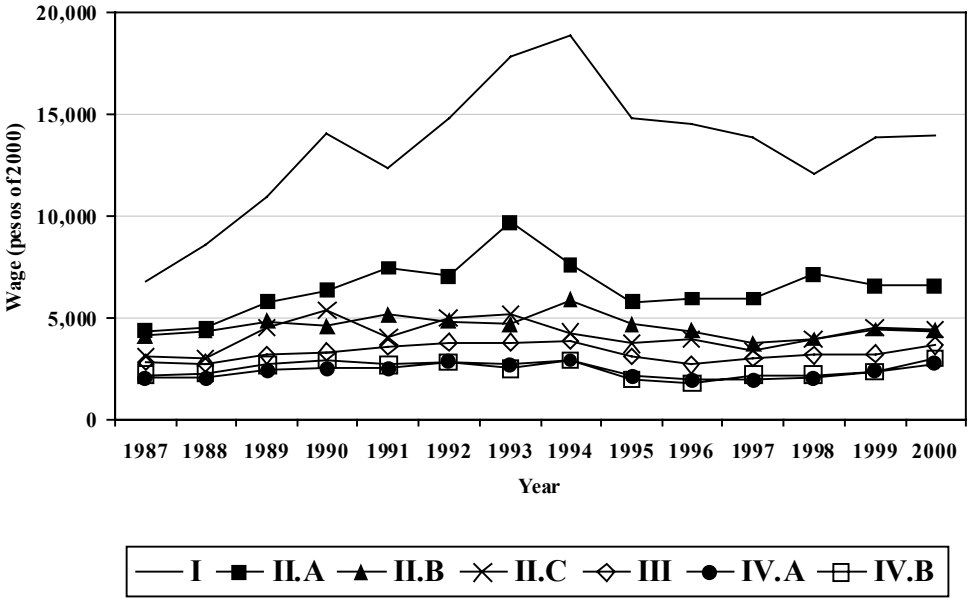
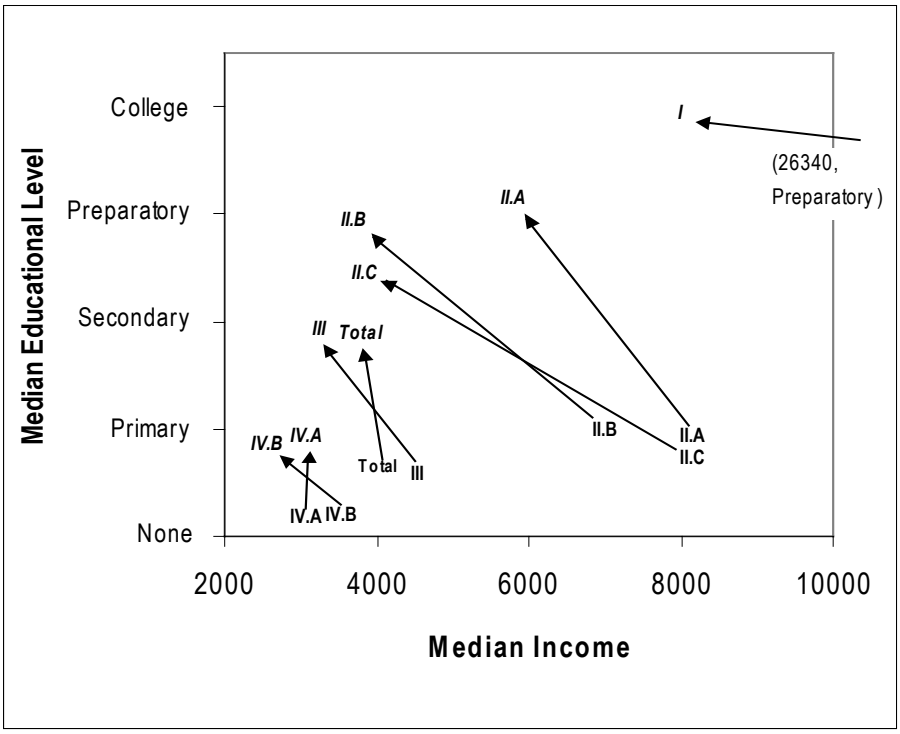


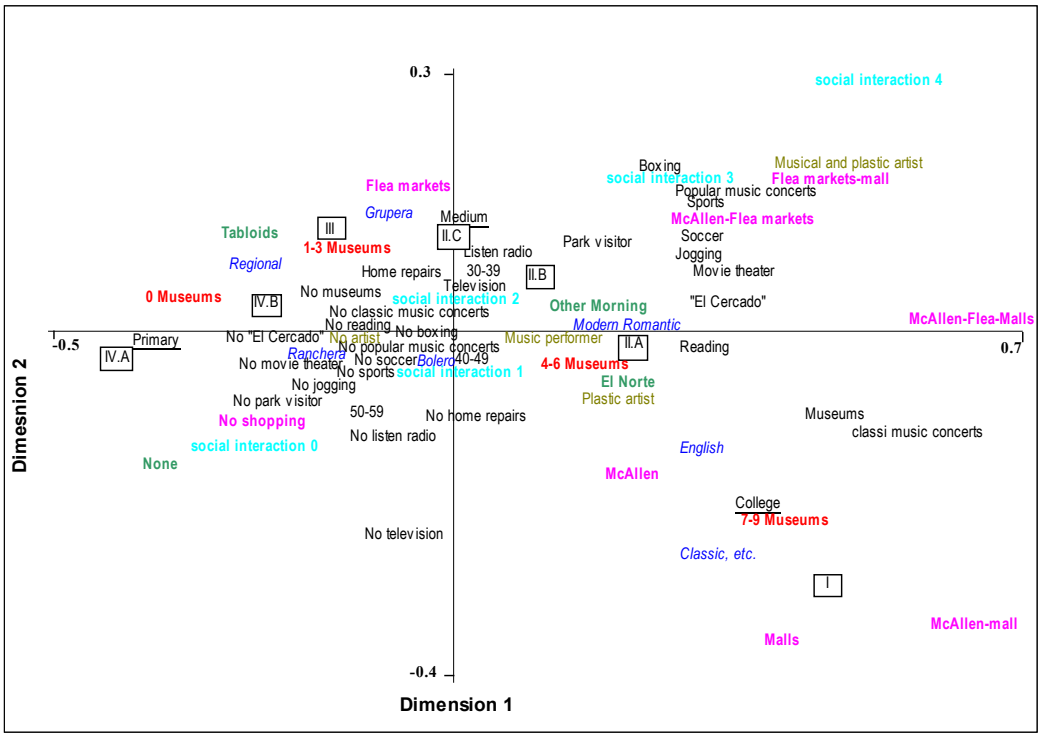
Figure IV.2. Changes in Median Incomes and Median Educational Levels by Occupation, 1965-2000



Note: Each label represents the combination of the median income (x axis) and median educational level (y axis) for the respective occupational group. The coordinates for 2000 are in italics. Each arrow represents the change in the medians for the specific group between 1965 and 2000. To facilitate the visualization of changes, the point for group I in 1965 is omitted, but the corresponding values are displayed in parenthesis.

Sources: 1965: Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey
2000: ENEU (third quarter)

Figure IV.3. Occupations, Tastes, and Life-Styles: Correspondence Analysis Plot for Monterrey Men, 2000



V. INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY

This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of intergenerational mobility. In later chapters I will primarily focus in mobility within individual careers, but before that it is necessary to address two major issues regarding the transmission of occupational positions across generations. First, it is important to know whether mobility levels have changed over time in response to the economic and social transformations outlined in Chapter III. To answer to this, I elaborate tables of intergenerational mobility in occupations and contrast the experience of successive birth cohorts, using both the 1965 and 2000 surveys. In doing so, I focus on *descriptive* indicators rather than on more elaborate measures or models. My intention is to account for the most significant trends in mobility, both across time and between occupational groups, and I believe that this task is better accomplished with basic indicators of mobility, such as those derived from outflow mobility tables. More sophisticated methodological approaches to the study of both mobility trends and occupational trajectories will be used in the following chapters.

The second important aspect of intergenerational mobility that I want to address in this chapter is the role of ascription and merit in occupational attainment. Since Blau and Duncan's (1967) research, much of the debate on mobility trends has centered on whether the importance of ascribed characteristic has declined and attained characteristics have become the most important determinant of individuals' occupational attainment. This is a highly contested field and sociological positions range from the more liberal perspectives, which

predict a gradual reduction of the effect of ascribed characteristics as societies modernize, to the reproduction approaches, that emphasize the continuity of privilege and "social heredity" as the main factors affecting individual life chances, although through modified mechanisms, such as the channeling of privileged social origins into advantaged educational qualifications. A cautionary note in this debate is the need to distinguish between structural trends in the creation and disappearance of job opportunities or, as it is frequently called, the structure of opportunities, and the "process of status attainment", that is, the mechanisms through which individuals are allocated to particular occupational positions. Long-term structural transformations in labor markets may either produce an upgrading, downgrading or polarizing of the occupational structure, without necessarily altering the effects of ascription and merit on individuals' occupational attainment. In other words, one thing is whether or not better job opportunities are being created at the societal level and another is how these opportunities are individually allocated according to ascriptive characteristics, such as class origins, race, gender, or inherited wealth, or according to individual merit.

The strategy that I follow to analyze this problem is twofold. First, I explore the relationship between social origins and educational attainment. Then I look at the effects of both social origins and educational attainment on men's occupational attainment[54]. This strategy attempts to cover the two core elements of the process of status attainment as outlined in Blau and Duncan's original

[54] The idea of segmenting the process of status attainment in these two components was taken from Ishida, Muller and Ridge (1995).

model, but falls short of replicating it entirely. Blau and Duncan's model requires the use of path analysis or structural equations and assumes that both the dependent variable -occupational status-- and all independent variables are measured in a continuous scale. This would imply the transformation of the discrete occupational classification I use throughout this dissertation into Duncan's Socioeconomic Status Index (SEI) or a prestige scale. I have both theoretical and practical objections with the use of such kinds of continuous scales[55] and prefer to keep utilizing a discrete occupational classification. This decision, however, implies that the dependent variable and some independent variables (i.e. father's occupation and respondent's first occupation) must be conceptualized as referring to an ordinal scale, thus making impossible the straightforward use of structural equations. The alternative was to utilize other techniques and divide the status attainment model in two parts, one referred to the association between social origins and qualifications and the other to the relationship between social origins, qualifications, and occupation of destination. Even when the advantage of a unique model is lost, this approach still provides a reasonable approximation to the most important components of the process of

[55] From a theoretical standpoint, I find more appropriate a direct classification of occupations, which emphasizes differences in job positions, authority, contractual relationships, and wages, than a summary score which intends to reflect either the average income and schooling linked to each occupation (SEI scores) or their "prestige" or "deference" (prestige scales). For a critical view of Duncan's SEI scale and prestige scores, see Hodge (1981), Featherman and Hauser (1976), and Goldthorpe and Hope (Goldthorpe and Hope 1972). Even accepting prestige scores or SEI scales as appropriate scales to measure occupational standing, their direct application to Mexico is questionable, since these scales are designed to account for differences in occupations in the United States or, in the best of cases, developed societies.

occupational attainment and has the advantage of maintaining the consistency with the occupational classification used elsewhere in this dissertation.

OVERALL MOBILITY TRENDS

A good departing point for the analysis of intergenerational mobility is the contrast between the occupation held by the respondent's father at birth and the respondent's own occupation at age 21, as shown in Table V-1. Most respondents had their first occupation before age 21 and therefore it would not be appropriate to interpret occupation at age 21 as reflecting their first job. However, this is the earliest available indicator of occupational standing for the 1965 survey and I must rely on it to obtain comparable measures across cohorts. Another caveat is that there is a sizable proportion of men who did not start working until after age 21. Most of them are professionals who had not finished their college careers at that age[56]. Instead of omitting them, I decided to include them as an additional category of occupational destinations, because they mostly represent a privileged destination group and therefore their exclusion would introduce selectivity towards lower attainment levels in younger cohorts.

In table V-1, the relationship between father's and son's occupations is presented as outflow mobility tables by birth cohort. The members of the first three birth cohorts reached age 21 before 1977, that is, during the import-substitution period. The only birth cohort that was exposed to the economic

[56] This can be demonstrated by comparing the occupational and educational histories in the 2000 survey. In the data of the 1965 survey there is no direct way to know the main activity of these men at age 21, but their educational attainment shows that most of them have college education.

crisis of the 1980s and restructuring of the 1990s is the youngest one, whose members reached age 21 between 1976 and 2000. The top panel shows the total distribution of destinations by cohort, regardless of father's occupation. The first element to note is the overall upgrading of occupational destinations. As it may be expected given the young age of reference, the proportion of men in higher non-manual positions (I) is very low in all cohorts, reflecting that these positions are rarely available to young men. However, the fraction of workers in lower non-manual occupations (II) increased from 19% in the first two birth cohorts, to 29% in the cohort 1940-1954 and 31% in the cohort 1955-1969. At the other end of the distribution, the proportion of workers in lower manual positions decreased from 58% to 36% between cohorts.

These changes are consistent with the upgrading of Monterrey's occupational structure already described in Chapter III. The economic changes of the 1980s and 1990s seem to have had little effect on the early occupational standing of the members of the last cohort. The only visible effect is a reversion in the trend of increase in the proportion of men out of the labor force, which after consecutive gains slightly decreased from 11% to 8% in the last cohort. This was perhaps associated with the obstacles faced by young men to continuing their college studies during the years of recession.

Even though the expansion of opportunities in non-manual occupations has favored men from all social origins, the distribution of these new job opportunities continues to be unequal. Among men with higher non-manual origins, the proportion in lower non-manual jobs at age 21 increased from 9% in

the birth cohorts 1905-1920 to 58% in the cohorts 1955-1969, although there seems to be also a reduction in the attendance to college for the youngest cohorts[57]. The situation is similar for the sons of lower non-manual workers: the fraction in lower manual occupations decreased from 35% to 19%, against increases from 38% to 46% in lower non-manual positions and from 5% to 12% in individuals out of the labor force. For men with higher and lower manual origins there is also an increase in upward mobility, although the chances of attaining a non-manual occupation are still significantly lower than for non-manual workers. The smallest inter-cohort gains in mobility are for children of lower non-manual workers. In this group, those who obtained a non-manual occupation only increased from 14% to 22% between cohorts.

The utilization of age 21 as a reference is useful to analyze early occupational attainment. However, in order to obtain a better perspective of lifetime achievement it is necessary to move forward in individuals' occupational trajectories. I do this in table V-2, where the occupational destination is measured at age 33. It is immediately evident that upward occupational mobility is higher in this table than in the previous one. It would be surprising if this were not so, since men are given eleven more years to attain a better occupation. The *overall* inter-cohort trends also reveal the upgrading of Monterrey occupational structure: men in non-manual occupations (I + II) represent only a quarter in the cohorts 1905-1920, versus half (51%) in the cohort 1955-1967. On the other hand, the

[57] It is necessary to be cautious about trends in this group, due to the small sample size.

proportion in lower manual positions (IV) decreases from 45% to 19% between the extreme cohorts.

In relation to inter-cohort trends by father's occupation, two features stand out as the most important. First, upward mobility increases among all occupational groups, just as in the case of mobility until age 21. If we consider for example men with higher non-manual origins (I), those obtaining an occupation of similar level than their father increased from 46% to 77%[58]; for men with lower non-manual origins, the fraction that obtained a similar or better job than their father (I + II) passed from 40% to 78%; finally, the proportions of men in non-manual jobs (I + II) increased from 30% to 48% and from 17% to 38% among children of higher manual and lower manual workers, respectively.

The second feature is that, despite the increasing opportunities for men coming from all social backgrounds, again men with non-manual origins are the ones who have taken more advantage of these opportunities. A more detailed analysis of this inequity of opportunity will be presented later, but for now let us simply consider men's chances of attaining a higher non-manual occupation. In the oldest cohort (1905-1920), the relative risk of obtaining a higher non-manual occupation was 19.6 times higher for children of men in higher non-manual occupations than for children of lower manual workers[59]. This advantage was

[58] Strictly speaking, the members of this group cannot experience upward mobility, because their fathers were already at the top of the occupational hierarchy. Therefore, the proportion achieving higher non-manual positions is an indicator of high occupational attainment.

[59] The relative risk is obtained by dividing the proportions of men in higher non-manual occupations in the two groups of interest. The reported relative risks may

reduced to 11.5 times in the youngest cohort (1955-1967), but is still very significant. A similar point can be made when instead of considering higher non-manual origins we focus on the more numerous group of men with lower non-manual origins. The relative risk of attaining a higher non-manual position for this group increased from 2.88 to 3.60 in relation to men with lower manual origins, suggesting that their advantage has widened instead of narrowed. As I will show later, these contrasts demand a more elaborated statistical approach. However, the preliminary analysis suggests that the new opportunities in non-manual occupations were not equally distributed among men with different social origins.

THE MOBILITY OF MIGRANTS

During the initial phases of the process of industrialization of Monterrey and up to the decade of the 1970s, rural migrants played an important role as the primary source of labor force for the expansion of manufacturing. In their analysis of spatial and occupational mobility, Balán, Browning and Jelin[60] found that even when migrants seemed to have better job opportunities in Monterrey than in other places, their occupational attainment depended on factors such as the birth cohort, the age of entry into the labor force, and whether their origins outside Monterrey were linked or not to farm occupations. In general, the occupational attainment of men who arrived to Monterrey at later ages and came from a farm background was lower than the achievement of immigrants arriving

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slightly vary from those obtained by dividing the figures in table V-3 because of the use of decimals.

[60] See pages 138-141 and 201-208 in Balán, Browning, and Jelin (1973).

at younger ages and with non-farm origins. Inter-cohort trends also suggested that the handicap of migrants with farm origins seemed to be growing over time, independently of their age of migration (page 207). Balán, Browning and Jelin attributed this change to two factors: the decreasing selectivity of migrants, who were less selected by positive attributes such as education as migration to Monterrey became a massive phenomenon, and the increasing importance of education as a determinant of occupational positions in Monterrey.

The question is whether these circumstances have changed in recent decades, as a response to transformations both in migration patterns and the Monterrey labor market. Migration trends present two major transformations: first, the relative importance of immigration in demographic growth has declined. Middle-size cities have taken the place of Monterrey (and also of Guadalajara and Mexico City) as the principal destination for internal migrants. Therefore, the numerical importance of migration as a factor affecting overall occupational mobility trends in Monterrey has reduced over time. Second, the composition of the migrant population has also changed, from a predominantly rural background to an increasing importance of migrants from other urban areas. These changes imply that more recent migrants are more likely to come from non-manual origins and have higher levels of education than their predecessors.

In relation to the requirements for attainment in Monterrey, there are reasons to think that the importance of education has increased even further in recent decades, as the dominant pattern of upward mobility has changed from manual to non-manual occupations. Whereas higher manual positions are

accessible in informal jobs or through workplace training, both lower and higher non-manual positions tend to be restricted to those with higher academic credentials, thus imposing barriers of entry for men with lower education. If this is so, then the upgrading of Monterrey's occupational structure may have resulted in the increase in the importance of educational credentials as an asset for occupational attainment.

These trends point to opposing hypotheses in relation to the attainment of migrants. The reduction of the flux of migrants and the increasing importance of urban migration suggest that recent migrants are more positively selected and may have advantages in relation to their immediate antecessors. But also Monterrey's labor market may have become a more hostile environment for them, and in particular for migrants who, despite being advantaged in educational levels and other assets in relation to the average men in their communities of origin, are still in disadvantage in relation to Monterrey natives. To explore how these trends may have influenced intergenerational mobility patterns in recent cohorts, I elaborated table V-3, where I contrast the occupational status of natives and migrants[61]. Since migrants came to the city at different ages and the timing of migration might be related to attainment, I also control for the age of first arrival at Monterrey in the more numerous group of men with manual origins, dividing them in two groups according to whether they migrated before age 17 –that is, having coursed practically their entire occupational careers in the city— or after this age.

[61] Due to sample size limits, in this table the occupational categories are further reduced to the manual/non-manual divide.

The top panel of Table V-3 contrasts the attainment levels of natives and migrants with non-manual origins. The small sample size makes it impossible to draw solid conclusions, but the results suggest that there are no major differences between these two groups. The panorama is different among men with manual origins (bottom panel). Monterrey natives and men who migrated before age 17 present similar occupational attainment levels. This suggests that men who migrated to Monterrey early in their lives benefited from the same opportunities of upward mobility than natives. In contrast, upward mobility levels are lower for men who migrated after age 17. The reduction of upward mobility from 11% to 8% in the first two birth cohorts reflects the increasing disadvantage of this group, reported originally by Balán, Browning, and Jelin. However, for the two youngest cohorts upward mobility increases to 20% and 28%, indicating a reversal of this trend. Even so, their attainment levels remain significantly below than those of natives and of migrants before age 17. Consider for example the youngest birth cohort (1955-1967), where upward mobility to non-manual occupations was 46% for natives, 42% for migrants before age 17, and 28% for migrants after age 17.

One can find several sound reasons to explain the handicap of men who migrated after age 17 in relation to younger migrants. Young migrants arrive to Monterrey at very young ages and have the opportunity of adapting to the city before entering the labor force. In addition, their parents also have a chance to explore Monterrey's labor market and develop social networks, which may be of instrumental value for these young men in the job search process. They may also

have benefited from the better education offered in Monterrey in comparison to other places. Conversely, most men who arrive after age 17 are already in the workforce and come to the city expressly searching for a job. At their arrival, they have less social capital; also, their skills do not necessarily match with those required in the local labor market, so their job opportunities are more restricted, and they generally end in unskilled manual positions. Finally, even when they often have higher average educational levels than men in their communities of origin, their educational credentials are lower than those of natives and younger migrants.

Despite all these disadvantages, the attainment level of migrants who arrived to the city after age 17 increased in the two youngest cohorts. Certainly, the structural upgrading of the occupational distribution facilitated this process. However, this is not the entire story. There are also indications of a change in the demographic profile of this group of migrants in the direction of an increasingly positive selectivity in terms of the size of the locality of origin and educational levels (Table V-4). The proportion coming from medium and large cities (more than 20,000 inhabitants) initially decreased, from 25% in the cohort 1905-1920, to 22% in the cohort 1921-1932 and 10% in the cohort 1940-1954, but then increased again to 28% in the youngest cohort. The educational profile of this group of migrants also improved: in the two oldest cohorts, the proportions with middle-level schooling ("secundaria" or "preparatoria") or college education did not surpassed 10%, but this fraction increased to 28% and 51% in the cohorts 1940-1954 and 1955-1967, respectively. These changes suggest that the increasing

negative selectivity of migrants with manual origins, pointed out by Balán, Browning and Jelin as one of the most important factors determining their lower occupational attainment, has recently reversed, as the massive rural migration of the 1950s and 1960s gave place to less intense flows and an increasing arrival of urban migrants. These changes are not as radical to overcome the handicap of this group versus natives and migrants who came to Monterrey earlier in their lives, but they certainly mark a departure point from the trends observed up to the decade of the 1960s.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

In this section I move a step forward in the analysis of mobility patterns and look at the actual process of occupational attainment. The two most important component of this process are, first, the association between men's social origins and their educational attainment and, as a second moment, the connection between social origins, educational levels, and occupational attainment. In this section I take a look at the first part of this process, by analyzing cohort trends in educational attainment levels, as well as the changes in the association between family origins and educational attainment over time.

One element that must be considered in the analysis of changes over time in educational attainment levels in urban Mexico is the radical increase in the overall schooling levels of the population in recent decades. In the case of Monterrey, the educational profile of the population has transformed radically in less than a lifetime: the proportion of males between ages 21 and 60 with less than primary education decreased from 50% in 1965 to 9% in 2000, whereas the

proportion with any college schooling increased from 6% to 26%. The expansion of public education at all levels, including the increase in the supply of public university education through the *Universidad de Nuevo León (UANL)*, has facilitated the access to schooling for men from low-income families. These trends would lead us to hypothesize that inequality in schooling levels has decreased over time, but is this actually the case?

Answering to this question requires the introduction of two analytical distinctions. The first distinction is between structural gains in educational levels and inequity of educational opportunity. The overall increase in educational levels mentioned above has benefited men from all educational groups, and from this perspective it is possible to affirm without further analysis that all social groups have taken advantage of the massive gains in education. A different question is whether the new educational opportunities have been equally distributed among men from different social origins, that is, whether the chances of attaining a given educational level are the same for men with different family status, independently of the overall expansion of educational opportunities. It is reasonable to expect that, given the regressive trends in wage levels for lower non-manual and manual workers already discussed in Chapter IV, as well as the increasing direct and indirect costs of schooling[62], inequity in educational attainment has increased in

[62] Consider for example the direct costs of university education. The *UANL* is the most important public university and the less expensive university in the city. However, the cost of its tuition has passed from being practically free up to the end of the 1970s to around 900 pesos (approximately 95 US dlls.) in the present. In addition to this general tuition there are special fees, which vary according to each particular school. For instance, a new student of mechanic engineering, one of the most popular minors, had to pay 3,800 pesos (approximately 400 US dlls.) in tuition

recent years, despite the overall increase in educational levels. To explore this problem it is necessary to incorporate statistic methods allowing us to look at the differences in educational attainment net of changes in the marginal distribution of educational levels. In this case I utilize odds-ratios obtained with logistic regression models, which are invariant to changes in the marginal distribution of the dependent variable (Powers and Xie 2000: p. p. 97-99).

The second analytical distinction is between the access to public and private education. Along with the increase in the access to public education, private education has become a more appealing alternative to middle and upper class parents worried about the low standards of quality in public schools. This is particularly evident in higher education, where the demand for private universities has increased, partly because parents no longer see public universities as a "good investment" in light of the uncertain returns that they may bring to their children in terms of future social mobility. Regardless of whether these perceptions truly reflect the reality in terms of the quality of studies, there is more than advantages in quality levels for men attending to private colleges. Due to the high costs of tuition, the access to these institutions is generally restricted to students coming from middle and upper class families, and therefore private universities are the ideal environment to generate social networks that later may result of high instrumental value in the labor market. There is also among Monterrey employers an explicit preference for students coming from private universities, and

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and fees to be registered for the Spring semester of 2002. Even when these figures may result very low for United States standards, they represent a considerable amount in relation to Monterrey household income levels.

particularly from the nationwide recognized *Tec de Monterrey*. Furthermore, the same colleges may directly provide their graduates with a good job position, through their close links with Monterrey most important firms[63]. Thus, regardless of whether they receive or not a better training, graduates from private universities usually obtain a higher volume of social capital and prestige than their counterparts of public universities, and this certainly places them in an advantaged position in the labor market.

The difference between public and private education is clearly acknowledged by Monterrey residents, who give a great value to studies in private institutions not only for the quality of studies, but also for the opportunities that they offer to have access to the social world of higher social classes. The opinion of Luis about the education of his daughters offers one of the several testimonies of this kind found in the in-depth interviews:

> Interviewer: You did not go to college, but in the way you see it: What is the difference between studying in the *Tec*, in the *UANL* or in another private school?
>
> Luis: "Well, I do not know much about the *Tec* or the *UANL*, only from the outside, but I know that graduates from the *Tec* are much better prepared. Also the *UANL* is very well in academic levels. I know that they have the Law School and that also other careers are very well…
>
> Interviewer: But not in business school?

[63] Both the *Tec de Monterrey* and the *Universidad de Monterrey*, the two most recognized private universities, were founded and are administrated by the owners of Monterrey's private corporations, with the original aim of creating administrative staff for their firms.

Luis: See… sincerely I have heard many people saying it: being a graduate from the *Tec* you mark the pace, and there is also something like respect from firms for the people graduated from the *Tec*.

Interviewer: Is it easier to find a job?

Luis: Exactly. I do not know why, sincerely, but it is like that.

Interviewer: If you can, will you get your children in the *Tec*?

Luis: Yes, definitely.

Interviewer: Is there anything in particular about the *UANL* that you don't…

Luis: No, no, no, not at all… what I am saying is that if I can give them a career based on studies in a public or a private school, God willing I can give it to them in a private school.

Interviewer: It is better…

Luis: I think that, apart from education, the people, due to the environment in which they are, have other habits and everything…

Interviewer: Explain me that. How is that?

Luis: I think that the people that can pay a private school are people that have a little bit more of money, and a position a little bit higher. So, yes, I would like that my children rub off with people that are a little bit more elevated.

Interviewer: Your idea would be that they ended being part of that group?

Luis: Yes, that would be the idea.

These differences between private and public higher education indicate that it is important to look not only at the inequity in attainment levels, but also

to the type of education attained as an additional marker of educational attainment. Unfortunately, there is no information in the 1965 survey about whether men attended to a private or a public university, and the number of individuals with higher education in the 2000 survey is not large enough to produce a detailed inter-cohort analysis. However, later in this section I present some descriptive figures that will allow us to look further into this problem.

I start by considering inter-cohort changes in educational attainment by father's occupation at birth (Table V-5). The overall trends (top panel) show the great magnitude of the increase in educational levels. In relation to gains by father's occupation, schooling levels also increase for all groups. However, the largest gains appear in distinct educational levels for men with different parental occupational positions. Consider first men with higher non-manual origins. In all the birth cohorts, the proportion with less than complete primary is negligible, which basically indicates that for a long time the "social minimum" of education for this group has been above this level. However, this social minimum gradually increases in successive cohorts. In the cohort 1905-1920, men were almost uniformly distributed between complete primary, middle level, and college education (with a slight inclination towards the lowest level). For the next cohort (1921-1934), the minimum had increased to middle level education, with 92% of men attaining secondary or higher schooling levels. Educational levels rose again in the next cohort (1940-1954), with virtually all men (96%) attaining university

studies. Then there is a slight decrease in this standard for the last cohort, with only 87% of men with university education[64].

In all the other groups there are also large inter-cohort gains in educational levels, but with two particular features: first, the "social minimum" of complete primary is attained later for men with lower social origins. Among men with lower non-manual and higher manual origins, the fraction of men attaining complete primary or higher education surpassed 90% in the cohort 1940-1954, but in the case of men with lower manual origins these educational levels were not present until the youngest cohort. Second, among men with higher and lower manual origins, the youngest cohort shows an increasing concentration in the "middle-level" category (65% and 61%, respectively). This high concentration suggests that men with manual origins are being less successful than men with non-manual origins to access to college education, even when they have fully advanced into the secondary and preparatory levels. Thus, the inequality in educational attainment appears now in the differential access to the highest levels of education, because the "social minimum" of primary education is fully accessible for men of all social origins.

In order to explore the effects of father's occupation, father's education and migration status on attainment levels, I adjusted two sets of cohort-specific

[64] The decrease in the proportion of men with university education is also present among men with higher-manual origins. In the other two groups there is no decrease but neither an increase in this proportion. This is interesting because it is consistent with the reduction in the proportion of men out of the labor force –presumably full-time university students-- in the occupational mobility trends presented in Table V-1. These trends might be reflecting the negative effects on overall attainment levels of the economic recessions during the 1980s and 1990s.

logit models. The first set (Table V-6) consists of a series of ordered logit models[65], which take advantage of the ordinal scale of the dependent variable (in this case, educational attainment measured in five levels, from "No studies" to "any university" studies). Given that educational attainment (y_i) assumes the values i = 1, 2 … 5, which correspond to ordered responses, a logit model can be written in the following form:

$$\Pr(y_i \geq j \mid \mathbf{x}_i) = \frac{\exp(\alpha_j + \mathbf{x}_i^{'}\beta)}{1 + \exp(\alpha_j + \mathbf{x}_i^{'}\beta)}$$

Under this parameterization, the odds-ratios can be interpreted as referring to *cumulative* odds, i.e. as the odds that educational attainment is greater or equal to a given level *j* versus lower than *j*. The second set (Table V-7) presents a most common parameterization of the logit model, with educational attainment as a dichotomous variable distinguishing between men who attained or not university education.

Model 1 in Table V-6 presents the cumulative log-odds of attaining a higher educational level by father's education and community of origin[66]. In all cohorts, lower levels of education tend to be associated both to father's

[65] A more detailed description of this model can be found in Powers and Xie (2000: p.p. 210-214).

[66] The community of origin is defined as the community where the individual spent most of his life between five and fifteen years of age. As Balán, Browning and Jelin argue (p. 95), the relevant fact for an individual's education is where he lived during his formative years, and not where he was born. For this reason, in this particular case I prefer to use the community of origin instead of the community of birth as an indicator of migration status.

occupation and whether the community of origin was Monterrey or not. For example, in the cohort 1905-1920 and conditional on community of origin, the odds that educational attainment was greater or equal to a given level *j* versus less than *j* are estimated to be 0.116 as high for respondents with lower non-manual background as those with higher non-manual origins. The respective odds-ratios are 0.054 and 0.021 for men with higher and lower manual origins, respectively. Despite the overall increase in education across cohorts, the estimated odds-ratios do not change much across them. In the cohort 1955-1969, for example, the estimated odds-ratios are 0.107, 0.034, and 0.024, respectively. The only noteworthy change across cohorts is a slight reduction in the positive effect of having Monterrey as the community of origin: the odds of a higher educational level for this group decreased from 2.733 to 1.807 between the oldest and youngest cohorts.

In model 2 I substituted father's occupation at birth with father's education. Even when there is a solid correlation between father's occupation and father's education in all cohorts, we can expect father's education to reflect not only socioeconomic status, but also other factors such as cultural dispositions, familiarity with the school system, and the existence of a favorable home environment for studies. It is not surprising then to find that in three of the four cohorts father's education is a better predictor of educational attainment than father's occupation (only in the cohort 1921-1934 the log likelihood is similar for Model 2 than for Model 1). The cumulative odds indicate clear and large advantages for children of men with college. Instead of decreasing, these

advantages seem to increase over time. The relative odds for men with middle-level origins versus college education decreased from 0.243 to 0.147, 0.115, and 0.088 across cohorts, indicating that, net of changes in the marginal distribution of education, the gap between these two groups increased instead of decreasing. In relation to the effects of the community of origin, they are very similar to those obtained in Model 1.

In order to explore the conjoint effects of father's occupation and education, in Model 3 I introduced a variable that combines these two characteristics. Father's education is introduced in a similar scale than in Model 2, but father's occupation is collapsed into two categories (manual/non-manual), to increase the small sample sizes of each category. For the same reason, I do not distinguish between occupational levels for fathers with college education. From this model it can be deduced that these two variables exert an independent effect in Monterrey men's educational attainment. Consider for example the effect of father's occupation, *conditional* on father's "less than primary" schooling. The odds ratios in the cohort 1905-1920 are 0.023 and 0.007 for men with non-manual and manual origins, respectively. Obviously, these odds-ratios (and their significance tests) are obtained in relation to the reference category (any college), so an additional test is needed to establish whether there are significant differences between them. The test[67] results show that this is indeed the case: the relative odds for children of men with less than primary and non-manual occupations are significantly higher (3.4 times, $p<0.05$) than for men with less

[67] This is a simple test that can be performed by STATA. See StataCorp's (1999), "lincom" command.

than primary and manual occupations. Similar tests (not shown) suggest that the advantage of men with non-manual origins prevails in all cohorts and in most combinations of educational levels.

The models in Table V-7 are identical to those presented in Table V-6, with the exception of the dependent variable, which is defined now as a dichotomous variable distinguishing between men with or without university studies. The results are also very similar between the two tables and virtually all the observations made regarding table V-6 hold for these models. The only exception is the effect of the community of origin, which in most cases is not significant (the exception is the cohort 1940-1954, with the usual advantage for men raised in Monterrey). These similarities indicate that father's characteristics have analogous effects on men's educational attainment, independently of whether attainment is measured as an ordinal variable including the five categories mentioned above or in the more restrictive form of a dichotomous variable indicating access to higher education.

In sum, the results of the models suggest that despite the generalized increase in educational levels, the inequality in educational outcomes by father's origins has prevailed over time. How to explain this apparent contradiction? It is true that openings for students in public and private universities have largely increased in recent decades, but this did not bring a reduction in the direct and indirect costs of higher education. Indeed, as I mentioned before, it is likely that the direct economic costs of higher education have *increased* instead of decreased, particularly in public schools. Therefore, even with more space in public

universities and a larger number of private options, the advantages of men with more economic and cultural resources over men who have difficulties affording their education prevailed. On the other hand, there is no reason to think these differences should have disappeared if we consider the overall reduction in wages among middle-level occupations and the persistently high inequality in household incomes, which have characterized Monterrey in recent decades despite the upgrading of its occupational structure.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, it is important to recapitulate over the two most important findings of this section. First, there is an increase in education for men of all origins. This is not a trivial finding, because it indicates the overall upgrading of schooling levels among Monterrey's labor force and also the increasing access to higher academic qualifications for men with disadvantaged social origins. However, if we are interested in evaluating the changes over time in the effect of social origins on qualifications, the inequity in the access to educational opportunity must be analyzed separately from the structural increase in educational levels. This is the objective of the logistic models. The results of these models show that despite the notable increase in their educational attainment, men with lower parental status (both in occupational and educational credentials) are still in a clear disadvantage in the educational field: they are much less likely to attain a similar educational level or to attend to the university than their upper-level counterparts, and these differences are not reduced in recent cohorts. Hence, men with working class background have now

more access to education, but their disadvantage in educational attainment has prevailed over time.

Finally, the inequity in educational opportunities may not be limited only to the access to higher education, but also to where this education is obtained. As I mentioned above, graduates from private universities have an edge in Monterrey due to the open preference for them in the local labor market, the social networks they create in school, and the direct links of private colleges with the local corporations. For these reasons, the attendance to a private university – in special the "*Tec*" or "*UDEM*"-- is seen as natural by youngsters pertaining to the Monterrey elite, as a privilege for the middle-classes, and as a distant but appealing prospect for the few working-class men who get to attain higher education. For the latter, one of the few opportunities of entering to one of these elite colleges is through a fellowship that can obtained either through their parents (if they work in the institution or one of the corporations linked to the university) or by an excellent academic performance. This inequality in the access to private education is reflected in the proportion of men attending to private college among those who ever attended to college (Table V-8). Almost half of men (47.5%) with higher non-manual origins attended to a private college, versus only 17.0% of men with lower manual background. Similar differences appear if we consider father's education, with 45.9% of children of men with college attending a private institution, against 21.8% of men with less than primary school. There is no equivalent information for the 1965, but these figures certainly indicate that the current disadvantages in educational attainment for

men with manual origins exist not only in relation to the access to higher education, but also in the admittance to private universities.

ORIGINS, QUALIFICATIONS, AND DESTINATIONS

The previous discussion shows that social origins –and specifically father's characteristics and the community of origin--, are an important determinant of educational attainment. In this section I will take up the effects of both social origins and qualifications on the occupation of destination. This issue is of special importance in Monterrey, where occupational opportunities in white-collar occupations have expanded but wages have significantly decreased. In a context of decreasing wages, attaining a non-manual position could have been the only alternative for maintaining or even upgrading standards of living for men with manual origins. However, the new white-collar positions created by the restructuring of Monterrey's labor market have been available not only for men with working class origins, but for individuals of all social backgrounds. In this sense, it is important to explore whether the new job opportunities created in Monterrey have equally benefited men with different parental origins, or if, as in the case of educational attainment, inequity of opportunity has persisted in recent decades.

Another point of interest is the role of educational attainment in the process of occupational attainment, both as a mediator between social origins and destinations and as a direct determinant of men's occupational standing. Balán, Browning, and Jelin found education to be an important determinant of occupational attainment. Indeed, their findings show that the effect of education

on occupational status was larger in Monterrey than in the United States (see pages 292-294). There are no reasons to think that the role of education has declined over time and we may even expect an increase of its importance, given the higher human capital requirements associated with the expansion of white-collar occupations. On the other hand, educational attainment is expected to absorb much of the impact of social origins, but what are the effects of social origins *net* of education? Is it possible to identify any evidence pointing to changes in these effects over time?

Exploring these questions requires similar methodological precautions than in the case of educational attainment. More specifically, it is important to control for changes in the marginal distribution of occupations in order to explore the effects of social origins and education over time. In order to do this, I follow the same strategy of the previous section, with two sets of logistic models, the first one using the four-group occupational hierarchy (with higher non-manual as the top category), and the second one with a dichotomous dependent variable, indicating whether men had a non-manual versus a manual occupation. In both cases the reference to measure occupation is age 33.

Model 1 in Table V-9 presents the effects of father's occupation at birth and community of origin. In this case, I set the reference category to children of men in lower non-manual positions, a more numerous group than the top-level category. In all birth cohorts there is an advantage for men in higher non-manual occupations. The cumulative odds ratios of attaining a similar or better position versus a lower position are 6.417 for this group in relation to the reference

category in the cohort 1905-1920, 11.126 in the cohort 1921-1932, 3.350 in the cohort 1940-1954, and 9.442 in the cohort 1955-1967. Also, the disadvantage of men in lower manual positions tends to increase over time: the relative odds for this group decrease from 0.423 to 0.181 from the oldest to the youngest cohorts. Another interesting result is the increase in the gap between men in higher manual positions and men in the reference group. The coefficient for the former is not significant for the two first cohorts, and then becomes significant for the two youngest cohorts. Finally, men raised in Monterrey tend to obtain better occupations than those with other community of origin, although this difference is not significant in the youngest cohort.

In Model 2 the respondent's education is used as a predictor of occupational attainment, instead of father's occupation. Unsurprisingly, the explanatory power of these models is significantly higher, with the goodness of fit (-2LL) multiplying at least by two in relation to the respective models of the top panel. The cumulative odds-ratios for all cohorts show the clear advantage of men with college education and the disadvantage of those with less than primary completed. There is, however, a slight trend towards the reduction of differences between the group with middle level education (secondary/preparatory) and the groups with lower educational levels, which can be noted in the gradual increase of the cumulative odds-ratios for the latter. Even so, the distance between these groups is still considerable. For example, the cumulative odds for men with primary complete in the cohort 1955-1967 are still less than half (0.448) than those of men with middle-level schooling.

Finally, in model 3 the two variables (father's occupation and respondent's education) are simultaneously included. In the first two models (cohorts 1905-1920 and 1921-1932) there are no significant differences in attainment levels for men in lower non-manual and manual occupations. This suggests that the lower occupational attainment of men with manual origins was basically due to their disadvantage in educational levels. However, in the models for the two youngest cohorts (1940-1954 and 1955-1967) the differences in attainment levels for men with manual origins are significant. For instance, in the model for the cohort 1955-1967, the cumulative odds were 0.599 and 0.347 as large for men with higher and lower manual origins, respectively, as those of men with lower non-manual background. In other words, even controlling for differences in education, the disadvantage of men with manual origins tends to *increase* instead of decrease over time, despite the fact that a larger number of them have obtained non-manual positions.

In relation to the effects of education, they remain practically unchanged when father's occupation is introduced to the model. The advantage of men with any college education is still significant (the relative odds for the cohort 1955-1967 are 16.750), as well as the lower achievement levels for men with primary completed (relative odds of 0.466) and less than primary schooling (relative odds of 0.227). The magnitude of these coefficients, as well as the differences in the goodness of fit between models 1 and 2, suggest that men's education is still the most important proximate determinant of their occupational attainment, even

when the independent effect of men's social origins tends to surface in recent cohorts.

Table V-10 presents the same three models with an alternative parameterization of the dependent variable, this time distinguishing men who attained a non-manual position of those who attained a manual job. Despite the structural changes observed in Monterrey's labor market, the manual/non-manual divide still represents in many ways the most important hierarchical division that people use to distinguish between occupations of different quality[68]. It can be noted that the parameters of the models are very similar to those in Table V-9. The only major difference is in Model 3, where the coefficient for men with higher non-manual origins is not significant for any of the four cohorts, whereas in Table V-9 it is significant for two of the four cohorts. This might be due to the inclusion of all men in non-manual positions in the "successful" outcome category, which probably contributed to blur the differences in attainment levels among men with lower and higher non-manual origins. In any case, the most important finding of table V-9, that is, the fact that men with manual origins have decreasing relative attainment levels in the two most recent cohorts, is also observed in this case; also, education remains as the most important proximate determinant of occupational attainment.

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[68] The distinction between *ocupaciones no manuales* and *manuales* is rarely made in Mexico. Instead, people differentiate between *empleados* and *obreros* (Davis 1972). The non-manual/manual divide used in this dissertation is close to the distinction between *empleados* and *obreros*, although these two classifications do not match entirely in some instances, such as in the case of some self-employed individuals.

In sum, the models of tables V-9 and V-10 lead to the same conclusions. First, when introduced individually, both father's occupation and respondent's education have a significant effect on men's occupational attainment. This is true for all cohorts, although there are minor changes in the effects of education over time. Second, the effect of father's occupation is absorbed by the effect of education in the models for the cohorts 1905-1920 and 1921-1933. Finally, the coefficients for father's occupation become significant in the last two cohorts, even controlling for education, suggesting that parental status may have become more important in men's occupational attainment for different reasons than its effect on educational achievement.

Obviously, the models are not explicit about these reasons, so here I hypothesize some possible answers for future research. First, the importance of both economic and social capital as alternative channels for the intergenerational transmission of privilege may have increased in recent cohorts. I have described in Chapter IV how the economic resources provided by parents, as well as the social capital they supply by making available to their children a network of relatives, friends, partners, and acquaintances, may have a high instrumental value in the occupational attainment process. It is possible that, given the increasing uncertainty and instability of labor markets during the economic crisis and restructuring of the 1980s and 1990s, as well as the absence of effective welfare programs to mitigate the social effects of these transformations, these familiar resources have become increasingly important in the attainment process of Monterrey men.

A second possible answer might be in the growing relevance of other forms of cultural capital, such as cultural dispositions, tastes, and life-styles, in the process of occupational attainment. As I have shown in chapters III and IV, the fields of cultural consumption, services, and leisure activities have greatly diversified in Monterrey in recent times. At the same time, individuals' tastes, preferences, and life-styles have become a crucial factor in the integration of social groups, and these emerging forms of social integration may have greatly affected the availability of job positions of young men, through mechanisms such as the access (or lack of it) to information and social networks. In this sense, the increasing importance of parental status may also be due to its close association with individuals' cultural dispositions, which are mainly transmitted within the family of origin during the socialization process.

FINAL REMARKS

The objective of this chapter has been to present the most significant trends in intergenerational mobility. The results show that upward mobility, both educational and occupational, has increased in recent decades. At first glance, this finding might result surprising if we consider the social costs of the crisis and restructuring of the 1980s and 1990s, but a more detailed view reveals that the increase in upward occupational mobility is consistent with the long-term evolution of Monterrey's labor market over the last three decades.

To understand this it is necessary to look back to the analysis of labor market trends presented in Chapter III. Up until the end of the 1970s, employment in manufacturing activities prevailed, but in the 1980s and 1990s

employment in service and commerce activities expanded rapidly until becoming the predominant occupations. This transformation translated into a transition from manual to non-manual activities in the occupational distribution. The occupational mobility trends by birth cohort presented in this chapter are a direct result of this structural upgrading of Monterrey's occupational distribution.

However, it is important to place these upward mobility trends in the broader context of transformations in labor incomes, in order to have a more realistic evaluation of their effective impact on standards of living. As I have shown in chapter IV, average real incomes for men in lower white-collar occupations have significantly declined in relation to the levels of the 1960s. For this reason, it can be deduced that the income rewards associated with upward mobility from manual to a non-manual positions are smaller today than in the past. In this sense, it is important to return to the distinction between occupational mobility and income mobility as two separate dimensions of social stratification (Hauser 1998). The panorama that emerges from our data is one of increasing upward occupational mobility, with decreasing returns in terms of economic mobility.

I also looked at the occupational attainment of migrants. During the import-substitution period, migrants to Monterrey encountered in the city better occupational opportunities than in their communities of origin, but their disadvantage in relation to Monterrey natives progressively increased as migration from the rural and poorest areas became more frequent and the positive selectivity that characterized "pioneer" migration flows faded. However, in the

last two decades the intensity of migration declined and the profile of new migrants changed. Recent migrants tend to have higher levels of schooling and come more often from other urban areas than their predecessors. This change in the profile of migrants –and particularly of those who came to Monterrey when teenagers or adults—may have contributed to the recent increase in upward mobility levels for this group, but it has totally eliminated the gap in attainment levels with natives and men who migrated to Monterrey before age 17.

Another aspect of intergenerational mobility I explored in this chapter is the relationship between social origins, academic qualifications, and occupations of destination. First I analyzed the association between men's origins –both in terms of father's characteristics and community of origin— and educational attainment, and then I studied the simultaneous effects of social origins and education on men's occupation. In relation to educational attainment, the most important findings may be summarized as follows: a) the increase in educational levels observed in recent decades is present among men of all backgrounds: regardless of social origins, there is a noteworthy inter-cohort increase in schooling levels; b) despite these overall gains, large inequalities in educational attainment persist. The mechanisms leading to an unequal educational attainment among men with different class origins seem not to have been drastically altered in recent decades; c) as the "social minimum" of education has increased to middle-level schooling, the distinction between middle-level and college education has gradually become the most important marker of differences in attainment between men with manual and non-manual origins; and d) with the

increasing attendance to college education, the attendance to a private institution has emerged as another dimension of inequality among men with different social origins.

It is important to look at these results from the perspective of the high value that individuals continue giving to education as the most important asset for occupational attainment[69]. Most men have experienced intergenerational gains in educational levels. However, men are not competing in the labor market against their parents, but against their cohort peers, who also have benefited from the expansion of schooling. It is precisely for this reason that the persistent differences in educational attainment by father's occupation and father's education represent a very significant finding. They show that the opportunities of *effective* upward mobility in education, that is, mobility in the relative position of men instead of in absolute educational levels, are still scarce: just as in the past, the children of men with high education and better job positions are today much more likely to obtain a higher educational level than children of less advantaged social origins. The main difference is that today the educational divide manifests mainly in the distinction between attaining middle-level and college education,

[69] During the in-depth interviews, all respondents, including those who did not attain high levels of education, coincided in assigning a great importance to education for the occupational attainment of their children. The testimony of Gerardo illustrates the high regard for studies: "People who do not study do not have any chance in life (…) Studies are one weapon to struggle, there are many other weapons, but studies are the most important. The skills, the knowledge, and having a career (…) In my job I saw many people very skillful, but if they did not have a title they did not get promoted, they were left aside. A person with a university title, completely neophyte, is immediately given an important position, even without skills…" Other interviewees offered similar accounts, thus indicating the persistence of perceptions about the importance of education and academic credentials.

whereas in the past it reflected on the attainment of basic versus middle-level education.

Finally, regarding the association between social origins, educational levels, and occupational attainment, the models show a strong and persistent effect of education on occupational levels. This finding is consistent with the idea of a society where educational qualifications are increasingly relevant in the definition of occupational positions. However, the effect of father's occupation does not decrease over time. Furthermore, it seems to have increased in recent cohorts, even after controlling for education. The growing importance of social origins might be related to the operation of inheritance through other mechanisms such as the transmission of economic and social capital, as well as to the rising relevance of cultural dispositions and life-styles –two characteristics closely related to family origins— on occupational attainment. These two hypotheses are not tested in this dissertation, but might serve as a departing point for future research. In any case, the results presented in this chapter indicate that social origins are still an important determinant of occupational attainment, both directly and through their indirect effect on education. Thus, despite the structural upgrading in schooling levels and the occupational distribution, equity of educational and occupational opportunities is still far from being accomplished in Monterrey.

Table V-1. Occupation at Age 21 by Birth Cohort and Father's Occupation*

Birth Cohort and	Respondent's Occupation at age 21**						
Father's Occupation	I	II	III	IV	NW	Total	*n*
Total							
1905-1920	1	19	21	58	1	100	*295*
1921-1934	0	19	28	48	5	100	*354*
1940-1954	2	29	18	40	11	100	*494*
1955-1969	2	31	23	36	8	100	*491*
I. Higher Non-Manual							
1905-1920	9	9	15	57	9	100	*9*
1921-1934	8	37	0	16	40	100	*12*
1940-1954	6	43	0	0	51	100	*30*
1955-1969	8	58	5	3	26	100	*49*
II. Lower Non-Manual							
1905-1920	3	38	20	35	5	100	*57*
1921-1934	0	45	13	40	3	100	*62*
1940-1954	4	47	8	25	16	100	*116*
1955-1969	3	46	20	19	12	100	*94*
III. Higher Manual							
1905-1920	2	16	29	52	2	100	*52*
1921-1934	0	22	42	29	7	100	*83*
1940-1954	3	28	19	37	14	100	*105*
1955-1969	2	33	26	35	5	100	*129*
IV. Lower Manual							
1905-1920	0	14	18	68	0	100	*159*
1921-1934	0	11	27	60	3	100	*172*
1940-1954	2	22	22	50	4	100	*241*
1955-1969	1	22	24	47	6	100	*214*

* Only men residing in Monterrey at age 21 are included

** NW – Not working

Sources: 1905-1934: 1965 Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey
1940-1969: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table V-2. Occupational at Age 33 by Birth Cohort and Father's Occupation *

Birth Cohort and	Respondent's Occupation at age 33					
Father's Occupation	I	II	III	IV	Total	*n*
Total						
1905-1920	5	21	29	45	100	*384*
1921-1932	8	20	35	38	100	*367*
1940-1954	14	32	26	29	100	*565*
1955-1967	14	37	30	19	100	*456*
I. Higher Non-Manual						
1905-1920	46	16	16	21	100	*20*
1921-1932	64	24	12	0	100	*16*
1940-1954	55	38	0	7	100	*34*
1955-1967	77	16	5	1	100	*47*
II. Lower Non-Manual						
1905-1920	7	33	27	34	100	*72*
1921-1932	16	32	30	22	100	*68*
1940-1954	25	53	8	14	100	*116*
1955-1967	24	54	15	7	100	*91*
III. Higher Manual						
1905-1920	2	28	34	36	100	*66*
1921-1932	5	25	54	16	100	*74*
1940-1954	16	36	30	19	100	*113*
1955-1967	9	39	41	12	100	*113*
IV. Lower Manual						
1905-1920	2	15	30	53	100	*226*
1921-1932	4	15	31	51	100	*209*
1940-1954	7	23	31	39	100	*302*
1955-1967	7	31	32	30	100	*205*

* Only men residing in Monterrey at age 33 are included

Sources: 1905-1934: 1965 Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey

1940-1967: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table V-3. Occupational Level at Age 33 According to Father's Occupation at Birth, Birth Cohort, and Migration Status

A. Father in Non-Manual Position

	Born in Monterrey				Not Born in Monterrey			
Occupation at age 33**	NM	M	Total	*n*	NM	M	Total	*n*
1905-1920	70	30	100	*8*	58	42	100	*12*
1921-1932	100	0	100	*5*	82	18	100	*11*
1940-1954	100	0	100	*24*	78	22	100	*10*
1955-1967	92	8	100	*35*	96	4	100	*12*

B. Father in Manual Position

					Migrants							
	Born in Monterrey				Before age 17				After age 17			
Occupation at age 33**	NM	M	Total	*n*	NM	M	Total	*n*	NM	M	Total	*n*
1905-1920	26	74	100	*113*	25	75	100	*92*	11	89	100	*114*
1921-1932	30	70	100	*90*	34	66	100	*89*	8	92	100	*135*
1940-1954	45	55	100	*167*	42	58	100	*128*	20	80	100	*122*
1955-1967	46	54	100	*182*	42	58	100	*79*	28	72	100	*61*

* Only men residing in Monterrey at age 33 are included

** NM - Non-Manual; M - Manual

Sources: 1905-1932: 1965 Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey

1940-1967: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table V-4. Distribution of Migrants with Manual Origins Arriving at Monterrey After Age 17 by Birth Cohort, Size of the Community of Origin, and Education*

	Birth Cohort			
	1905-1920	1921-1932	1940-1954	1955-1967
Size of Community of Origin				
Less than 20,000	75	78	90	72
More than 20,000	25	22	10	28
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Education				
Primary or Less	90	93	71	50
Middle-Level	9	5	24	40
Any College	1	2	4	11
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Cases	*114*	*135*	*122*	*61*

* Only men residing in Monterrey at age 33 are included

Sources: 1905-1932: 1965 Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey

1940-1967: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table V-5. Men´s Schooling by Father's Occupation at Birth and Birth Cohort

Birth Cohort and **Father's Occupation**	Respondent's Educational Attainment: No Studies	Primary incomplete	Primary Complete	Middle-Level	Any University	Total	*n*
Total							
1905-1920	9	38	30	19	4	100	*281*
1921-1934	6	43	26	17	9	100	*334*
1940-1954	2	13	20	38	27	100	*504*
1955-1969	1	5	12	56	26	100	*493*
Higher Non-Manual							
1905-1920	0	9	35	30	26	100	*10*
1921-1934	0	8	0	29	63	100	*12*
1940-1954	0	0	0	4	96	100	*31*
1955-1969	0	0	0	13	87	100	*51*
Lower Non-Manual							
1905-1920	5	21	34	28	12	100	*57*
1921-1934	0	28	25	32	15	100	*64*
1940-1954	0	1	10	45	44	100	*119*
1955-1969	0	4	6	44	46	100	*96*
Higher Manual							
1905-1920	2	39	33	25	2	100	*53*
1921-1934	4	32	33	25	6	100	*85*
1940-1954	2	4	16	45	32	100	*107*
1955-1969	0	2	13	65	20	100	*130*
Lower Manual							
1905-1920	12	46	27	14	1	100	*161*
1921-1934	9	55	24	8	5	100	*173*
1940-1954	4	22	28	34	13	100	*247*
1955-1969	2	7	15	61	16	100	*216*

Sources: 1905-1934: 1965 Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey

1940-1969: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table V-6. Effects of Social Origins on Educational Attainment. Odds Ratios from Cohort-Specific Ordered Logit Models*

Birth Cohort	1905-20	1921-34	1940-54	1955-69
Model 1				
Father's Occupation at Birth				
Higher Non-Manual (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Lower Non-Manual	0.116 **	0.132 **	0.1661 **	0.107 **
Higher Manual	0.054 **	0.051 **	0.0820 **	0.034 **
Lower Manual	0.021 **	0.016 **	0.0256 **	0.024 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Monterrey	2.733 **	2.640 **	2.238 **	1.807 **
-2 LL	162.34	172.75	194.71	102.55
Model 2				
Father's Education				
Any College (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Middle-Level	0.243 **	0.147 **	0.115 **	0.088 **
Primary Completed	0.048 **	0.036 **	0.032 **	0.027 **
Less than Primary completed	0.008 **	0.010 **	0.009 **	0.011 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Monterrey	2.540 **	3.140 **	2.754 **	1.697 **
-2 LL	231.01	169.36	267.23	146.02

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Table V-6 (continuation)

Birth Cohort	1905-20	1921-34	1940-54	1955-69
Model 3				
Father's Education and Occupation				
Any College (reference)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Middle-level / Non-Manual	0.301 *	0.145 **	0.140 **	0.192 **
Middle-level / Manual	0.182 **	0.135 **	0.099 **	0.050 **
Primary / Non-manual	0.064 **	0.072 **	0.068 **	0.028 **
Primary / Manual	0.037 **	0.025 **	0.027 **	0.026 **
Less Primary / Non-Manual	0.023 **	0.042 **	0.035 **	0.034 **
Less Primary / Manual	0.007 **	0.007 **	0.007 **	0.009 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Monterrey	2.503 **	3.163 **	2.505 **	1.651 **
-2 LL	244.68	196.16	297.84	166.58
n	524	473	626	542

* $p < 0.1$ ** $p < 0.05$

Sources: 1905-1934: 1965 Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey

1940-1969: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table V-7. Effects of Social Origins on Obtaining College Education. Odds Ratios from Cohort-Specific Logit Models

Birth Cohort	1905-20	1921-34	1940-54	1955-69
Model 1				
Father's Occupation at Birth				
Higher Non-Manual (ref.)	----	----	----	----
Lower Non-Manual	0.135 **	0.141 **	0.161 **	0.126 **
Higher Manual	0.011 **	0.044 **	0.087 **	0.034 **
Lower Manual	0.015 **	0.028 **	0.030 **	0.027 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	----	----	----	----
Monterrey	1.903	1.571	2.324 *	1.131
-2 LL	60.67	47.12	116.33	87.88
Model 2				
Father's Education				
Any College (ref.)	----	----	----	----
Middle-Level	0.227 **	0.197 **	0.100 **	0.097 **
Primary Completed	0.033 **	0.034 **	0.033 **	0.023 **
Less than Primary completed	0.005 **	0.013 **	0.012 **	0.015 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	----	----	----	----
Monterrey	1.35	1.641	2.810 **	1.043
-2 LL	78.54	59.60	160.38	111.88

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Table V-7 (continuation)

Birth Cohort	1905-20	1921-34	1940-54	1955-69
Model 3				
Father's Education and Occupation				
Any College (reference)	------	------	------	------
Middle-level / Non-Manual	0.396	0.212 *	0.123 **	0.211 **
Middle-level / Manual	0.043 **	0.160 *	0.088 **	0.054 **
Primary / Non-manual	0.035 **	0.063 **	0.069 **	0.038 **
Primary / Manual	0.031 **	0.023 **	0.027 **	0.021 **
Less Primary / Non-Manual	0.021 **	0.021 **	0.031 **	0.038 **
Less Primary / Manual	0.003 **	0.012 **	0.010 **	0.013 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	------	------	------	------
Monterrey	1.351	1.620	2.573 **	1.013
-2 LL	84.45	61.89	171.18	128.50
n	524	473	626	542

* p < 0.1 ** p < 0.05

Sources: 1905-1934: 1965 Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey
1940-1969: 2000 Monterrey Life Course and Occupational Mobility Survey

Table V-8. Proportion of Men Attending a Private University Among Those With University Education, by Birth Cohort, Father's Characteristics and Migration Status (%)

	%	Cases
Birth Cohort		
1940-1950	24.8	101
1951-1960	21.3	145
1961-1970	24.6	133
Father's Occupation at Birth		
Higher Non-Manual	47.5	85
Lower Non-Manual	23.2	131
Higher Manual	14.7	66
Lower Manual	17.0	96
Father's Education		
Less than Primary completed	21.8	73
Primary Completed	14.3	84
Middle-Level	18.4	124
Any College	45.9	96
Community of Origin		
Other	26.2	97
Monterrey	22.5	282

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table V-9. Effects of Social Origins and Education on Respondent's Occupation at Age 33. Odds Ratios from Cohort-Specific Ordered Logit Models

Birth Cohort	1905-20	1921-32	1940-54	1955-67
Model 1				
Father´s Occupation at Birth				
Higher Non-Manual	6.417 **	11.126 **	3.350 **	9.442 **
Lower Non-Manual (Ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Higher Manual	0.764	0.636	0.423 **	0.314 **
Lower Manual	0.423 **	0.249 **	0.208 **	0.181 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Monterrey	1.547 **	1.609 **	1.911 **	1.111
-2LL	39.99	80.03	114.32	104.02
Model 2				
Respondent's Education				
Any College	25.798 **	36.749 **	54.077 **	24.575 **
Secondary/Preparatory (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Primary Completed	0.160 **	0.300 **	0.418 **	0.448 **
Less than Primary Completed	0.068 **	0.102 **	0.138 **	0.201 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Monterrey	1.262	1.483 *	1.286	0.983
-2LL	160.54	232.23	394.66	215.73

(continues in next page)

Table V-9 (continuation)

Birth Cohort	1905-20	1921-34	1940-54	1955-69
Model 3				
Father´s Occupation at Birth				
Higher Non-Manual	1.356	7.431 **	0.869	4.170 **
Lower Non-Manual (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Higher Manual	1.230	1.135	0.564 **	0.599 *
Lower Manual	0.814	0.624	0.563 **	0.347 **
Respondent's Education				
Any College	22.765 **	35.266 **	49.683 **	16.750 **
Secondary/Preparatory (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Primary Completed	0.162 **	0.411 **	0.449 **	0.466 **
Less than Primary Completed	0.073 **	0.156 **	0.151 **	0.227 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Monterrey	1.233	1.297	1.254	0.833
-2LL	163.33	243.14	400.73	249.65
n	384	367	565	456

* $p < 0.1$ ** $p < 0.05$

Sources: 1905-1932: 1965 Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey
1940-1967: 2000 Monterrey Life Course and Occupational Mobility Survey

Table V-10. Effects of Social Origins and Education on Attaining a Non-Manual Occupation. Odds Ratios from Cohort-Specific Logit Models

Birth Cohort	1905-20	1921-32	1940-54	1955-67
Model 1				
Father´s Occupation at Birth				
Higher Non-Manual	2.566 *	7.511 **	4.089	4.048 *
Lower Non-Manual (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Higher Manual	0.653	0.414 **	0.294 **	0.244 **
Lower Manual	0.329 **	0.275 **	0.143 **	0.186 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Monterrey	1.121	2.115 **	1.640 **	1.523 *
-2LL	26.36	51.78	103.45	65.56
Model 2				
Respondent's Education				
Any College	3.799 *	14.829 **	23.405 **	15.997 **
Secondary/Preparatory (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Primary Completed	0.147 **	0.268 **	0.294 **	0.440 **
Less than Primary Completed	0.037 **	0.093 **	0.097 **	0.307 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Monterrey	0.774	1.645 *	1.068	1.441
-2LL	128.29	126.57	261.80	139.20

(continues in next page)

Table V-10 (continuation)

Birth Cohort	1905-20	1921-34	1940-54	1955-69
Model 3				
Father´s Occupation at Birth				
Higher Non-Manual	0.419	2.372	0.895	1.343
Lower Non-Manual (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Higher Manual	1.038	0.698	0.328 **	0.374 **
Lower Manual	0.579	0.771	0.301 **	0.288 **
Respondent's Education				
Any College	4.500 *	13.737 **	20.670 **	11.850 **
Secondary/Preparatory (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Primary Completed	0.136 **	0.310 **	0.336 **	0.451 **
Less than Primary Completed	0.038 **	0.110 **	0.120 **	0.325 **
Community of Origin				
Other (ref.)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Monterrey	0.704	1.658 *	0.991	1.313
-2LL	132.37	128.84	277.82	155.91
n	384	367	565	456

* $p < 0.1$ ** $p < 0.05$

Sources: 1905-1932: 1965 Monterrey Mobility and Migration Survey
1940-1967: 2000 Monterrey Life Course and Occupational Mobility Survey

VI. OCCUPATIONAL TRAJECTORIES

The previous chapter reveals the most important patterns of intergenerational mobility in Monterrey. However, by focusing on the contrast in occupations across generations, such analysis lacks of a more comprehensive perspective on the structuration of occupational trajectories during the life course. In this chapter I study the entire occupational trajectories of Monterrey men as conceptual units. I use the complete sequence of occupations between ages 14 and 30 in the 2000 survey and then create groupings of "typical" career patterns. I utilize "sequence analysis", a technique originally created for the alignment of molecular sequences in the biological sciences and later adapted to the social sciences by Andrew Abbott (Abbott 1995; Abbott and Tsay 2000). Finally, I explore the characteristics of these common trajectory patterns, as well as their association with men's social and demographic background. In doing so, I shall return to some of the main questions of this dissertation: is there any evidence of changes over time in men's occupational trajectories? To what extent social class remains an important determinant of men's occupational paths? What is the role of educational attainment in the structuration of occupational lives?

A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO OCCUPATIONAL CAREERS

Analyses of occupational mobility have a long-standing tradition in sociological research. From its origins, the field has been dominated by studies that focus on intergenerational mobility or, alternatively, on measures of mobility obtained by contrasting occupations at two different moments in individual lives. However, in recent times the parallel development of the life course research

stream and event history analysis has produced a shift of emphasis from long-term mobility to individual events within occupational trajectories (Trappe and Rosenfeld 1998). Thus, for example, a number of studies have utilized life-history data to explore the effects of social, family and individual determinants of job shifts (Blossfeld, Hamerle, and Mayer 1989; Shavit, Matras, and Featherman 1990). Others have focused on different events of occupational trajectories, such as the transition to unemployment (Sørensen 1990), or the timing of entry into the labor force (Bernardi 2000).

Implementation of this "event-centered" approach has greatly increased the potential of research on occupational mobility and its interrelationship with trajectories and transitions in other domains of the life course. With the help of event history analysis, it is possible to study the mutual interdependencies between occupational transitions and parallel careers in other spheres of the life course, as well as the matching of occupational trajectories of interrelated individuals, such as couples. In addition, one can analyze the impact on occupational mobility of variables situated at different levels of aggregation, such as individual characteristics, family determinants, and broader economic and social circumstances. The flexibility of event history analysis even allows for consideration of previous events in occupational trajectories, such as the age of entry into the labor force, occupational mobility, or job experience, as determinants of future events in individuals' occupational lives (Blossfeld and Rowher 2002). These characteristics make of event history analysis a very important tool for the analysis of job mobility, as we will see in the following

chapter, where I use this technique to explore the determinants of the initial allocation of men into the labor force and subsequent job mobility.

However, by focusing on what Elder (1985) would call the "short-view in analytical scope," researchers may lack a holistic perspective of occupational trajectories as meaningful conceptual units. Take as an example the subject of this chapter, namely trajectories from the start of occupational lives to the end of early adulthood. An event-centered approach requires the partition of these trajectories in individual transitions, such as the entry into the labor force, individual job shifts, or the transition from employment to unemployment. As we will see in the following chapter, the separate analysis of each of these events produces significant insights into the study of occupational careers, but it does not allow us to fully visualize their possible interdependence within an individual's career. It is reasonable, for instance, to think that a late age of entry into the labor force may be associated with a career start in a high-level occupation, which in turn may be linked to later job stability and low occupational mobility. Alternatively, an early entry into the labor force may be associated with a start in a lower-manual position, which leads either to upward mobility or to no further occupational attainment, generating two alternative paths in young individuals' occupational careers. Thus, the event-centered approach is extremely useful for exploring the determinants of individual job transitions, but it is not well suited for producing an overall account of the succession of these transitions across time nor for their integration into entire occupational careers.

The study of entire occupational careers as conceptual units may lead to interesting findings which would complement those obtained by "event-centered" approaches, such as event history analysis. There are at least two theoretical ways of justifying the interest on complete life courses and, in this particular case, on entire occupational trajectories (Billari (forthcoming)). First, complete life courses can be interpreted to be at least partially the outcome of long-term strategic individual planning. The hypothesis of a holistic view of the life course present in the behavior of individuals themselves is common to theoretical developments in economics (Camerer 1995; Deaton and Muellbauer 1980: Ch. 12), sociology (Giddens 1991), and psychology (Heckhausen 1999). For these theoretical approaches, it is not only useful but also necessary to adopt a perspective with the entire life course as a conceptual unit.

Second, even if one is not eager to take up such a strong theoretical assumption and instead adopts a view in which the life course is thought of as being a contingent result of subsequent events, there are still reasons to consider entire occupational trajectories as meaningful units of analysis. Entire occupational trajectories may serve to summarize the past occupational history of individuals and provide insights not only into the timing of single events, such as the entry into the labor force and subsequent job shifts, but also into their sequencing (occupational mobility paths), the duration of time spent in each occupation, and the timing between occupational transitions. Furthermore, the analysis of similarities and differences in occupational careers might result in the identification of "typical" occupational trajectories that can be used to describe

the occupational experiences of individuals with different social and demographic characteristics, as well as in comparative research across countries, regions, or cohorts.

The promise of a holistic approach for occupational careers has been somewhat hampered by the technical and methodological difficulties arising from the analysis of entire sequences of events. However, the introduction of the set of techniques known as *sequence analysis* offers new alternatives for managing such information. In this chapter I use sequence analysis to study the occupational trajectories of Monterrey men.

THE OPTIMAL MATCHING PROCEDURE

The basic principle behind sequence analysis is to represent each life course as a 'word' or, to be precise, as a string of characters. Each character in this string represents a discrete unit of time spent in a particular state. Let us take as an example twelve months in the occupational trajectory of three individuals, distinguishing only between two states: unemployed (U) and employed (E). These three occupational trajectories might be represented as follows:

Individual 1: E E E E E E E E E E E E

Individual 2: U E E E E E E E E E E E

Individual 3: U U U E E U U E E E E E

In these three hypothetical trajectories, individual 1 spends the complete year employed, individual 2 experiences unemployment during the first month and then is employed for the rest of the year, and individual 3 experiences two periods of unemployment, between the first and third month and then between

the sixth and seventh month of the year. There are several analytical strategies to study life history data in the form presented above, including the graphical representation of sequences (see, for instance, the descriptions provided by BioBrowser (Statistics Canada 1999), and the monograph by Wehner (1999)). In this dissertation I focus on the combination of optimal matching analysis (OMA) and clusters analysis to obtain groups of similar trajectories, a method originally created for the alignment of sequences in the biological sciences.

The goal of optimal matching is to compute a matrix of dissimilarities between pairs of sequences. The dissimilarity between two sequences is equivalent to the cost of transforming one sequence into the other one. This transformation is performed through three basic operations: insertion (a state is inserted into the sequence); deletion (a state is deleted from the sequence); and substitution (a state is substituted by another one). To each basic operation a specific cost is assigned[70]. The distance between two sequences can thus be defined as the minimum cost of transforming one sequence into the other, where the total cost is obtained by summing the costs of each elementary operation. Thus, for example, if we assign a cost of two units for insertion and deletion costs and of one unit for substitutions, the cost of transforming sequence one into sequence two in the example above would be 1 unit (equivalent to substituting E by U in the first segment of the sequence), and the cost of transforming sequence two into sequence three would be 4 units (four

[70] The assignment of these substitution and "in-del" costs is a crucial step in the optimal matching procedure, because the estimated distance between sequences depends directly on these costs. Later I discuss this in detail.

substitutions, in segments 2, 3, 6, and 7). Specific dynamic programming algorithms assure that the minimum cost is effectively found (Sankoff and Kruskal 1983; Waterman 1995)[71]. The result of applying this procedure to each pair of sequences is a distance matrix, which summarizes the differences among entire sequences of events. This matrix can be used as the input for any kind of statistical analysis requiring proximity data (e.g. cluster analysis or multidimensional scaling).

Most of the recent sociological literature analyzing entire sequences of life course events makes use of optimal matching. The technique has been applied with good results to topics as diverse as the careers of musicians in the 18th century (Abbott and Hrycak 1990), upward mobility to the service class (Chan 1995), occupational trajectories in early and middle adulthood (Halpin and Chan 1998), careers among executive women (Blair-Loy 1999), and the succession of events constituting the transition from school to work (Rohwer and Trappe 1999; Scherer 2001). However, it must be acknowledged that optimal matching analysis is still in its infancy and that there are many substantial aspects of the technique that remain to be improved in order to incorporate it as a conventional tool for the study of occupational mobility.[72] One challenge is to demonstrate that OMA can systematically produce meaningful results with large samples. Virtually all the analyses above are based on small samples (the exception is Halpin and Chan's

[71] In this case I use the OMA algorithms implemented in the TDA package, a public domain software available at the following URL address: http://steinhaus.stat.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/tda.html. See also Rohwer & Pöter (1999).

[72] Wu (2000) makes a detailed critical review of the most relevant methodological problems accruing in optimal matching procedures.

piece), and there might be some doubts about the usefulness of the technique when applied to large samples. Perhaps a more substantial problem is that the technique is well suited for describing occupational careers but it has not been possible so far to use it for causal analysis. A possible solution to this problem is the further utilization of clusters of similar careers both as independent and dependent variables (Abbott and Hrycak 1990).

DATA

I use only data for 2000, because the available data set for 1965 does not include the entire occupational histories. The occupational histories in the 2000 survey include the beginning and ending months of each occupation, as well as some characteristics of the occupation, such as the name, principal activities performed in the job, sector, and type of contract. This information was used to obtain the occupational trajectories of men between the ages of 14 and 30. I utilized the classification of eight occupational categories. The occupational trajectories of 1,019 of the 1,200 men[73] were coded on a monthly basis, using a classification of ten different states. Eight states correspond to the different occupational groups. The other two states refer to periods without an occupation. The first state (N) reflects the time before the start of a working career. It is the state of origin for most of the respondents, but not for all of them as they might have started working before the age of 14. The second state (O) refers to periods

[73] A total of 181 men were excluded from the analysis. Most of them (163) were migrants who arrived in Monterrey after the age of 21. I excluded them because their occupational trajectories reflect to a larger extent their experience in the community of origin and not in Monterrey. The rest were excluded due to missing data.

out of work after previous occupational experience. I assume states N and O to be closely correlated to full-time education exits and entries and, to a lesser extent, unemployment[74]. However, there is no way to establish this with certainty due to the absence of detailed information on educational trajectories and on the activities of men in periods without an occupation.

SUBSTITUTION COSTS AND CLUSTERING METHOD

The next step in performing the optimal matching procedure was to define substitution, insertion, and deletion costs. As I mentioned before, different assumptions about the substitution and "in-del" costs may significantly affect the OMA results, because the calculation of distances between occupational sequences depends directly on these costs. Thus, as Chan (1995) argues, decisions about substitution costs must be grounded in our conception of theoretically important divisions between occupational groups. In this application I recognize a hierarchical classification of four-groups, with higher non-manual occupations at the top (group I), followed by lower non-manual (II to IV), higher manual (V) and lower manual occupations (VI to VIII)[75]. I assign substitution costs based on this hierarchy of occupations. I also assign an additional cost to substitutions trespassing the farm/manual/non-manual boundaries, following the assumption

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[74] Since there is no unemployment insurance in Mexico, those who lose their jobs try to find themselves an occupation as soon as possible, either in the formal or the informal economy. Consequently, open unemployment rates are considerably low, even in periods of economic recession (Martin 2000), and it is rare to find individuals who have been unemployed for long periods of time.

[75] As I have shown in Chapter IV, the empirical evidence for Monterrey indicates that this hierarchy of occupations exists in aspects such as wages, schooling, standard of living, cultural consumption, and life-styles.

that these boundaries represent significant thresholds in mobility within occupational trajectories.

The resulting matrix of substitution costs is presented in Table VI-1. The smallest cost (1) is assigned to substitutions within the lower manual (groups VI and VII) and lower non-manual (groups II to IV) categories. The rest of the substitution costs are obtained by summing the number of boundaries crossed in the double-hierarchy mentioned above. Thus, for example, a substitution between IV and V has a cost of 3 units, which is the sum of the minimal substitution cost (1), the cost of crossing the lower non-manual/higher manual boundary, and the cost of crossing the non-manual/manual threshold. According to this logic, the highest substitution cost (6) is assigned to exchanges between farm occupations (VIII) and higher non-manual occupations (I). This cost is the result of adding the minimum substitution cost (1), the number of boundaries crossed in the four-level hierarchy (3), and the number of boundaries crossed in the farm/manual/non-manual hierarchy (2). Thus, this substitution matrix emphasizes the differences in occupational levels between occupational trajectories, and particularly the distinction between farm, manual, and non-manual occupations.

The matrix also includes the two "out of work" states: not yet in the labor force (N) and temporarily out of work (O). I assigned the maximum cost of 6 to all substitutions involving these two states. In the case of "N," the decision is based on the interest in exploring the effect of the age of entry into the labor force in later occupational trajectories. By assigning a large value to substitutions

between "N" and all other states, I emphasize the distinctions between the occupational trajectories of men with early and late entries into the labor force. A similar logic explains the decision of assigning a large value to substitutions between "O" and the other states. Occupational careers with long or frequent periods out of work reflect irregular job trajectories, possibly due to returns to full-time education, unemployment or job instability. The high costs of substitution serve to distinguish intermittent occupational sequences from more stable trajectories.

In relation to insertion and deletion costs, the common practice is assigning similar costs to all kinds of substitutions. However, there is debate as to whether these costs should vary depending on the proximity of occupations, as substitution costs do. I decided to avoid any assumption about insertion and deletion costs and to restrict the operations of the optimal matching procedure to substitutions. To do this, I assigned a fixed cost of 6 to "in-del" costs. Since all occupational trajectories in our analysis have exactly the same length (191 months, between ages 14 and 30), in practice this decision means that in-del operations are never utilized in the optimal matching procedure, because they are as costly as the most "expensive" substitution cost.

The matrix of distances between sequences obtained from the optimal matching procedure was then processed with cluster analysis. Clustering procedures are always complicated because there are many alternative techniques and the outcomes may significantly vary according to which of these methods is selected (Everitt 1993; Gordon 1999). In this application, I chose the Ward

method because it utilizes an analysis of variance approach that provides some basis for establishing the number of clusters necessary to obtain a reasonable description of differences in the sequences. Based on this information (Table VI.2), as well as on our analysis of the internal homogeneity and characteristics of each cluster, I decided to limit our analysis to twelve clusters. The proportion of the total variance (r square) explained by these twelve groupings of sequences was 0.759.

PATTERNS OF ENTRY INTO THE LABOR FORCE AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Before proceeding to the analysis of entire occupational trajectories, it may be useful to briefly discuss some recent trends and differentials in patterns of entry into the labor force and occupational mobility in Monterrey. As I argue in the introduction of this dissertation, one of the most remarkable features of Monterrey and other Mexican cities is the confluence of trends usually associated with the process of modernization, such as the increase in education and the reduction of rural-urban migration, with a persistent segmentation in labor markets and large social inequalities. As a result, heterogeneity in occupational life courses has persisted, despite trends similar to those observed in developed countries in the timing of the most significant occupational transitions[76].

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[76] This is well illustrated by retirement. The age of final exit from the labor force has gradually decreased and concentrated around 65. However, a more detailed analysis shows the limits in the institutionalization of this transition: only half of the working population is eligible for a retirement pension (Ham 1993), and those without pensions must work until later ages and rely on their families or on their own savings to afford an earlier exit from work (Solís 1996). Thus, the segmentation of labor markets and absence of universal retirement programs are an obstacle for the

Consider the differences in men's ages of entry into the labor force (Table VI.3). Cohort trends reveal a gradual increase in the median age at the time of the first job, from 15.7 years in the birth cohorts 1940-1949 to 16.8 years in the cohorts 1960-1969. Increases are slightly larger for the first quartile (13.4 to 14.8 years), perhaps because gains in the attendance of secondary education are larger than those observed at higher educational levels. In general, these trends are consistent with those observed in developed countries after the massive expansion of schooling to secondary and college education (OECD 2001). However, this overall trend is overshadowed by the large differences in men's experiences across socioeconomic groups. Let us first take a look at differences in education. As expected given the connection between the end of educational trajectories and the beginning of occupational careers, there is a clear association between educational levels and the age of entry into the first job. Among men with less than a primary school education, the median age of entry into the labor force is 13.5 years, versus 19.2 years for men who attended college. The extent of this gap can be fully noticed when we look at the differences between quartiles: by 15.4 years of age, 75% of men with less than primary schooling had already experienced the transition to work whereas it took almost eleven more months (16.3 years of age) for men with a college education to reach 25% in the proportion experiencing this transition.

The association is very similar when, instead of considering the respondent's own schooling, we take a look at his father's educational attainment.

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institutionalization of the process of exit from the labor force. It is possible to draw parallels with the situation in previous stages of the occupational life course.

It is important to note that in this case there is not a direct connection between educational and occupational trajectories, but only the indirect effects that may come from the influence of the respondent's family of origin on his patterns of entry into the labor force. Among men whose fathers attained less than a primary school education, the average age of entry into the labor force is 15.7 years, compared to 20.4 years for children of men with a college education. These differences also appear when we consider an alternative indicator of social origins, namely the occupation of the father at birth. The average age at entry into the labor force was 15.9 years for sons of men in lower manual occupations, 16.6 years for higher manual, 17.4 years for lower non-manual and 21.3 years for higher non-manual occupations. These figures suggest that men's social origin, and particularly the socioeconomic standing of the father, is an important determinant of the timing of the transition to work.

The same is true in relation to the job level at the start of occupational careers, as well as to mobility between the first occupation and the occupation at age 30 (Tables VI.4 and VI.5). In relation to cohort trends, there is more stability than change: around one half of the men entered the workforce in lower manual occupations (groups VI to VIII), a third in lower non-manual jobs (groups II to IV), and less than 5% started their occupational trajectories as professionals or managers (group I). Also, in the three cohorts, approximately one-fifth of the men experienced long upward mobility[77], slightly more than one-third had short upward mobility, one-third did not experience any vertical mobility, and the rest

[77] "Long" and "short" mobility refer to job shifts that cross and do not cross the boundary between manual and non-manual occupations, respectively.

underwent downward mobility. Consistently with the results presented in other chapters of this dissertation, it can be noted that the dominant pattern is one of upward mobility.

There is, however, a strong correlation between with education and men's social origins. Lower schooling levels correlate to lower occupational standings at the start of occupational careers. This association is also present for father's education and occupation at birth. Finally, there is a positive and strong correlation between the age of entry into the labor force and the level of the first occupation: among men who started working before the age of 14, the proportion who did it in lower manual occupations was 77%, versus only 8% of those who started at age 20 or later. Most men with late entries did start in non-manual positions, and a significant proportion (22%) did it at the top of the occupational hierarchy, either as professionals or managers. From this trends and those presented in Table VI-3, it seems evident that the age of entry into the labor force plays the role of an intermediate variable between both men's educational and social origins and their job standings at the start of their occupational lives.

It is more difficult to interpret mobility trends because they do not depend only on occupational opportunities but also on the limits of mobility prospects imposed by the occupation of entry. Thus, for example, men with privileged positions at the start of their occupational careers have limited upward mobility because they are already at the top of the occupational hierarchy. The same can be argued in relation to downward mobility for men who entered in

low-level positions. These "ceiling" and "floor" effects may result in misleading conclusions when comparing mobility prospects for groups of men with different profiles of entry into the labor force. A good example is mobility by age of entry into the labor force. Upward mobility (both long- and short-term) decreases as the age of entry into the labor force increases, not because those who enter work late have lower occupational prospects, but precisely for the opposite reason: their advantage has already manifested in a privileged position at the start of their occupational trajectory.

The latter point illustrates some of the benefits of a holistic approach to occupational careers. There are evident interconnections between the age of entry into the labor force, the occupation of entry, and later mobility prospects. These interconnections are difficult to disentangle if each of these aspects of men's occupational lives is analyzed separately. Moreover, mobility patterns can be studied in greater detail if, instead of taking two points in individual trajectories, we consider the full sequence of occupations. In the next section I take a closer look at these interconnections between events, as well as at mobility patterns derived from entire trajectories.

GROUPS OF OCCUPATIONAL TRAJECTORIES

The twelve clusters of occupational sequences obtained after the optimal matching procedure and the Ward clustering method are presented in Table VI-6. The table also presents the percent distribution of cases in the representative sample that fall within each of these twelve groups, as well as the distribution by number of cases (unweighted). There are six predominant groups (1, 2, 3, 4, 8,

and 9), each with at least ten percent of cases. Together, these six groups account for 70.3% of the sample. In contrast, three clusters of trajectories (10, 11, and 12) group less than 3% of the cases each.

The first question is whether these clusters produce meaningful groupings of trajectories. To answer this, I contrasted the clusters according to a series of indicators reflecting the main characteristics of occupational trajectories (Table VI.7). In addition, I produced a graphic representation of a sample of complete occupational trajectories (Figure 1), which facilitates, as a visual aid, the identification of common patterns in each cluster. To simplify the description, I also labeled each cluster according to the main features of the occupational trajectories that they represent.

Most of the men in the first four clusters spent their entire occupational trajectories between ages 14 and 30 in blue-collar occupations. This is evident in Figure VI-1, where most "life-lines" in these four groups are dominated by different tones of blue, the colors representing manual positions. The majority of migrants with farm backgrounds, as well as men who started their occupational careers very early in unskilled positions, are included in these four groups. Together, these four clusters account for close to half of the men's occupational trajectories (46%), thus reflecting the numerical importance of manual jobs in the occupational trajectories of Monterrey men.

Despite their common occupational trajectories in manual activities, men in the first four clusters differ significantly in two other aspects of their careers: their age of entry into work and their occupational mobility patterns. Clusters 1

and 2 are characterized by a low age of entry (the median ages are 12.9 and 14.5 years, respectively), but diverge in mobility patterns: men in "early unskilled manual" trajectories are less mobile and stay in unskilled manual positions, while men in "early skilled manual" careers show higher mobility rates and tend to follow ascending trajectories into skilled manual positions. The mobility patterns of groups 3 and 4 ("unskilled manual" and "skilled manual" trajectories) are similar to those of groups 1 and 2, respectively, but the difference between these two pairs of clusters is a later age of entry into the labor force: the median age of entry is 4.1 years higher for group 3 than for group 1 (17.0 versus 12.9 years) and 3.2 years higher for group 4 than for group 2 (17.7 versus 14.5 years).

The occupational trajectories grouped in clusters 5 and 6 are significantly different from those in the previous four groups. Men in cluster 5 have origins in blue-collar occupations (94% started their trajectory in manual positions), but most of them attained white-collar occupations by age 30. These are the men with "long upward mobility" trajectories, or those who started their careers at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy and were able to obtain non-manual occupations. A closer look at Figure VI-1 shows another common element of these occupational trajectories: most of the transitions from manual to non-manual work took place between the ages of 22 and 26. Given that three of every four men in this group entered the workforce before the age of 17, it can be deduced that in most cases, long upward mobility took place after a period of several years of experience in manual occupations.

Two features characterize the occupational trajectories of men in cluster 6: an early age of entry into work (the median age is 14.5 years) and the predominance of non-manual occupations from very early in occupational careers. The positions of entry for men in this group are diverse: 49% started in lower-manual occupations, 4% in higher manual jobs, and 47% in non-manual positions. Yet, most men with manual origins experienced the transition to non-manual work (there is long upward mobility in 49% of the trajectories), and they did it early in their lives, as a closer look at the life-lines in Figure VI-1 reveals. What did these "teenage white-collar" workers do to attain middle-level positions so early in their occupational trajectories? A possible answer to this question can be found in the work opportunities opened by the segmentation of labor markets and the informal economy. Young men can either initiate their careers as family workers in clerical activities (i.e. as office or commerce clerks in a family business), or as informal, underpaid clerical workers in small offices. These kinds of jobs may be particularly appealing to young men., who are willing to accept precarious work conditions in exchange for some income independence, job experience, and perhaps a chance at being promoted to a better position.

If clusters 5 and 6 represent long upward movers, cluster 7 groups men with "long downward mobility" trajectories, or, in other words, those who experienced the transition from manual to non-manual occupations *and* continued in manual occupations for a relatively long period of time[78]. Compared

[78] Since the entire occupational trajectory is used as unit of analysis, short job spells are not as determinant in defining group membership as the overall shape of the sequence. Thus, men in trajectories dominated by non-manual occupations will be

to clusters 5 and 6, this group is relatively small (4.6%), which is consistent with the overall predominance of upward over downward mobility. Most downward movers started their occupational careers as non-manual workers (62%), in low-level clerical activities similar to those of men in cluster 6. The rest mainly started in unskilled manual activities (35%) and experienced manual/non-manual upward mobility before returning to manual occupations. By age 30, 93% of men in this group were in manual occupations; 60% had experienced downward mobility in relation to their first occupation, and another significant proportion encountered downward mobility after an initial trajectory of upward mobility in a double upward-downward movement that cannot be registered when mobility trends are derived solely from two moments in individuals' lives.

The trajectories of men who spent all or most of their occupational lives in non-manual jobs are mainly grouped in clusters 8 and 9. Despite this common feature, these two groups differ in their age of entry into the labor force (median ages of 17.8 years and 21.7 years, respectively), and occupations of origin (29% of men in "clerical" careers started in non-manual occupations, versus only 9% of men in "professional" trajectories). More importantly, the two clusters also diverge in their mobility patterns and, consequently, their occupations of destiny. Half of the men in "professional" careers attained professional or managerial positions by age 30, versus only 9% of men in "clerical" trajectories. In fact, cluster 9 illustrates the most common trajectory pattern for men reaching

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grouped together, even if some of them spend short time periods in manual positions.

professional and managerial occupations: of all men with top-level occupations at age 30, 51% pertain to this group (proportion not shown in the table).

The last three clusters are the ones with the smallest number of cases, indicating that they are not very frequent among Monterrey men. The cluster of "professional and managers with early entry" groups men who started to work early in their lives (the median age at entry is 15.7 years) and reached professional occupations at some point in their careers before the age of 30. This group of trajectories represents an alternative route of access to top-level occupations, different than the more common path of entry at 21-22 years of age in white-collar positions, represented by cluster 9. In contrast, the cluster of trajectories with "late entry" groups all men who initiated their occupational careers very late in their lives, according to Monterrey standards. The median age of entry into work for this group is 25.3 years[79]. The late starters are mainly professionals and managers, although there are also lower level white-collar workers and some skilled manual workers. The group is characterized by low occupational mobility (57% did not experience any mobility between the first job and the job at age 30), which may be due in part to the short time span of observation. Finally, cluster 12 groups men with "intermittent" trajectories, that is, with long periods of time out of work. The fact that only 1.5% of men are grouped in this category tells us how rare it is to find men with long periods of inactivity after their initial transition to work. There are two reasons to think that these periods of inactivity are more linked to a return to full-time education or to other out-of-work

[79] At this age, 98.7% of Monterrey men had already experienced the transition to work.

activities than to unemployment. First, as I mentioned before, there is no unemployment insurance in Mexico, and therefore few men can afford to be unemployed for long periods of time. Second, both the relatively high median age of entry into work (17.8 years) and the patterns of further upward mobility (78% experienced long upward mobility) suggest both privileged origins and successful occupational careers, two characteristics that are somewhat inconsistent with prolonged periods of unemployment.

OCCUPATIONAL TRAJECTORIES OVER TIME AND ACROSS SOCIAL GROUPS

Having summarized the most important features of the clusters of occupational trajectories, in this section I present an exploratory analysis of how these trajectories have changed over time and how they correlate to other characteristics of Monterrey men. I limit my scope to the four variables included in Table VI-3: birth cohort, father's occupation, father's education, and respondent's education. As is usual in the life course approach, I interpret cohort changes in occupational trajectories as reflecting, at least partially, the effects of broader structural transformations on occupational lives. Father's education and occupation at birth let us evaluate the weight of ascription factors as determinants of occupational paths. Finally, the respondent's own educational attainment is more associated with individual merit, although it may also partially reflect the relationship between social origins and education.

Table VI.8 presents the bivariate relationship between these variables and the occupational trajectories of Monterrey men. Inter-cohort changes are not huge, but it is possible to identify a shift from clusters representing very early ages

of entry into work to clusters with later ages of entry. Thus, for example, workers in early unskilled and skilled manual trajectories (clusters 1 and 2, respectively,) grouped 31% of men in the birth cohorts 1940-1949, 25% in the cohorts 1950-1959, and 20% in the cohorts 1960-1969. In contrast, the proportion of men in blue-collar careers with later ages of entry into the labor force (cluster 4) increased from 7% to 14% between the oldest and youngest cohorts, and the proportion of men in "professional" careers (cluster 9) passed from 8% to 14%. In addition to this trend, it is difficult to find a clear pattern of change between cohorts. There is a temporary shift in the importance of clusters 5 and 6 for birth cohorts 1950-1959, but it is hard to discern if this is due to actual differences in the experience of men or to sampling variations. In sum, the only solid evidence that can be derived from cohort trends is the gradual shift in favor of occupational trajectories with later ages of entry into work.

Table VI.8 reveals, however, clear differences in men's trajectories according to their social origins, regardless of whether they are measured by the father's occupation at birth or the father's educational attainment. There is a shift from manual trajectories (clusters 1 to 4) to non-manual trajectories (clusters 8 to 10) as a father's educational and occupational levels increase. For instance, the proportion in clusters 1 to 4 is 57% for children of men in lower manual positions, versus only 4% for sons of men in higher non-manual occupations. In contrast, the fractions in clusters 8 to 10 are 18% and 78%, respectively. It is also important to note that the weight of the "atypical" clusters 10, 11, and 12 increases among men with higher social origins, suggesting that these infrequent

occupational paths are more common among them. In short, men with more advantaged origins tend to concentrate in trajectories characterized by a late entry into work, a high initial occupational level, and high mobility rates from lower non-manual to higher non-manual occupations.

A different question is whether there is an interaction between the effects of the father's occupation and education. It is reasonable to think that fathers with "status inconsistencies" between occupational and educational levels exert a different impact on their children's careers than fathers with a consistent status. The disadvantages of lower educational origins, for example, may be offset for children of men who, despite their low schooling levels, were able to attain a high occupation. In order to explore these interaction effects, I constructed a variable grouping men in eight categories, each representing a different combination of the fathers' education and schooling levels. The first four categories represent "consistent combinations," from the lowest to the highest educational and occupational levels. The next four categories represent "inconsistent combinations," that is, cases with a high level in one variable and a low level in the other.

The contrast of trajectories according to these categories produces interesting results. First, the influence of the father's characteristics seems to be accentuated among children of men with a consistent educational and occupational status. Consider the case of children of men with a college education and in higher non-manual positions: 66% are grouped in cluster 9, against 48% and 54% when the father's education and occupation are

considered separately. Second, children of men with "inconsistent combinations" tend to follow very different trajectories than those with consistent ones. Children of manual workers with a high education level follow upward mobility careers (clusters 5 and 6) more frequently and manual careers (clusters 1 to 4) less frequently, compared to children of manual workers with a low education level. The opposite is true for children of men in higher non-manual positions: the frequency of higher non-manual trajectories (cluster 9) is greatly reduced among children of men with less than a college education, compared to children of men with a college education.

As it may be expected, occupational trajectories are also related to educational attainment. This pattern is similar to that observed in the cases of father's education and occupation: as schooling levels increase, the proportion of men in trajectories 8, 9, and 10 also increases, and the fraction in clusters 1 to 4 decreases. We may expect a part of this association to be explained by the correlation between family origins and education. However, schooling attainment is not fully determined by social origins. This suggests that a good schooling performance might be one of the shortest available routes to circumvent the negative effects of low social origins on occupational trajectories.

The results of the exploratory analysis presented above can be summarized through the application of multiple correspondence analysis, which produces a graphic representation in a lower-dimensional space of the structure of associations among a group of categorical variables (Clausen 1998; Weller and Romney 1990). Instead of including father's education and occupation as separate

variables, I incorporated them within the correspondence analysis as combined categories, as shown in Table VI-8. The other variables included are birth cohort and the respondent's education. A solution with two dimensions explains 91.4% of the total *inertia*. The first dimension accounts for 74.6%, and the second dimension for the residual 16.8%.

The plot representing the position of the different groups in this two-dimensional space is presented in Figure VI-2. The father's characteristics are circled, with the "consistent" combinations joined by a line. The twelve clusters of trajectories are in capital letters. Birth cohorts and respondent's educational levels can be identified by their respective labels. The main dimension, (x axis) is primarily correlated to both the "consistent" combinations of father's characteristics and educational attainment. Cluster 9, representing higher non-manual trajectories, and the "atypical" clusters 10, 11, and 12, are clearly associated with college education, as well as with the father's high occupational and educational levels. On the left side of the plot, the clusters representing "full-time" manual careers (clusters 1 and 2) are linked to the oldest birth cohort, less than primary education, and father's low occupational levels.

The remaining six clusters are located in between these "extreme" groups of occupational trajectories. Three trends stand out in relation to these intermediate groups of occupational trajectories. First, clusters 6 and 8, both representing the careers of men who were able to attain lower non-manual jobs but did not reach a top position, group together with father's "status inconsistencies." In this sense, membership in these two groups of trajectories

may reflect an "intergenerational adjustment" in mobility prospects, in a downward direction for children of men combining high-level occupations and low education, and in an upward direction for children of men with low-level positions but high schooling levels. Second, cluster 4, and to a lesser extent clusters 3 and 7, group together with secondary and preparatory levels of education and a father's background of less than primary education and higher manual occupations. Finally, men with long upward mobility (cluster 5) are located close to the center of the plot, thus suggesting that they come from a variety of social backgrounds.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this chapter was to study the occupational trajectories of Monterrey men, from the start of their careers to the end of early adulthood. I adopted a holistic approach, applying sequence analysis. In contrast with traditional mobility tables that merely focus on two moments of individual lives, and event history techniques that focus on specific transitions within individuals' occupational careers, sequence analysis offers the opportunity to study entire sequences of states as conceptual units. The initial question was whether it was possible to use sequence analysis to identify groups of similar occupational trajectories representing the typical work experiences of Monterrey men. A second but equally important question was whether these career patterns varied according to demographic, family, and individual characteristics.

The application of optimal matching to individual-level data from a representative sample survey produced twelve groups of occupational trajectories.

These groups diverge in several characteristics, the most important being: a) the age of entry into the labor force; b) the occupation at the entry into the labor force; c) the pattern of occupational mobility; and d) the timing of occupational mobility. A detailed description of the characteristics of each of these clusters can be found in the respective sections of the chapter. Here I will limit my comments to selected general features. A first glance at occupational careers produces four large groups of trajectories: those for which manual occupations are predominant (clusters 1 to 4); those where non-manual occupations prevail (clusters 8 to 10); those characterized by long upward or downward mobility (clusters 5 to 7); and "atypical" careers (clusters 11 and 12). However, a more detailed view shows that there are a number of alternative paths within these four wide groups of trajectories. These paths vary according to the age of entry into the labor force (i.e. lower ages in clusters 1 and 2 and higher ages in clusters 3 and 4); the extent of occupational mobility (for instance, higher upward mobility for cluster 9 than for cluster 8); the timing of mobility (early upward mobility in cluster 6 versus later mobility in cluster 5); and the direction of mobility (downward mobility for cluster 7, against upward mobility in clusters 5 and 6). Thus, the resulting map of career patterns not only reflects long-term mobility patterns, but also their interaction with other aspects of occupational life courses, such as the age of entry into the labor force and the timing of mobility.

In this sense, the analysis of whole occupational trajectories as conceptual units reveals the interconnections between multiple events in men's occupational lives. The age of entry into the workforce is associated with the position of entry,

and this position is in turn an important factor for future mobility prospects. Thus, for example, men entering work late do it more often as non-manual workers. From this advantaged position of entry, mobility prospects are limited to job stability or downward mobility. The group of men in "professional careers" (cluster 9), which represents a large fraction of those who attained professional & managerial positions, adjusts to this pattern of a relatively high age of entry, high status of entry, and either stability or short upward mobility. The "atypical" pattern of "professionals and managers with long careers" (cluster 10) is precisely exceptional because it represents the few who entered early into work and later attained a higher non-manual position. On the other hand, very low ages of entry into the labor force are associated with low-level occupations of entry, and few prospects of upward mobility[80]. Clusters 1 and 2 are illustrative of this pattern of careers, in which the very early entry into work seems to be connected either to an enduring place at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy or to short distance mobility into higher manual positions. It is more difficult to disentangle the interrelationships between age of entry, position of entry, and further mobility patterns for men in long upward and downward mobility careers (clusters 5 and 7), because the decisive factor in the identification of these clusters is precisely the occupational mobility pattern, and not a common age of entry into the labor force.

[80] The exception is cluster 6, which, as I mentioned above, is likely integrated by men who entered into the labor force in informal service positions, such as sales clerks or "office boys."

A different question is whether the frequency of these career patterns has changed over time. In previous chapters I outlined the most important economic transformations experienced by Monterrey in recent decades. I have shown that, despite the short-term negative effects of the debt-crisis of the 1980s in labor, as well as the more permanent reductions in wage levels, the occupational structure of Monterrey continued its upgrading in the last two decades, this time based on the expansion of non-manual occupations. Other secular trends have also prevailed in recent decades, such as the gradual increase in educational levels and the persistence of high levels of inequality, not only in incomes, but also in the access to other social assets such as education (see Chapter V) and cultural goods (see Chapter IV). In this context, occupational trajectories seem to reflect more the continuity than the changes in the social and economic development of Monterrey in the last two decades, or at least that is what can be deducted from the similarity of trajectory patterns between men in the three birth cohorts. The only remarkable pattern is a gradual decrease over time in the proportion of men with trajectories that start at early ages. This transformation is very likely associated with the increase in full-time secondary and preparatory schooling during recent decades.

I also explored the effects of ascribed and attained traits on career patterns. The results are consistent with the findings presented in other chapters in relation to the strong correlation between family origins and occupational trajectories. Career patterns leading to non-manual positions are considerably more frequent for men with fathers in advantaged occupational and educational

positions; conversely, men with entire trajectories in manual occupations come more often from a disadvantaged family background. Moreover, there is some evidence of an interaction effect between father's characteristics: children of men with "inconsistent" combinations of educational credentials and occupational positions tend to follow different career patterns than those with consistent combinations. On the other hand, there is also a strong connection between educational attainment and occupational trajectories, which cannot be entirely attributed to the indirect effect of social origins. In sum, these results indicate that both ascribed and attained characteristics exert a strong influence on the career patterns followed by Monterrey men.

From a methodological standpoint, the application of sequence analysis significantly contributed to the identification of common patterns in occupational trajectories among Monterrey men. These results are representative of the advantages and disadvantages of this method when applied to studies on careers and occupational mobility with large and heterogeneous samples. An obvious advantage is that it helps to reduce to a small number of groups the numerous variants that job trajectories may take at the beginning and during the first years of occupational lives. As I have emphasized in this chapter, these variants are not limited to the type of occupation, but also to the timing of entry into work and the timing of occupational mobility. If we also consider all the possible variations produced by temporary "atypical" job spells in careers with certain dominant patterns (i.e. a manual position for a couple of months in a career dominated by non-manual positions), the potential number of variants in occupational careers

becomes even larger. From this perspective, the combination of the optimal matching procedure and the clustering method constitutes an effective way to identify common career patterns, as well as typical and atypical paths of occupational mobility.

Yet, this data-reduction process also has limits and costs. The simplification of the distances among trajectories performed by the OMA procedure is not free of error: even when there is a remarkable similarity among occupational trajectories within each cluster, a more detailed view reveals the presence of a few "outliers" within some clusters. Moreover, the reduction of more than one thousand individual trajectories to only twelve common patterns implies by definition that a part of the variance in trajectories is ignored. In our particular case, the differences between the twelve clusters explain 75% of the total variance in OMA scores. However, it is reasonable to think that the explained variance would be reduced in cases with more heterogeneous data sets. Consider, for example, a sequence analysis based on a nationally representative data, or one including both men's and women's trajectories. Such a sample would either require separate sequence analyses for different groups with common characteristics, thus reducing the comparability between clusters, or a larger number of clusters, thus reducing their utility as input groups for further analysis.

Overall, sequence analysis has proven to be a useful tool for the study of the occupational trajectories of Monterrey men. Certainly, the strength of the method is based on its exploratory power and we must rely on other techniques such as traditional mobility tables or event history analysis to reveal the forces

behind different occupational outcomes. However, that does not mean that the outcomes of sequence analyses cannot be used in further research as independent or dependent variables. As Abbott and Hrycak (1990: p. 171) point out, that ultimately depends on the kinds of questions we ask. If our interest is to find out why certain kinds of individuals follow specific careers or how certain career patterns affect future outcomes – not only in occupational lives, but also in aspects such as political affiliation, cultural consumption, or life-styles – then sequence analysis might prove to be a very useful classification tool in future stratification and mobility research.

Table VI-1. Matrix of Substitution Costs

	N	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	IV.C	O
N	0	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
I		0	2	2	2	4	5	5	6	6
II.A			0	1	1	3	4	4	5	6
II.B				0	1	3	4	4	5	6
II.C					0	3	4	4	5	6
III						0	2	2	3	6
IV.A							0	1	2	6
IV.B								0	2	6
IV.C									0	6
O										0

N = Not yet in the Labor Force
O = Temporarily Out of the Labor Force

Table VI-2. Variance Explained by the First 20 Partitions of the Sample In Clusters of Proximate Occupational Sequences. Ward's Minimum Variance Clustering Method

Number of Clusters	Frequency of New Cluster	Semipartial R-Squared	Accumulated R- Squared
1	1019	0.425	0.000
2	481	0.124	0.425
3	538	0.050	0.549
4	292	0.036	0.599
5	269	0.026	0.635
6	246	0.024	0.661
7	209	0.017	0.685
8	174	0.016	0.702
9	141	0.014	0.719
10	212	0.013	0.733
11	155	0.013	0.746
12	**83**	**0.012**	**0.759**
13	179	0.009	0.771
14	95	0.008	0.781
15	42	0.007	0.788
16	84	0.007	0.796
17	19	0.006	0.803
18	119	0.005	0.809
19	99	0.005	0.814
20	115	0.004	0.819

Table VI-3. Quartiles and Median of Age at First Job for Monterrey Men, According to Selected Characteristics. Kaplan-Meier Estimates

Variable	Quartile 1	Median	Quartile 3	Q3-Q1	Cases	% (weighted)
Cohort						
1940-1949	13.4	15.7	17.8	4.4	328	21
1950-1959	13.9	16.2	18.9	5.0	342	32
1960-1969	14.8	16.8	18.5	3.7	349	47
Respondent's Education						
Less Than Primary	11.2	13.5	15.4	4.2	97	9
Primary	12.3	14.9	16.8	4.5	148	15
Secondary	14.5	16.1	17.3	2.8	218	26
Preparatory	14.9	16.9	18.3	3.4	176	21
College	16.3	19.2	21.8	5.4	380	29
Father's Education						
Less than Primary	12.9	15.7	17.3	4.4	441	46
Primary	14.8	16.6	18.0	3.2	288	31
Secondary/Preparatory	15.6	18.2	20.0	4.4	168	15
College	17.0	20.4	22.1	5.1	120	8
Father's Occupation at Birth						
Lower Manual	13.5	15.9	17.8	4.3	471	50
Higher Manual	14.3	16.6	18.1	3.7	240	26
Lower Non-Manual	14.9	17.4	20.0	5.1	218	19
Higher Non-Manual	17.3	21.3	22.6	5.3	85	5
Total	14.3	16.5	18.4	4.1	1019	100

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table VI-4. First Occupation After Age 14 by Different Social and Demographic Characteristics

	First Occupation After Age 14								
	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	IV.C	Total
Cohort									
1940-1949	3	8	11	10	11	34	17	6	100
1950-1959	5	12	10	12	10	32	13	7	100
1960-1969	4	11	13	6	13	35	15	4	100
Age at First Occupation									
< 14	0	2	7	8	7	33	26	18	100
14 – 16	0	4	7	11	11	48	16	3	100
17 – 19	1	14	14	6	20	33	11	1	100
> 19	22	31	21	10	6	7	1	0	100
Father's Education									
Less than Primary	1	7	8	8	11	40	17	9	100
Complete Primary	3	11	12	8	15	35	13	3	100
Any Secondary/Preparatory	5	15	15	12	11	28	14	1	100
Any College	20	27	15	12	6	9	11	0	100
Father's Occupation at Birth									
Lower Manual	2	7	7	6	11	39	17	10	100
Higher Manual	3	10	13	9	15	38	12	1	100
Lower Non-Manual	6	16	19	13	9	23	13	1	100
Higher Non-Manual	22	35	14	14	4	4	7	0	100
Respondent's Education									
Less Than Primary	0	2	5	3	6	40	24	20	100
Complete Primary	0	1	7	2	13	45	18	13	100
Any Secondary	0	4	6	11	15	48	13	3	100
Any Preparatory	0	8	14	9	16	36	15	2	100
Any College	13	27	18	12	6	13	11	0	100
Total	4	11	11	9	12	34	14	5	100

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table VI-5. Occupational Mobility Between Ages 14 and 30 by Different Social and Demographic Characteristics

	Mobility between ages 14 and 30*					
	LU	SU	NM	SD	LD	Total
Cohort						
1940-1949	19	35	33	8	4	100
1950-1959	19	38	34	4	5	100
1960-1969	20	34	32	7	6	100
Age at First Occupation						
< 14	25	43	23	5	3	100
14 – 16	21	36	30	8	5	100
17 – 19	22	28	36	6	8	100
> 19	6	34	51	4	4	100
Father's Education						
Less than Primary	17	37	34	7	5	100
Complete Primary	18	34	33	6	8	100
Any Secondary/Preparatory	30	36	28	4	2	100
Any College	25	32	39	3	2	100
Father's Occupation at Birth						
Lower Manual	20	36	33	6	5	100
Higher Manual	18	38	30	8	7	100
Lower Non-Manual	23	26	40	6	5	100
Higher Non-Manual	11	54	33	2	1	100
Respondent's Education						
Less Than Primary	7	47	38	5	3	100
Complete Primary	15	41	32	6	6	100
Any Secondary	19	30	34	11	6	100
Any Preparatory	25	34	30	7	4	100
Any College	24	35	34	2	6	100
Total	20	35	33	6	5	100

* LU – Long-upward mobility; SU - Short Upward Mobility; NM - No vertical mobility; SD - Short Downward Mobility; LD – Long Downward Mobility

Table VI-6. Career Patterns of Monterrey Men

Career Pattern	%	Cases
1. Early unskilled manual	11.3	105
2. Early skilled manual	12.9	119
3. Unskilled manual	11.2	99
4. Skilled manual	10.6	90
5 Long Upward Mobility	9.3	83
6 Teenage white-collar	9.1	95
7 Long Downward Mobility	4.6	42
8 Clerical	10.6	115
9. Professionals & managers	13.7	179
10. Professionals & managers with early entry	2.6	40
11. Late entry	2.6	33
12. Intermittent	1.5	19

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table VI-7. Principal Characteristics of the Career Patterns of Monterrey Men

a) Age of entry into the labor force	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q3-Q1
1. Early unskilled manual	10.1	12.9	14.4	4.3
2. Early skilled manual	12.4	14.5	15.6	3.2
3. Unskilled manual	16.3	17.0	18.0	1.7
4. Skilled manual	17.0	17.7	18.4	1.4
5 Long Upward Mobility	13.4	16.0	17.1	3.7
6 Teenage white-collar	11.7	14.5	15.0	3.3
7 Long Downward Mobility	11.8	16.1	16.9	5.1
8 Clerical	17.0	17.8	18.7	1.7
9. Professionals & Managers	20.8	21.7	22.8	1.9
10. Professionals & Managers w/ early entry	13.9	15.7	17.1	3.2
11. Late entry	24.8	25.3	26.1	1.3
12. Intermittent	16.9	17.8	18.9	2.0

b) Position of entry	I	II.A	II.B	II.C	III	IV.A	IV.B	IV.C	Total
1.Early unskilled manual	0	0	0	1	4	51	22	22	100
2.Early skilled manual	0	1	5	5	17	56	12	4	100
3.Unskilled manual	0	0	0	0	12	60	25	3	100
4.Skilled manual	0	4	6	3	37	42	7	1	100
5.Long Upward Mobility	0	0	3	3	15	39	28	11	100
6.Teenage white-collar	0	8	16	24	4	16	30	3	100
7.Long Downward Mobility	0	7	26	28	3	19	8	7	100
8.Clerical	0	31	27	13	9	17	3	0	100
9.Professionals & Managers	22	36	23	9	3	5	1	0	100
10. Professionals & Managers w/ early entry	2	13	23	25	4	17	17	0	100
11.Late entry	34	27	14	18	0	4	3	0	100
12.Intermittent	0	5	3	10	16	49	17	0	100

Continues in next page...

Table VI-7… (continuation)

c) Occupational Mobility at Age 30*	LU	SU	NM	SD	LD	Total
1. Early unskilled manual	2	39	51	7	1	100
2. Early skilled manual	3	68	16	3	10	100
3. Unskilled manual	13	16	59	12	0	100
4. Skilled manual	3	51	31	3	12	100
5 Long Upward Mobility	78	10	8	4	0	100
6 Teenage white-collar	49	26	19	4	1	100
7 Long Downward Mobility	6	26	8	0	60	100
8 Clerical	28	25	38	9	0	100
9. Professionals & Managers	5	44	44	5	2	100
10. Profls. & Mngrs. w/ early entry	38	60	2	0	0	100
11. Late entry	4	17	57	5	16	100
12. Intermittent	78	16	6	0	0	100

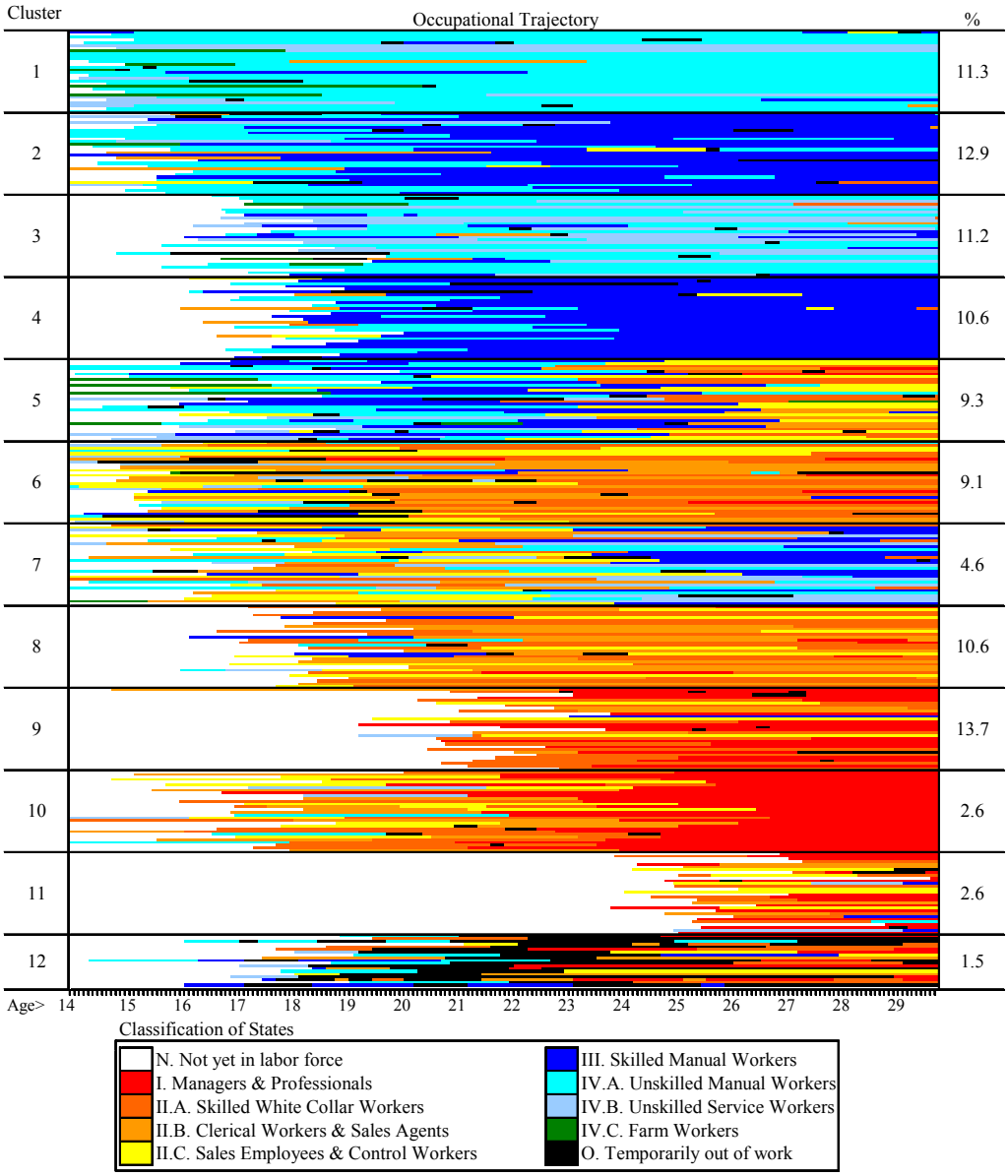
* LU – Long-upward mobility; SU - Short Upward Mobility; NM - No vertical mobility; SD - Short Downward Mobility; LD – Long Downward Mobility
Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table VI-8. Distribution of Men in Different Occupational Trajectories by Selected Social and Demographic Characteristics (%)

	Occupational Trajectory												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Cohort													
1940-1949	15	16	12	7	10	9	5	10	8	2	3	2	100
1950-1959	12	13	9	8	7	12	4	11	16	4	3	1	100
1960-1969	9	11	12	14	11	8	5	11	14	2	2	2	100
Father's Occupation at Birth													
Lower Manual	17	15	14	11	13	6	5	7	9	1	1	1	100
Higher Manual	9	18	9	13	6	10	5	11	11	2	3	2	100
Lower Non-Manual	2	3	9	7	7	18	4	17	21	4	4	3	100
Higher Non-Manual	0	1	0	3	0	3	1	15	54	10	8	6	100
Father's Education													
Less than Primary	18	17	15	11	9	8	6	7	6	1	2	1	100
Primary	8	15	11	14	10	9	4	11	12	2	2	1	100
Secondary/ Preparatory	3	5	8	9	11	10	3	17	21	8	4	2	100
College	0	0	0	0	6	12	2	16	48	5	7	3	100
Father's Occupation and Education													
LM/Primary or Less	18	17	15	11	12	5	4	6	9	1	1	1	100
HM/Primary or Less	10	19	11	15	4	9	6	10	9	2	3	1	100
LNM/Secondary or More	0	0	6	2	5	14	2	21	36	9	5	1	100
HNM/College	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	66	10	10	7	100
LM/Secondary or More	3	1	9	15	18	10	6	15	12	6	5	1	100
HM/Secondary or More	6	12	4	4	15	15	2	18	18	2	2	3	100
LNM/Primary or Less	4	6	12	10	8	22	6	15	9	1	4	4	100
HNM/Secondary or Less	0	2	0	15	0	9	4	37	17	10	2	2	100
Educational Level													
Less Than Primary	42	18	12	5	7	4	6	2	1	0	1	1	100
Primary	24	22	13	11	9	7	8	2	2	0	0	0	100
Secondary	11	18	18	15	11	8	7	9	2	1	1	0	100
Preparatory	4	15	13	19	10	12	6	13	6	0	1	1	100
College	1	1	3	2	8	11	0	17	40	8	7	4	100

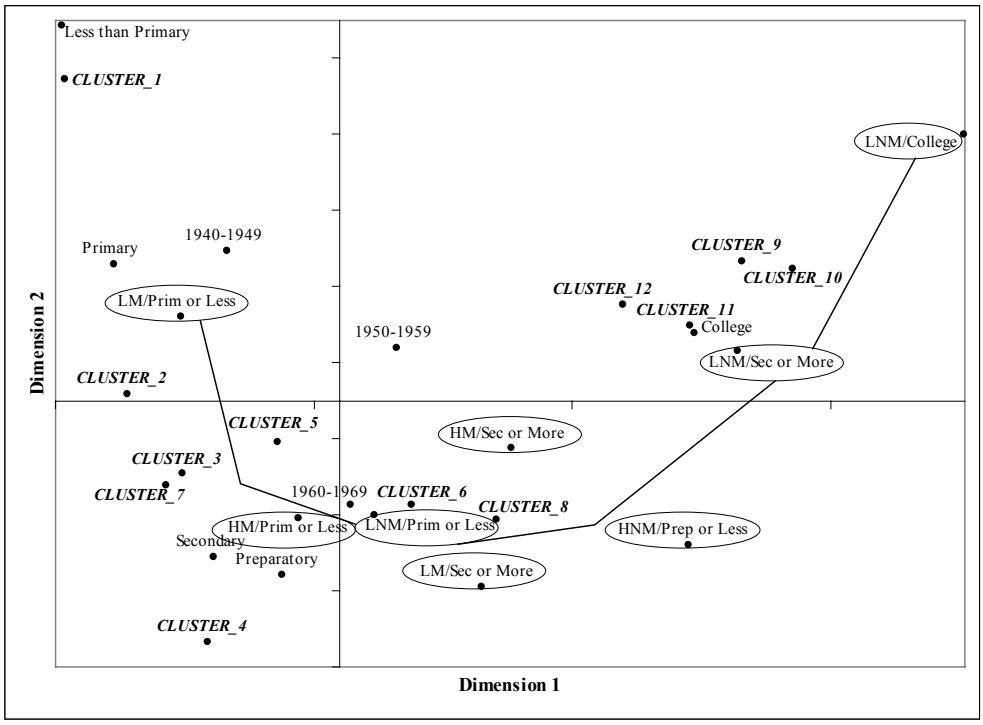
Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Figure VI-1. Occupational Trajectories Between Ages 14 and 30 for Monterrey Men, According to Their Cluster Membership*



* A random sample with 30 cases is displayed for clusters with more than 30 cases
Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Figure VI-2. Clusters of Occupational Trajectories, Parental Status, Education, and Birth Cohort. Correspondence Analysis Plot.



Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

VII. OCCUPATIONAL TRANSITIONS

In the previous chapters I analyzed two different aspects of occupational mobility: the changes in intergenerational mobility across cohorts, and the structuration of men's occupational trajectories. In this final chapter, I change my analytical perspective to the study of specific transitions within men's occupational lives. More specifically, I analyze two types of transitions defining key stages of the process of occupational attainment: the entry into the labor force and the subsequent job shifts experienced by men during their occupational trajectories. As I have shown in Chapters V and VI, inequality in occupational attainment levels is patent from very early in occupational lives and tends to accentuate over time. By analyzing the transition rates of labor force entry into different occupational levels, as well as vertical mobility rates over the life course, in this chapter I advance a step forward in the identification of the determinants of inequity of opportunity, as well as in the identification of trends over time in occupational mobility.

ANALYTICAL STRATEGY, HYPOTHESES, AND VARIABLES

Analytical Strategy

As in the previous chapter, I limit my analysis to data from the 2000 survey, because the entire occupational histories are not available for 1965. My analytical strategy is divided in two parts (see Figure VII-1). First, I explore the determinants of men's initial allocation into the labor force. As I mentioned above, in many cases lifetime differences in attainment levels come to light from

the very start of occupational careers. I study the characteristics of the labor force entry process by adjusting a multiple destination hazard model that explores the determinants of men's entry into manual or non-manual positions[81]. Given that my interest is to analyze labor force entry conditions in Monterrey, I exclude from this model all migrants who worked before arriving to the city (322 cases of the original 1,200 men interviewed). The departing point for the analysis is age twelve, and therefore I also exclude individuals who migrated to Monterrey after this age (89 cases), as well as those individuals who entered into the labor force before age twelve (35 cases). Thus, after eliminating cases with missing data I obtain a sub-sample of 733 cases, representing men who lived in Monterrey at age twelve and had not entered into the labor force by that age. I apply to this sub-sample a multiple-destination piece-wise exponential model (Blossfeld and Rowher 2002), using the time to first entry into the labor force (in a monthly scale) as dependent variable. It is worth mentioning that all men included in this sub-sample have occupational experience, and therefore all observations finish with an event.

The second part is the analysis of job mobility for men who already entered into the labor force. Here I focus on the outcomes of job shifts, so I change from individuals to job spells as units of analysis. All job spells initiated in Monterrey are considered, so many of the migrants who were excluded in the

[81] In this chapter I limit my analysis to the distinction between manual and manual positions for two reasons. First, using only two categories reduces the space of occupational states, simplifying the analysis and helping to keep a high sample size. Second, by studying mobility between manual and non-manual positions I focus on those job shifts that are more likely to bring with themselves substantial transformations in individuals' lives.

labor force entry model are eventually included in the job shifts model. I estimate two different models according to the position of origin: one for job shifts from manual positions and the other for shifts from non-manual positions. Again, I use multiple-destination piece-wise exponential models to identify the effects of different factors on job shifts outcomes. I focus on three different outcomes: job shifts to manual positions, job shifts to non-manual positions, and exits from the labor force. Job shifts to manual and non-manual positions can be alternatively interpreted as referring to upward, downward, or horizontal mobility, depending on the occupation of origin. An exit from the labor force is defined as any job spell that is not followed by another job within three months after its termination. In this latter case, the time to the destination event is defined as the number of months from the beginning to the end of the job spell. In the case of job shifts to manual and non-manual positions, time-to-destination is defined as the number of months until the start of the new job. Finally, the analysis of job mobility is limited to the first six job spells in individuals' occupational trajectories. The characteristics and determinants of mobility of highly mobile men may diverge from those of the majority of the population, and by excluding job spells of high order I eliminate this possible source of heterogeneity while losing only a limited number of cases (11% of the total number of job spells) (Blossfeld and Rowher 2002).

Research Hypotheses

The characteristics of the socioeconomic development of Monterrey described earlier in this dissertation allow me to advance four hypotheses for this analysis. These hypotheses are enumerated in this section.

The effect of societal transformations. A relevant research questions is to what extent the transformations of the 1980s and 1990s affected the process of entry into the labor force and subsequent occupational mobility. Yet, to explore this, it is important to distinguish between the short-term negative effects of the crisis of the 1980s and the more permanent transformations in labor markets. Given the sustained transition from secondary to tertiary activities, I expect to observe continuity in the high rates of upward mobility that dominated up to the 1970s. However, my expectation is also to find negative period effects during episodes of economic crisis. These effects should be expressed in increasing rates of entry into the labor force in manual activities, as well as an increase in downward mobility. I do not advance any specific hypothesis in relation to rates of exit from the labor force.

The role of social origins. I am also interested in exploring in greater detail the effects of ascription and individual merit on occupational attainment. Given the persistence of high inequalities in household incomes, standards of living and educational opportunities, the absence of effective welfare programs aimed to "level the field" in the access to opportunities, and the previous findings in this dissertation about the increasing importance of social origins on occupational attainment levels, I expect the differences in the parental status and other

indicators of social backgrounds, such as rural/urban origin, to remain as important determinants of occupational attainment in Monterrey.

The impact of educational attainment. I also expect to confirm my previous findings about the large importance of education on occupational outcomes, independently of social origins. The positive association between education and occupational attainment is consistence with status attainment theory, human capital theory and vacancy competition theory, although the explanation that each theory gives to this well established empirical facts is different (Blossfeld 1986). With the increase in educational levels in recent decades, attendance to secondary and higher education has also expanded, thus affecting the timing and characteristics of the process of initial entry into the labor force. At the same time, the continuing upgrading of Monterrey's labor market, and particularly the expansion of service-class positions, may have implied an increasing demand for highly qualified individuals and consequently a valorization of academic qualifications in the labor market. Therefore, I expect educational attainment to be closely tied with men's initial allocation in the labor force as well as further occupational mobility patterns.

The Informal Sector and Job Mobility. As I pointed out in chapters II and III, one of the most remarkable characteristics of urban labor markets in Mexico is their segmentation into formal and informal occupations. I am interested in exploring how this segmentation is related to job mobility patterns. In order to do this, I look at the differences in job shift rates for men in formal and informal jobs. However, an appropriate empirical test must first take into account the structural

heterogeneity of informal activities. The most elemental distinction is between self-employed workers and employees or dependents (including family workers) who work under unprotected/unregulated labor conditions (hereafter "unprotected workers"). Self-employment in Latin America has often been described as a response coming "from below" to the inability of the formal sector to create enough job positions. However, there is more to self-employment than being merely a "refugee" activity. By definition, self-employed individuals create their own occupation. The self-employed often have more control over their jobs and more esteem for their occupations than employees, and particularly than unprotected workers[82]. Also, the relative autonomy of self-employment gives it certain immunity against external economic conditions. Finally, self-employed individuals willing to change jobs and compete for a position in the labor market may be in a disadvantage in relation to other individuals who have a trajectory in formal positions, due to their lack of experience and credentials in formal firms. We may expect then self-employed men to stay longer in their occupations than men in formal activities and unprotected workers. This should be reflected in lower job shift rates, independently of the direction of the shift.

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[82] The high appreciation for self-employment was evident among several of the interviewees during the in-depth interviews. Manuel, currently an employed, but with aspirations of opening his own business in the near future, states his preferences in this way: "Why do I feel attracted by having my own business? Because when you have your own business, the more you work, the more you progress, and the faster you have success. Working for a company you can do well, but if tomorrow the son of the owner comes, the owners says: 'thanks and bye, here comes my son to take the job' (...) Your own business is for the rest of your life, and you can even inherit it to your children".

In contrast, unprotected workers lack of control over their occupations. They are highly vulnerable to lay-offs, because employers do not need to overcome any legal obstacle to dismiss them. In most cases, their chances of internal promotions are also limited, because internal labor markets are virtually not existent within small firms, and their prospects of downward mobility are higher, because once they become unemployed they may be more likely to accept lower level positions as "refugee" activities. We must then anticipate downward mobility and mobility out of employment to be higher among unprotected workers than among formal laborers and self-employed men.

Variables

Table VII-1 presents the explanatory variables used in the two sets of models. It can be noted that some of these variables, such as father's occupation and educational attainment, are used both in the labor force entry and job shifts models, but others are used only in one of the models. Some variables are fixed during the spells, while others are time-dependent[83]. As in the previous chapters, "Father's occupation at birth" and "Migration status" are used as indicators of men's social origins. Educational attainment is included as a time-varying covariate. The educational histories were reconstructed using the information available on the highest educational level attained and on the age of exit from school. The main track in the Mexican educational system is organized in four levels: primary (6 years), secondary (3 years), preparatory (2 or 3 years), and

[83] The estimation of models with time-dependent covariates is performed using episode splitting (Blossfeld and Rowher 2002)

professional (4 or 5 years). There are alternatives to this schooling path, such as studying a technical career along with secondary or preparatory studies, or following a career as primary school professor after secondary education. However, most men do follow the main track and for those who do not I transformed their educational attainment into an equivalent scale. Also, only a handful of men never attended school, so I decided to group them with those with less than primary education completed. There are five educational levels: "Less than primary", for those who had not completed the sixth grade of primary school; "Primary completed", "Secondary completed", and "Preparatory completed", grouping men who had completed each successive level but had not completed yet the next level; and "First year of university", including all men who had at least completed the first year of a professional career. The reason for introducing a category for men with only one year of a professional career instead of completed college education is that some of the advantages that higher education entails may also be extended to men with incomplete university studies. Finally, independently of the *level* of education, the mere participation of men in the educational system may operate as a deterrent for the entry into the labor force[84]. I consider this effect by introducing in the labor force entry model a dichotomous time-dependent variable ("Attendance to school"), which indicates whether or not a man is attending the educational system in a specific unit of time.

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[84] The idea of considering the independent effect of educational level and participation in the school system was taken from the study of Blossfeld and Huinink (1991) on family formation.

In order to assess the effects of historical time on occupational transitions, a first methodological problem is to find a way to distinguish between the short-term negative effects of the crisis in the 1980s and mid 1990s and the more permanent consequences of structural changes since the beginning of the 1980s. To do this, I decided to rely on an exogenous measure indicating the short-term performance of the Mexican economy. This exogenous measure is used to obtain more substantive estimates of the impact of short-term economic conditions on mobility patterns[85]. To construct this measure I use two indicators: the annual growth rate of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and the annual inflation rate[86]. The series for these two indicators between 1950 and 2000 are summarized in a unique index using principal components factor analysis. This index explains 76% of the variance in the two time series. As can be seen in Figure VII-2, the index of short-term economic conditions reflects the positive performance of Mexican economy up to the beginning of the 1970s, followed by a mild recession in the first half of the 1970s and then the collapse of the 1980s. At the end of the 1980s there is a recovery of stability and economic growth,

[85] There are two advantages associated with this analytical strategy (Blossfeld 1986; Blossfeld and Rowher 2002). First, the use of exogenous data to mark historical time solves the "identification problem" that arises from the simultaneous inclusion in a statistical model of cohort and period effects based on chronological data. Second, period effects based on explicit measures of economic conditions are easier to interpret in theoretically relevant ways. In this case, period effects can be directly associated with short-term economic performance of the Mexican economy.

[86] The lack of available data for the complete period of analysis did not allow me to use additional economic indicators. Also, I use data for the entire nation because there are no available series for Monterrey. The GDP figures were obtained from the University of Groningen and The Conference Board, GGDC Total Economy Database, 2002, (http://www.eco.rug.nl/ggdc). The annual inflation rates were obtained from official figures provided by El Banco de México.

although with lower levels than those observed up until the 1970s. Finally, the index also reflects the negative effects of the financial crisis of 1994-1995. This index of short-term economic conditions is included in both the labor force entry and job shifts models as a time-dependent covariate. Like with the other time-varying covariates, I used the method of episode splitting, in this case dividing the sample of individuals (labor force entry model) or job spells (job shifts model) in sub-episodes every calendar year, and then updating the value of the index to the corresponding economic conditions of each year.

In both models I include a second variable seeking to detect whether or not occupational attainment and mobility rates have changed during the 1980s and 1990s, independently of short-term variations in the performance of the Mexican economy. In the labor force entry model, I include birth cohort as a general measure of the period of entry into the labor force. Virtually all men pertaining to the youngest birth cohort (1965-1969) entered the labor market after 1983, the year that marked the start of the crisis and the turn of the Mexican economy to the current model of economic growth. In the job-shifts models, I include a time-varying dummy variable ("Period") indicating whether men's exposure to a job shift takes place before 1983 or after this year. Although it would be incorrect to attribute the effects of these variables entirely to liberalization and economic restructuring during the 1980s and 1990s, they may provide at least some preliminary evidence and point to future topics of research.

I also include two variables that reflect the effects of family events on men's occupational lives. In the labor force entry model the emphasis is on

events taking place in the family of origin, because generally the entry into the labor force precedes men's transition from a family of origin to a family of procreation[87]. I have little information on changes over time in the characteristics of the family of origin, and therefore I include only one time-varying variable indicating whether the respondent's father was still alive or had died. On the other hand, in the job-spells model my interest is on the effects of the transition from the family of origin to the family of procreation. To explore these effects I include marital status as a time-varying variable.

Finally, in the job-shifts model I include three additional variables reflecting the characteristics of men's insertion into the labor force. First, I use a variable measuring men's general labor force experience (LFX), which indicates the number of months (in a year scale) that each individual has been employed since the start of his occupational career until the beginning of the current job spell. Second, the number of previous jobs (NPJ) intends to control for the unobserved heterogeneity introduced by having more than one job spell for some individuals (Allison 1984; Trappe and Rosenfeld 1998). Finally, the "type of job" variable attempts to account for the effects of men's position in Monterrey's segmented labor market. As I have discussed above, the "informal" sector comprises a set of heterogeneous activities and therefore it is important to distinguish between different kinds of occupations within it. For this reason,

[87] Actually, only a handful of the men included in the labor force entry model married before entering into the labor force. This may not result surprising if we conceive the transition to a family of procreation as being dependent on financial autonomy and, therefore, on men's active employment and further capacity to generate their own earnings.

instead of trying a dichotomous classification of "formal" and "informal" positions, here I defined three categories of occupations. The first category includes "formal" positions: employers, employees with written contract, and independent professionals. The second category corresponds to the self-employed, including owners of small businesses with up to one employee but excluding independent professionals. Finally, the third category includes the "unprotected workers", defined as employees and family workers with no written labor contract.

PATTERNS OF LABOR FORCE ENTRY

Table VII-2 shows the characteristics of the 733 men included in the labor force entry model, with the percent distribution for the independent variables (in their time-fixed form). The distribution by age of entry into the labor force reveals again how early this transition occurs for most Monterrey men: a third of the men in the sample (32.6%) entered before age 16, and another 38.6% did it between 16 and 18 years of age. It can also be noted that only 7.2% of men experienced the death of their father before entering into the labor force, and four of every five (81.7%) were Monterrey natives. The distribution by father's occupation reveals the predominance of working class origins, with 38.5% of men with lower manual background, versus only 24.2% and 9.8% with fathers in lower non-manual and higher non-manual activities, respectively. The distribution by educational level at the time of labor force entry shows a polarization between lower and higher educational levels: the fraction of men who entered the labor force when they had only primary schooling or less represents 40% of the total,

whereas those who entered after completing their first year of college education are 23.2% of the sample.

In Table VII-3 I present the results of the two-destination piece-wise exponential models for labor force entry, obtained after introducing each explanatory variable separately. A first glance to the table immediately reveals that most of the variables that affect labor force entry do so through the rate of entry into manual positions. This is the case with father's death, father's occupation, and educational level. It is important to be cautious when interpreting the lack of significant effects for the entry into non-manual positions. Certainly, such absence indicates that men with different class and educational backgrounds have similar rates of entry into non-manual positions. However, to obtain a complete picture of the differences by class of origin or education we must consider simultaneously the variations in entry rates into non-manual and manual positions. I illustrate this later in the chapter, when analyzing the effects of men's class of origin in the multivariate model. For now, it is enough to call attention to the strong effect of class of origin on the entry into manual positions. The rate of entry into manual positions is 3.8 times higher (=exp(1.338)) for children of workers in lower non-manual positions and 9.9 times higher (=exp(2.297)) for children of lower manual workers, in relation to the children of men in higher non-manual positions. Only the differences by educational attainment –and particularly the contrast between men with college and men with less than primary education— are of similar magnitude.

The only two variables with significant effects in both transitions to manual and non-manual positions are migration status and school attendance. The transition rates are significantly higher for migrants from urban areas in relation to natives, irrespectively of the position of entry. This suggests that urban migrants enter early into the labor force, although they are not necessarily do it in a lower position *vis à vis* natives. In contrast, for migrants from rural areas the only significant increase is in the rate of entry into manual positions, indicating a higher propensity of entry into lower-level occupations. On the other hand, the positive coefficients for men who leave the school system point to the high correlation between these two transitions.

Remarkably, the unadjusted models do not produce significant effects neither for birth cohort nor for the index of short-term economic conditions. The direction of the short-term economic conditions' coefficients is consistent with my expectations (the rate of entry into non-manual jobs increases and the rate of entry into manual positions decreases as short-term economic conditions improve). However, both coefficients do not reach statistically significant levels.

Results of the multivariate piecewise exponential model including simultaneously all explanatory variables are presented in Table VII-4. The baseline of the model controls for four age groups. The logs of the baseline rates for these groups are included in the tables. There are few changes in the effects of most of the variables in relation to the unadjusted results presented in table VII-3. Perhaps the most noticeable modification is that, after controlling for the effect of other variables and each other, I find a significant and consistent effect

of short-term economic conditions and birth cohort on transition rates. The results suggest that in periods of economic recession and instability, the rate of entry into manual positions significantly increases, while the rate of entry into non-manual positions is not significantly altered. In other words, the coefficient of –0.111 associated with short-term economic conditions indicates that during periods of crisis –and particularly during the extreme recession of the 1980s— there was an increase in the rate of entry of men into lower-level positions. On the other hand, after controlling for the negative effects of short-term economic conditions, I find a decrease in the rate of entry into manual positions for men in the youngest birth cohort (the coefficient is –0.324), which is consistent with the long-term upgrading trends of Monterrey's labor market during the 1980s and 1990s. In sum, these results suggest that two overlapping structural forces have affected the initial allocation of Monterrey men into the labor force in the last two decades. These forces are the recession of the 1980s, which temporarily pushed men into low-level positions, and the more permanent upgrading of the labor market from manual to non-manual activities, which implied a reduction in transition rates to manual positions for the youngest cohort.

The model also confirms the strong effects of class origins. Despite the inclusion of educational attainment, migration status, and the participation in the school system, variables that typically absorb part of the influence of class of origin, father's occupation is still significantly associated with the rate of entry into manual positions. According to the results of the model, the adjusted rate of entry into manual positions is 4.7 times higher (=exp(1.554)) for children of

lower manual workers than for children of higher non-manual workers[88]. A more detailed view of these differences is obtained in Figure VII-3, which simulates the cumulative proportion of men entering into the labor force in manual and non-manual positions, according to father's occupation[89]. These proportions show that the vast majority of men with lower manual origins enter the labor force in manual positions and before age 21. Men with higher non-manual origins, in contrast, enter relatively late into the labor force. Their position of entry is equally distributed between manual and non-manual jobs up to age 21, but after that age –which coincides with the termination of university studies for those who completed a professional career— most of the men who remain out of the labor force enter into non-manual positions.

Finally, the model also shows consistent effects for educational attainment. The rate of entry into non-manual positions is 1.72 (=exp(0.545)) times higher for men with secondary education completed, 2.41 times (=exp(0.879)) higher for men with preparatory completed, and 2.53 times (=exp(0.927)) higher for men with any college education, in relation to men with less than primary schooling. Moreover, the rate of entry into manual positions is 4.7 times *lower* (=exp(1.540)) for men with university education than for men with

[88] To explore in greater detail the differences in entry rates by class of origin, I fitted additional models including the interaction between age of entry and father's occupation. None of these models produced statistically significant differences, and therefore I decided to exclude them from the final models.

[89] The graph only shows the simulated proportions for men with higher non-manual and lower manual origins. To obtain these proportions I used a multiple-decrement life table and the rates obtained with the model in Table 5. The value of the other explanatory variables is set to the average shown in Table 2.

less than primary, suggesting that attaining any university education practically guarantees the access of men to non-manual positions. It is worth noticing that the effects of educational attainment are independent of whether or not men are still participating in the school system, because the attendance to school variable is also included in the model. In relation to this variable and as might be expected, dropping from school significantly increases the rate of entry into the labor force. The estimated entry rates after abandoning school increase 2.99 times (=exp(1.095)) for manual positions and 2.15 times (=exp(0.767)) for non-manual occupations.

JOB SHIFTING PATTERNS

I now turn my attention to job mobility within men's occupational trajectories, by analyzing job shift rates from manual and non-manual positions. Note that in this case the unit of analysis changes from individuals to job spells. Each job spell represents a case in the transition rate models, which is further divided into sub-episodes to account for value changes in the time-varying explanatory variables. In Table VII-5 I present some characteristics of the job spells, including their distribution according to the independent variables. The average number of job spells per individual is 3.66, although it is important to remember that only job spells that started in Monterrey are included, due to my interest in analyzing only job shift patterns within the city[90]. Only 15.1% of the job shifts from manual positions end in upward mobility; 13.0% end in a

[90] If we also consider the job spells of migrants before their arrival in Monterrey, the average number of job spells per individual increases to 4.5.

prolonged exit from the labor force, and 52.4% can be defined as horizontal moves. In the case of job shifts from non-manual positions, downward mobility represents 9.3%, exits from the labor force, labor force exits 9.9%, and horizontal mobility 55.8% of the moves. The higher proportion of job shifts that are either right-censored or end in horizontal moves already suggests a higher degree of class stability for men in non-manual jobs.

The descriptive figures also show the unequal distribution of manual and non-manual job spells among men with different class background and educational attainment levels. Only 13.9% of spells from manual positions belong to men with fathers in either lower or higher non-manual positions, versus 43.3% of job spells from non-manual jobs. Similarly, 4.9% of manual job spells pertain to men with college education, versus 53.2% of non-manual job spells. These differences, along with the results of the labor force entry model, serve to remind us that the state of origin in the models presented later is not independent of social class and educational attainment. As a consequence, some of the effects of ascription and attainment may be weakened by this initial selectivity of men into their positions of origin.

The results of the unadjusted multiple-destination models for job transitions are presented in Table VII-6. Note again that these estimates are obtained from two different models, one for manual positions of origin and the other for non-manual positions. The two variables reflecting men's overall labor force experience –years of labor force experience and number of previous jobs— produce negative coefficients for most transitions, suggesting a general trend

towards the reduction of mobility as individuals move forward in their occupational trajectories. This particular form of time-dependence in job shifts rates has been attributed to the reduction in the discrepancy between resources and current job rewards or, in other words, between current and potential jobs, as individuals move forward in their occupational careers (Sørensen 1977). However, it is difficult to discern whether the effects of these two variables are actually due to the reduction of the mismatch between individual skills and positions or to their high correlation with age[91]. An alternative hypothesis would be that, independently of their qualifications and levels of attainment, men tend to reduce their willingness to change jobs as they advance from the initial to later stages of their occupational life courses, due in part to age-related social norms prescribing the "appropriate" timing for job searching and career settlement across individual lives (Settersten and Hagestad 1996).

The type of job is also correlated to job shift rates. In general, the results are consistent with the initial hypotheses: mobility from self-employment tends to be lower than from formal or unprotected jobs. In the case of self-employed workers, upward mobility is 5.40 times (=exp(1.687)) less frequent than for workers in the formal sector, whereas horizontal mobility is 2.14 times (=exp(0.761)) less likely in manual activities and 7.67 times (=exp(2.037)) in non-manual positions. In contrast with self-employed workers, unprotected workers experience higher mobility rates to manual jobs and out of employment. The effect is stronger for men in non-manual positions, with downward mobility 1.97

[91] In the sample, age at the start of the job has a correlation of 0.88 and 0.59 with labor force experience and number of previous jobs, respectively.

times (=exp(0.678)) higher and out of employment rates 3.34 times (=exp(1.206)) higher for unprotected employees than for men in formal activities.

The index of short-term economic conditions has only significant effects on the transition from manual to non-manual positions. The positive coefficient for this transition is in harmony with the interpretation of upward mobility rates as an outcome of economic expansion: in periods of high economic growth and price stability there is an increase in the demand of non-manual positions, and as a result upward mobility rates also increase. In contrast, it is difficult to find a consistent pattern for period effects, because both upward and downward mobility rates seem to decrease in the period 1983-2000 in relation to previous years.

Marriage has also a negative association with job transition rates, although this effect is only significant for job spells from manual positions. Transition rates from manual positions are reduced in a half (=exp(-0.673)), a third (=exp(-0.393)) and two thirds (=exp(-1.084)) in the cases of non-manual, manual, and out of employment destinations, respectively.

The two variables directly linked to men's social origins are also significantly correlated to transition rates. Rural migrants show lower upward mobility rates and higher downward mobility rates than natives. A similar pattern may be found in relation to men's class of origin: men with manual origins are significantly less likely to experience upward mobility and more likely to experience downward mobility than men with non-manual positions. In the case of downward mobility, for instance, the unadjusted downward mobility rate is

more than sixteen times higher for men with higher and lower manual origins than for men with higher non-manual origins.

There is also a strong association between educational attainment and job mobility patterns. Men are significantly more likely to experience upward mobility and less likely to experience downward moves as their educational levels increase from less than primary to college. The unadjusted results also suggest an increase in out of employment rates for men in manual positions. However, it is difficult to interpret these coefficients, because they may be either associated with higher job stability or to a temporary withdrawal from the labor force to return to full-time education.

Table VII-7 presents the results of the multivariate competing risks models. It can be noted that, controlling for other variables, the number of years of labor force experience maintains its negative effect on job transition rates, although some of the coefficients lose significance. The number of previous jobs has inconsistent effects depending on the origin and destination of the movement, but the only significant coefficient (0.173) is associated with lateral moves within manual positions[92].

In general, the effects of the type of job are retained in the multivariate model. Transition rates are lower for the self-employed in relation to men in formal labor conditions. On the other hand, the rate of exit from employment

[92] There may be a collinearity problem between the years of labor force experience and the number of previous jobs, which might affect the coefficients for both variables. The correlation between these two variables is 0.66. I tested additional models alternatively including one of the two variables and the results are more consistent with those presented in Table 7.

increases for men in unprotected labor conditions. These results provide support to the idea that in order to evaluate the mobility prospects of individuals in the informal sector it is important to establish at least an elemental distinction between the self-employed and unprotected laborers. Of course, the models do not inform us about the determinants of the transition to self-employment, but they certainly indicate that once they become self-employed, men are significantly less likely to experience job mobility, even after considering other factors such as labor force experience, economic conditions, class of origin, and educational level. On the other hand, if our interest is on job vulnerability, then our attention must be focused on workers in unprotected labor conditions.

In relation to short-term economic conditions, the coefficients point in the expected direction: economic expansion is associated with higher rates of upward mobility and lower rates of downward mobility. However, only the coefficient for horizontal job shifts within manual positions reaches significance levels. The historical period in which the job-shift takes place does not have either a significant effect on job transition rates. There are several possible explanations for these results. One of them is that the measure of overall economic conditions based on national GDP growth and inflation rates fails to capture in enough detail the economic situation of Monterrey, thus weakening the significance levels of the coefficients. An alternative interpretation is that the impact of both short-term economic conditions and more perdurable changes in the model of economic growth manifests primarily in the entry into the labor force, and therefore we must look for these effects in the labor-force entry model

presented in the previous section. In any case, the evidence produced by the job-shift models indicates that, once short-term economic conditions are considered, mobility rates do not significantly vary after 1983, thus suggesting a negligible effect of liberalization and economic restructuring.

After controlling for the other variables in the model, both marital and migration status lost their significance as factors affecting job transition rates. Perhaps this is due to their correlation with labor force experience and father's occupation, respectively, which were not considered in the unadjusted models. Married men tend to be older and have more work experience than single men, and fathers of migrants from rural areas are more often in lower manual occupations than fathers of migrants from urban areas and natives. It should not be surprising then that, once these two variables are included in the model, the significance of marital and migration status is reduced. In sum, neither the transition from a family of origin to a family of procreation, nor the rural-urban origin of men, have a significant effect on job transition rates in Monterrey, once confounding variables are controlled[93].

Men's class of origin, expressed in their fathers' occupation at birth, also retained its significant effects on upward and downward mobility rates, although in the latter case the magnitude of the coefficients is notably reduced after controlling for other variables. For men with higher non-manual origins, upward

[93] The exception is the transition to out of employment for manual workers, that reduces by half (=exp(-0.721)) among married men. This may be related to the greater pressure that married men have as "bread winners" to remain employed in comparison to single men, who can afford more time out of the labor force to search for better positions or return to full-time education.

mobility rates are 2.8 times (=exp(1.025)) and 4.1 times (exp(1.563)) higher than for men with lower non-manual origins and higher manual origins, respectively, and the downward mobility rate is more than five times higher (=exp(1.706)) for children of lower manual workers. Thus, in accordance to the initial hypothesis, men's class of origin remains an important determinant of occupational attainment in Monterrey, with effects not only on men's initial allocation in the labor force, but also on the prospects of job mobility within their occupational careers.

Finally, job shift patterns remain closely related to men's educational attainment. There is a gradual increase in upward mobility rates with education. The estimated gap in rates between extreme groups (first year of university versus less than primary) exceeds the ratio of six to one (=exp(1.922)). In relation to downward mobility, the effects of educational attainment are even more dramatic: downward moves are more than ten times less likely (=exp(-2.466)) for men with preparatory education and almost twenty times less likely (=exp(-2.978)) for men with any university schooling in relation to men with less than primary education. Thus, as expected according to a variety of theoretical frameworks, higher credentials seem to enhance men chances of move upward in the occupational hierarchy, and also exert a strong protective effect against downward mobility, even controlling for other factors such as job experience and social class of origin.

FINAL REMARKS

The results of this chapter reveal two of the most salient characteristics of recent patterns of occupational mobility in Monterrey. First, after the short-term negative effects of the debt-crisis of the 1980s – mainly expressed through a temporary increase in the rate of entry into the labor force in low-level occupations – the dominant trend of upward mobility resumed, due in great part to the massive transfer of workers from manufacturing to services. Second, ascribed characteristics, and particularly men's parental occupational status, remain to be an important determinant of men's chances during the two most relevant components of the process of occupational attainment, namely the initial allocation into the labor force and further patterns of vertical mobility within individuals' careers.

At first glance, then, there seems to be more continuity than change in the process of occupational attainment in relation to the years of sustained economic growth that characterized the substitution of imports period, before the decade of the 1980s. In their analysis of mobility patterns in the 1960s, Balán, Browning and Jelin emphasized the importance of the continuing upgrading of Monterrey's occupational structure, which facilitated upward mobility despite the persistence of inequality in attainment levels. These results suggest that, once the temporary negative effects of the crisis of the 1980s passed, this process continued with little change, this time fueled by the expansion of non-manual activities. However, this apparent continuity must be critically examined in light of the substantial loses in

real wages during the debt-crisis of the 1980s and the financial crisis of the mid-1990s.

The other remarkable feature is the continuing importance of men's class of origin in occupational attainment. The occupation of the father remains a strong predictor of men's position of entry into the labor force. Furthermore, patterns of mobility are also affected by social origins, even after the initial entry into the labor force, in a mechanism that could be described as a "continuing adjustment of destinations to origins". I have linked the persistent importance of social origins to the enduring high levels of inequality in household incomes, standards of living, and access to social networks, as well as to the virtual absence of welfare policies aiming to attenuate these social and economic inequalities and their effects on class reproduction. In the last two decades, perhaps the only trend that might indicate a more universal access to opportunities is the expansion of education. However, as I have shown in Chapter V, large inequalities in the access to higher education persist, and new forms of inequality may have emerged as the distinction between public and private schooling becomes more relevant for labor market outcomes. Thus, it is not surprising to find that class of origin remains a strong predictor of occupational trajectories, even after controlling for educational attainment.

The results of the analysis presented in this chapter also point to the importance of considering membership to the informal economy as a predictor of occupational attainment. I distinguished between two different groups that have often been classified together as part of the "informal sector": the self-

employed and unprotected workers. When compared to men in formal activities, the self-employed tend to have lower job mobility rates, suggesting that they either confront more barriers for mobility or prefer to keep working as self-employed than exploring other activities. On the other hand, unprotected employees seem to be more vulnerable than formal workers and the self-employed, and this is reflected in their higher rates of exit from employment. The differences in mobility patterns between the self-employed and unprotected workers advise us on the difficulties of attempting a clear-cut characterization of informal activities. The suggestion is that, in order to understand labor-market segmentation and its implications in work lives, it is necessary to transcend the black and white perspective of the informal/formal divide and to look at the different constellations of activities that are generally encompassed into the "informal economy".

Finally, this analysis may also serve to illustrate some of the differences in occupational mobility regimes between Latin American cities and their counterparts in developed societies. Latin American cities have not been isolated from the intense economic transformations brought by the increasing integration of global markets in the last two decades. However, these structural transformations have taken place in a historical context significantly different from that of developed societies. These differences imprint a specific seal to occupational mobility regimes. As I have shown in this chapter and throughout the dissertation, in the case of Monterrey, the most remarkable trends have been a continuing expansion of white-collar opportunities, accompanied by very

significant reductions in wages and the ongoing importance of ascription as a determinant of occupational attainment. Thus, Monterrey has experienced the same expansion in non-manual positions that characterized cities in developed nations during their transition to service economies, but with less evident benefits in terms of standards of living and equality of opportunity.

Table VII-1. Description of the Variables included in the Models

Variable	Type	Groups
A. Variables included both in the labor force entry and the job-shifts model		
Migration Status	time-fixed	1. Monterrey Natives 2. Migrants from Rural Area (< 5,000 residents) 3. Migrants from Urban Area (> 5,000 residents)
Father's Occupation	time-fixed	1. Higher Non-Manual 2. Lower Non-Manual 3. Higher Manual 4. Lower Manual
Educational Level	time-dependent	1. Less than Primary 2. Primary Completed 3. Secondary Completed 4. Preparatory Completed 5. One year of University Completed
Short-Term Economic	time-dependent	*(continuous - see Figure VII-2 and chapter text for further details)*
B. Variables included only in the labor force entry model		
School Attendance	time-dependent	0. Not attending school 1. Attending school
Birth Cohort	time-fixed	1. 1940-1954 2. 1955-1964 3. 1965-1970
Father's Death	time-dependent	0. Father alive 1. Father dead
C. Variables included only in the job-shifts models		
Period	time-dependent	0. Before 1983 1. After 1983
Marital Status	time-dependent	0. Single 1. Married
Labor Force Experience	time-fixed	*(continuous - year scale)*
Number of Previous Jobs	time-fixed	*(continuous)*
Type of Job	time-fixed	1. Formal 2. Self-employed 3. Unprotected workers

Table VII-2. Characteristics of Men Included in the Labor Force Entry Model

	%	cases
Age of Entry		
12-15	32.6	239
16-18	38.6	283
19-21	16.6	122
22-30	12.1	89
Birth Cohort		
1940-1954	42.3	310
1955-1964	36.8	270
1965-1970	20.9	153
Father's Death		
Father Alive	92.8	680
Father Dead	7.2	53
Migration Status		
Natives	81.7	599
Rural Migrants	9.0	66
Urban Migrants	9.3	68
Father's Occupation		
Higher Non-Manual	9.8	72
Lower Non-Manual	24.2	177
Higher Manual	27.6	202
Lower Manual	38.5	282
Educational Level		
Less than Primary completed	13.5	99
Primary completed	26.5	194
Secondary completed	27.8	204
Preparatory completed	9.0	66
First year of College	23.2	170
School attendance		
Not attending school	45.3	332
Attending school	54.7	401

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table VII-3. Estimates of Bivariate Two-destination Transition-rate Models for Labor Force Entry in Manual or Non-Manual Positions (controlling for age)

	Manual		Non-Manual	
	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
Birth Cohort				
1940-1954	------	------	------	------
1955-1964	0.067	(0.113)	-0.028	(0.124)
1965-1970	-0.024	(0.135)	-0.174	(0.146)
Short-Term Economic Conditions				
(time-varying covariate)	-0.040	(0.040)	0.004	(0.041)
Father's Death				
(time-varying covariate)	0.491 **	(0.193)	0.052	(0.213)
Migration Status				
Natives	------	------	------	------
Migrants from Rural Community	0.643 ***	(0.159)	0.256	(0.232)
Migrants from Urban Community	0.438 ***	(0.168)	0.421 **	(0.199)
Father's Occupation				
Higher Non-Manual	------	------	------	------
Lower Non-Manual	1.338 ***	(0.356)	0.058	(0.158)
Higher Manual	2.200 ***	(0.345)	0.080	(0.174)
Lower Manual	2.297 ***	(0.342)	0.053	(0.167)
Educational Level (time-varying covariate)				
Less than Primary completed	------	------	------	------
Primary completed	0.105	(0.152)	0.478	(0.287)
Secondary completed	-0.640 ***	(0.187)	0.237	(0.322)
Preparatory completed	-1.448 ***	(0.268)	0.364	(0.359)
First year of College	-2.908 ***	(0.356)	0.305	(0.328)
School Attendance				
(time-varying covariate)	1.537 ***	(0.103)	0.561 ***	(0.119)

* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<.01

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table VII-4. Multiple-destination Multivariate Transition-rate Model to the First Job (Non-Manual vs. Manual Positions) for Monterrey Men Born Between 1940 and 1970

	Manual		Non-Manual	
	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
Age of Entry (Log of baseline rate)				
12-15	-7.462 ***	(0.363)	-7.444 ***	(0.290)
16-18	-6.281 ***	(0.384)	-6.112 ***	(0.354)
19-21	-5.571 ***	(0.402)	-5.325 ***	(0.375)
> 21	-6.325 ***	(0.441)	-4.753 ***	(0.389)
Birth Cohort				
1940-1954	------	------	------	------
1955-1964	-0.020	(0.118)	-0.058	(0.133)
1965-1970	-0.324 *	(0.189)	-0.279	(0.191)
Short-Term Economic Conditions				
(time-varying covariate)	-0.111 **	(0.057)	-0.027	(0.053)
Father's Death				
(time-varying covariate)	0.302	(0.197)	0.055	(0.221)
Migration Status				
Natives	------	------	------	------
Migrants from Rural Communities	0.385 **	(0.165)	0.287	(0.241)
Migrants from Urban Communities	0.309 *	(0.172)	0.489 **	(0.202)
Father's Occupation				
Higher Non-Manual	------	------	------	------
Lower Non-Manual	0.896 **	(0.359)	-0.068	(0.164)
Higher Manual	1.661 ***	(0.349)	-0.032	(0.181)
Lower Manual	1.554 ***	(0.349)	-0.114	(0.181)
Educational Level (time-varying covariate)				
Less than Primary completed	------	------	------	------
Primary completed	0.259 *	(0.149)	0.545 *	(0.286)
Secondary completed	-0.076	(0.188)	0.545 *	(0.323)
Preparatory completed	-0.341	(0.279)	0.879 **	(0.368)
First year of University	-1.540 ***	(0.371)	0.927 ***	(0.351)
Attendance to School				
(time-varying covariate)	1.095 ***	(0.116)	0.767 ***	(0.137)

Number of Cases = 733
Transitions to Manual Positions = 336
Transitions to Non-Manual Positions= 397
Chi square (vs. baseline model) = 322.10
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table VII-5. Descriptives of Job Spells *

	Manual	Non-Manual	Total
Total Number of Job Spells	2163	2113	4276
Average Num. Of Job Spells per Individual	-----	-----	3.66
Distribution by Destination			
Non-Manual Position	15.1	55.8	35.3
Manual Position	52.4	9.3	31.1
Out of the Labor Force	13.0	9.9	11.5
Right-censored	19.5	25.0	22.3
Average Years of Labor Force Experience	8.8	8.6	8.7
Father's Occupation			
Higher Non-Manual	1.3	14.0	7.6
Lower Non-Manual	11.6	29.3	20.4
Higher Manual	25.3	22.3	23.8
Lower Manual	61.8	34.4	48.3
Migration Status			
Natives	50.0	62.0	55.9
Rural Migrants	31.3	16.1	23.8
Urban Migrants	18.7	21.9	20.3
Educational Level			
Less than Primary	23.0	4.4	13.8
Primary completed	33.9	11.0	22.6
Secondary completed	29.5	18.7	24.1
Preparatory completed	8.7	12.8	10.8
First year of College	4.9	53.2	28.8
Type of Job			
Formal	60.8	80.9	70.8
Self-employee	13.8	7.4	10.6
Unprotected employee	25.5	11.7	18.6
Marital Status			
Single	59.8	54.8	57.3
Married	40.2	45.2	42.7

* All the figures represent column percents, except when specified

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table VII-6. Unadjusted Estimates of Multiple-destination Models for Job Shifts, Monterrey Men Born Between 1940 and 1970

	Mobility from Manual Positions			Mobility from Non-Manual Positions		
	Non-Manual	Manual	Out	Non-Manual	Manual	Out
Years of LF Experience	-0.145 ***	-0.034 ***	-0.055 ***	-0.043 ***	-0.014	-0.086 *
Number of Previous Jobs	-0.837 ***	-0.120 **	-0.358 ***	-0.227 ***	0.076	-0.202
Type of Job						
Formal	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Self-employee	-1.687 ***	-0.761 ***	0.045	-2.037 ***	-0.500	-0.479
Unprotected employee	-0.036	0.206 *	0.354 *	-0.006	0.678 ***	1.206 ***
Short Term Economic Conditions (tv)	0.168 **	-0.041	0.031	-0.059	0.154	-0.049
Period (tv)	-0.547 **	-0.179	-0.545 **	0.1502	-0.7219 ***	-0.1515
Marital Status (tv)						
Single	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Married	-0.673 ***	-0.393 ***	-1.084 ***	-0.157	-0.336	-0.366
Migration Status						
Natives	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Rural Migrants	-1.110 ***	-0.247 **	-0.586 ***	-0.269	0.537 *	-0.416
Urban Migrants	-0.349	-0.110	-0.367	-0.180	-0.195	-0.345
Father's Occupation						
Higher Non-Manual	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Lower Non-Manual	-0.464	-0.232	-0.344	-0.394 **	2.056 **	-0.340
Higher Manual	-1.194 **	0.226	-0.506	-0.170	2.850 ***	0.489
Lower Manual	-1.556 ***	0.071	-0.951	-0.277 *	2.829 ***	-0.067
Educational Level (tv)						
Less than Primary	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Primary completed	0.465	0.326 *	0.139	0.758	-0.718 *	0.506
Secondary completed	1.306 ***	0.442 *	0.454 *	0.845 *	-0.746 **	0.039
Preparatory completed	1.469 ***	-0.053	0.941 ***	0.862 *	-2.459 ***	-0.365
First year of University	2.676 ***	0.272	1.399 ***	1.351 ***	-3.174 ***	-0.103

* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<.01

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Table VII-7. Multivariate Multiple-destination Models for Job Shifts, Monterrey Men Born Between 1940 and 1970

	Mobility from Manual Positions			Mobility from Non-Manual Positions		
	Non-Manual	Manual	Out	Non-Manual	Manual	Out
Years of LF Experience	-0.108 **	-0.038 ***	-0.011	-0.0192	-0.054	-0.1404 *
Number of Previous Jobs	-0.070	0.173 **	-0.051	-0.0743	0.0877	0.3031
Type of Job						
Formal	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Self-employee	-1.121 **	-0.687 ***	0.315	-1.8887 ***	-0.6278	-0.4021
Unprotected employee	0.025	0.181	0.355 *	0.1623	0.072	1.3379 ***
Short-Term Economic Conditions (tv)	0.139	-0.090 **	-0.092	-0.025	0.0035	-0.1066
Period (tv)	0.043	-0.159	-0.508 *	0.126	0.1628	0.1153
Marital Status (tv)						
Single	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Married	0.020	-0.213	-0.721 **	-0.0327	0.1285	0.2189
Migration Status						
Natives	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Rural Migrants	-0.009	-0.013	0.128	0.0572	0.3723	-0.0796
Urban Migrants	0.397	0.016	0.128	0.1626	-0.0519	0.0639
Father's Occupation						
Higher Non-Manual	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Lower Non-Manual	-1.025 *	-0.217	-0.443	-0.2431	1.3142	-0.3851
Higher Manual	-1.563 ***	0.226	-0.492	0.0864	1.8298 *	0.5442
Lower Manual	-1.425 **	0.284	-0.693	-0.0891	1.706 *	0.0209
Educational Level (tv)						
Less than Primary	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Primary completed	0.297	0.289 **	-0.004	0.649	-0.6804 *	0.8731
Secondary completed	0.839 **	0.250	0.257	0.5807	-0.8221 **	0.1807
Preparatory completed	1.038 ***	-0.227	0.878 ***	0.8281 *	-2.4662 ***	0.1529
First year of College	1.922 ***	0.165	1.115 ***	1.1275 **	-2.9782 ***	0.4706
Cases		2163			2113	
Number of transitions	327	1132	283	1179	196	209
Model Chi Square		236.48			212.55	

* p<0.1, ** p< 0.05, *** p< 0.01

Source: Monterrey 2000 Survey

Figure VII-1. Scheme for the Analysis of Occupational Mobility

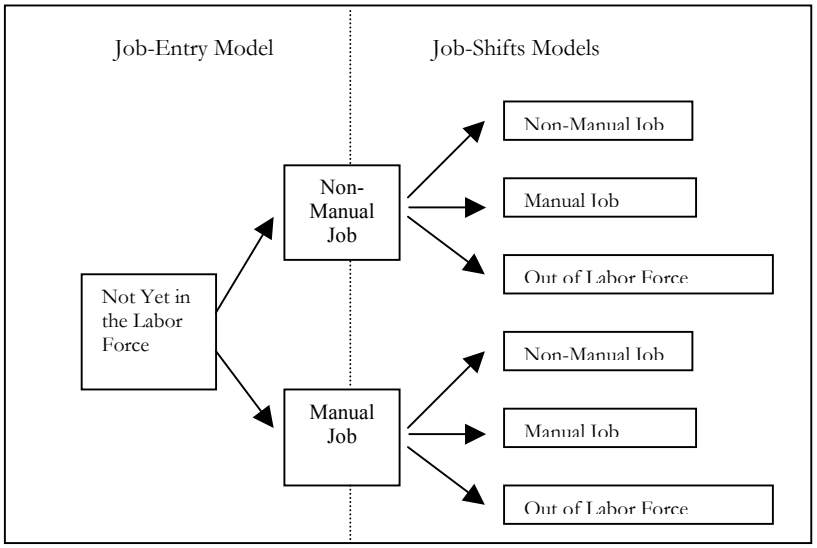
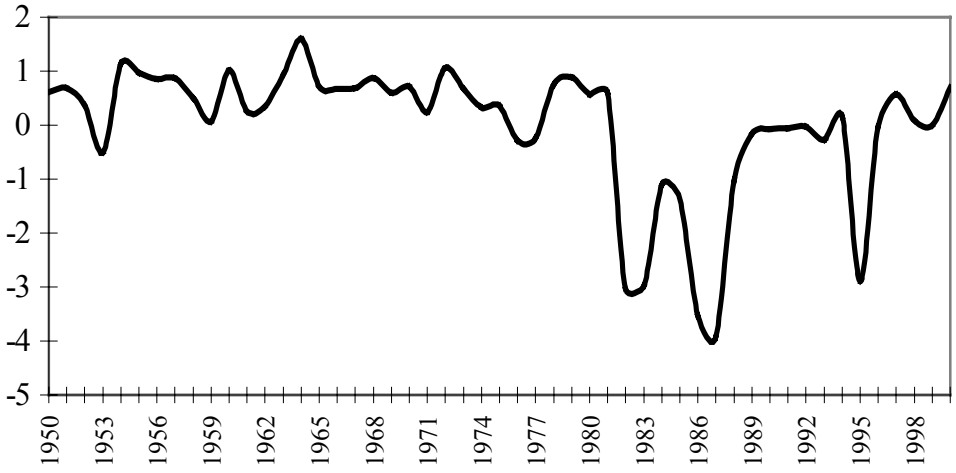
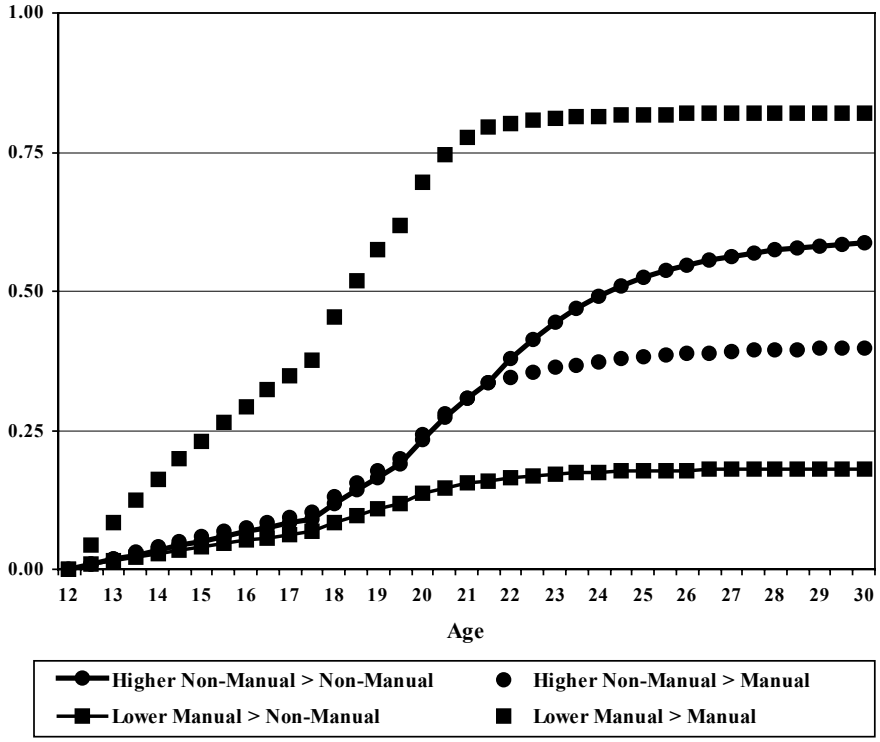


Figure VII-2. Index of Short-Term Economic Conditions in Mexico, 1950-2000*



* See text for further details

Figure VII-3. Simulated Cumulative Proportions of Men Entering into the Labor Force in Manual and Non-manual Positions, by Father's Occupation*



* These simulations are based on the model coefficients of Table 5.

VIII. CONCLUSSIONS

In this dissertation I studied the transformations in the occupational lives of men in Monterrey throughout economic and social change. I framed my inquiry in the paradigm of occupational mobility studies, instead of focusing on other aspects that have received more attention in recent times, such as poverty, income inequality, household survival strategies, or the informal sector of the economy. This decision forced me to leave aside very important aspects of social stratification in urban Mexico. However, it also allowed me to examine other issues that have received less attention in social and demographic research, such as changes over time in the "reward packages" linked to occupations, long-term trends in occupational mobility, inequality in job opportunities, and the role of ascribed versus attained traits in occupational attainment.

A brief return to my original motivations to carry out this study may serve as a good prelude for these conclusions. It is widely accepted that the debt-crisis of the 1980s in Mexico had very negative effects on standards of living, not only in rural areas, but also in medium cities and large metropolitan areas such as Monterrey. The economic growth that followed the crisis, during the restructuring and liberalization period of the end of the 1980s and 1990s, did not generate a total recovery of real wages and urban poverty remained at high levels. Whereas several studies have documented the short-term negative effects of these transformations on poverty levels and income inequality, there have been few efforts to change the temporal scope and look at long-term changes in occupational lives. Monterrey offered an excellent opportunity to look at these

transformations. On one hand, the existence of the 1965 survey provided a baseline for the documentation of long-term trends in occupational mobility. On the other, the extent of the social and economic transformations of the city made it a very interesting case study.

The administration of the 2000 survey provided the necessary data to complete this research. The original expectation was to find a reduction in upward mobility levels in relation to the 1960s, a period of high rates of economic growth and expanding job opportunities. Very soon, however, the detailed analysis of long-term sectoral labor market changes, as well as the initial results of the 2000 survey, suggested a more complex situation. The debt-crisis and further economic transition did not stop, and maybe even accelerated, the tertiarization of Monterrey economy, with a consequent expansion of job opportunities in non-manual occupations. Accordingly, inter-cohort upward mobility rates increased, instead of decreasing. The negative effects of the economic and social changes of the 1980s and 1990s, if any, had to be searched elsewhere.

It was not difficult, however, to identify other aspects of occupational mobility in which the record was not as positive. The reduction of wages among middle-level occupations, the persistent inequality in the access to high-level positions, and the continuing importance of men's class of origin as a determinant of attainment, are all features that characterize current patterns of social mobility in Monterrey. In the conclusions of each chapter I discuss how empirical findings consistently lead to the identification of these features. In these

final remarks I will depart from these findings and elaborate further on their significance for the overall debate on structural change and occupational outcomes in urban Mexico.

CHANGES IN SOCIAL POSITIONS AND OCCUPATIONS

I have suggested that the importance of occupational mobility, not only for the individuals experiencing it, but also for social research, rests on the extent in which this mobility produces significant changes in individual lives. The likelihood of such changes taking place, in turn, depends on the degree of inequality among social positions in terms of "material" reward packages, life-styles and life-worlds. It follows that, in order to understand the relevance of social mobility, we must pay attention not only to mobility rates, but also to the "social distance" among occupations, as well as possible changes in this social distance over time.

I have explored this problem in Chapter IV, using the available evidence from the 1965 and 2000 surveys, ENEU and in-depth interviews. I have distinguished between material inequality, which refers to the access to economic, cultural and social capital, and differences in values, tastes, and life-styles. In relation to material differences, the contrast between 1965 and 2000 suggests that the reduction in labor-incomes of the 1980s and mid-1990s was more severe for men in non-manual positions, thus narrowing (although not totally eliminating) the income advantage of lower white-collar jobs over blue-collar occupations. Conversely, the differences in educational credentials between occupational groups did not decrease, but accentuated during the same period. There are no

equivalent data for differences in social capital, but the results of in-depth interviews indicate that social ties of men in high-level occupations are better-positioned and more diversified and that these social networks have given them instrumental advantages in their search for occupations.

The picture, then, is one of a decreasing gap in individual income levels between manual and non-manual occupations, but increasing distance in educational levels as well as, presumably, persistent differences in the access to valuable social networks. It is complicated to obtain a clear idea of the impact of occupational mobility in individual lives from these opposite trends. The reduction in the income gap between manual and lower non-manual positions was achieved primarily through a significant drop in real incomes among the latter, and this might have meant a decrease in the economic returns of mobility. Whereas in the mid-1960s upward mobility from manual to non-manual positions practically guaranteed a significant salary increase, at the end of the century such increase was still possible, but not guaranteed at all. This is perhaps one of the most remarkable changes in social stratification between the mid 1960s and the present.

However, this is not to say that all the potential advantages of upward mobility have disappeared, or that men who experienced upward mobility from manual to non-manual occupations during the 1980s and 1990s are today in a similar social position than their counterparts who stayed in manual jobs. Indeed, even when the differences in average wages between manual and lower non-manual jobs have reduced, they have not totally faded and in some cases they are

still significant. Furthermore, if we accept Bourdieu's (1986) notion of convertibility among the different species of capital, then men in non-manual occupations have better economic prospects than men in manual jobs, because their higher educational credentials and enhanced social networks offer a greater potential of exchange into economic advantages, even when this potential may have not been manifested yet in current wages differences.

The differences in values, tastes, and life-styles also suggest that vertical mobility may still have important consequences in men's lives. Despite the overall changes in values and attitudes in recent decades, there are still significant occupation-related differences in family values and attitudes towards women's work, with men in non-manual positions consistently showing more liberal views. The variation in musical tastes, as well as in preferences in other artistic expressions such as the plastic arts, also support the hypothesis –not fully explored in this dissertation— of the existence of well-structured class cultures, that is, class-based systems of shared esthetical dispositions and tastes. Finally, the access to cultural goods and the practice of diverse leisure activities also increase as we move up in the occupational hierarchy, indicating the presence of marked differences in life-styles among men in different occupations. In sum, patterns of inequality among occupational groups transcend the economic dimension, and extend to symbolic aspects such as values, tastes, and life-styles. The suggestion, then, is that these additional sources of inequality must also be considered when evaluating the significance of occupational mobility.

THE CONTINUITY OF STRUCTURAL MOBILITY

Despite the structural transformations in the 1980s and the 1990s and their negative consequences in wages, the tertiarization of Monterrey's economy continued during these two decades. It may be argued that the expansion of services was caused by the proliferation of low-productivity activities such as personal services and informal commerce, but as we have seen in Chapter III, the evolution of Monterrey's occupational structure suggest that this was not the case. Actually, there was a very significant reduction in the proportion of men in unskilled service activities, accompanied by a expansion of professional, managerial and semi-skilled white-collar positions. Thus, the labor market of Monterrey continued its progressive upgrading during the last two decades, although with a high toll in the form of reduced incomes for non-manual workers.

The transformation of Monterrey's labor market is consistent with the intergenerational mobility trends by birth cohort presented in Chapter V, particularly the gradual increase in the proportion of men attaining non-manual positions. The upgrading of the occupational structure has also benefited men from working class origins, who have experienced increasing opportunities of upward mobility. The labor force entry and job shift models presented in Chapter VII also indicate that, once the negative short-term effects of the crisis at the beginning of the 1980s had passed, the high upward mobility rates that dominated until the end of the 1970s resumed.

It is possible –hypothesis not tested in this dissertation— that the continuing fluidity of Monterrey's occupational structure may have served as an escape valve to mitigate the social discontent generated by income reductions during the crisis years of the 1980s and mid-1990s. Average incomes decreased only slightly between 1965 and 2000, but the loses would have been much larger in the absence of the upgrading of the occupational structure. In this sense, upward mobility from manual to non-manual positions may have represented for many the opportunity of not suffering a substantial lose in their income, as well as provided a feeling of achievement both in relation to their parents' and their own expectations.

The expansion of schooling, particularly at the secondary and professional levels, has also translated into increasing opportunities of educational attainment. In less than a lifetime, the proportion of men attaining middle-level and college education has dramatically increased. This has resulted in the gradual incorporation of men from working class origins into higher education, very much associated with the increase in the capacity of public institutions – particularly the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, but also other public high education institutes administrated by the federal ministry of education— to absorb the increasing demand, while maintaining low tuition costs and a relatively broad system of fellowships. Thus, university studies, which working class families have for long considered one of the most important indicators of social mobility, have been increasingly accessible for men from all social backgrounds.

However, the expansion of higher education may have given place to new forms of inequality, such as the gap in educational levels and labor market credentials between individuals educated in public and private universities. Originally created with the objective of providing managerial personnel and engineering professionals to local firms, the Tecnológico de Monterrey has significantly increased its enrollment in the last two decades. Other private universities have also been created to satisfy the increasing demand of higher education among Monterrey's middle- and high-classes. At the same time, the reduction in public funding during the 1980s and persistent shortage of resources in the 1990s may have compromised the quality of higher education in public institutions. A consequence of this increasing divide between private and public institutions is that, even when they share similar educational credentials, men educated in private institutions have considerable advantages in training, social networks and credentials than graduates from public universities. The greater access of men with privileged class origins to Monterrey's private elite institutions (see Chapter V) indicates the existence of more subtle forms of inequality in educational attainment, even among those who attain professional studies.

It has been suggested that professional studies in Mexico no longer guarantee a privileged position in the labor market. The argument is that the expansion rate of professional jobs is very low in relation to the increasing number of university graduates. The image of a university graduate unemployed or sub-employed in informal activities –typically a taxi-driver or a street vendor of tacos— has somewhat permeated the public opinion and it is frequently

portrayed in newspapers and other mass media[94] as representing the reality of many individuals with university education. The investment of time and resources in higher education, one could think after reading such reports, is no longer worth, because very often it leads to unemployment or a labor market position equivalent to that of those who did not course professional studies. The results of this dissertation, however, suggest a different picture: consistently throughout chapters V, VI, and VII I have found a clear and persisting labor market advantage for men with university studies. They attain better positions from the start of their careers, are subject to higher upward mobility rates and also experience lower downward mobility rates than men with lower educational levels, independently of other factors such as family origins and migration status. Then, despite the shortage of job opportunities in professional activities, men with university studies still have an edge in labor markets, at least in Monterrey. The deficit of professional positions may have implied for them greater labor market difficulties, but certainly they are still ahead of less qualified individuals in the labor market queue to fill the best available positions.

INEQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Studies on social mobility generally distinguish between inequality in the distribution of valuable resources (i.e. income inequality or educational inequality)

[94] See, for example, the series of articles published in the Mexico City's newspaper "Reforma" on December 9, 2001 ("Cuando el título no garantiza un trabajo" or "Cuentan con estudios superiores").

and inequality in the access to these resources or, as it is frequently called, inequality of opportunity. As David Grusky comments:

> [...] substantial inequalities in power, wealth or prestige, are typically seen as tolerable (and even desirable) provided that the opportunities for securing these social goods are distributed equally[95].

The debate about equity of opportunity usually centers on the importance of ascribed characteristics, such as gender, class, and race, versus individual merit as determinants of individuals' position in society.

In this dissertation I have focused on father's occupation as an indicator of men's ascribed class of origin. I have explored the association between father's occupation and educational attainment, entire occupational trajectories, job entry patterns, and job mobility. Overall, the results reveal that men's class of origin remains a strong predictor of men's educational and occupational attainment. Furthermore, the importance of father's occupation as a determinant of occupational positions seems to have increased over time, as the reconstruction of cohort trends based on the results of the 1965 and 2000 surveys shows (Chapter V). Thus, the expansion of public schooling and the upgrading of the occupational structure, despite opening new channels of mobility for men from working class background, contributed little to "level the field" and democratize the access to opportunities. As I have emphasized throughout the dissertation, structural changes facilitated the access to higher-level positions for men with

[95] (Grusky 1994: p. 12)

manual origins, but it is also clear that the main beneficiaries of this changes have been men with privileged class origins.

The mechanisms of the association between class origins and occupational outcomes are not fully studied in this dissertation. However, it is possible to enumerate at least three possible causation paths that could be explored in future research. The first path is the connection between men's origins and educational attainment. Blau and Duncan's status attainment model recognized the importance of this relationship and suggested the need to "control" for education to obtain an estimate of the direct effect of social origins. Attending to this suggestion, I included educational level in the multivariate models of chapters V and VII. Yet, there are reasons to think that the educational level by itself does not entirely capture the effects of social origins on educational attainment. As I explained in the previous section, inequality in education may also express in differences in the quality and prestige of schools. Furthermore, similar schooling credentials may conceal more subtle class-based differences in school performance and learning levels, which may influence the extent in which formal schooling actually translates both into a valuable asset an a useful tool in the occupational world.

The second path involves the relationship between social class and the access to familiar economic resources. It is difficult to think on a society where parents do not constitute a source of financial resources for children at the start of their adult lives, but these resources may result determinant when institutionalized sources of credit are very scarce and short-term economic

circumstances are volatile, such as in urban Mexico during the last two decades. The greater access to parental resources may have given young men from high-income families an advantage over peers with low-incomes, both in the form of fresh resources to finance new businesses, and as a financial shield during the job searching process at the initial stages of occupational careers.

Finally, individuals' class of origin may also be linked to differences in social capital. Parents' social networks may be "inherited" to children, who may then take advantage of them in the job searching process. Also, family origins may have a significant influence in the structuration of personal social networks early in individual lives, through the constraints and opportunities created by residential proximity and attendance to certain schools and universities. It is necessary to accumulate more research to evaluate the influence of social networks on class reproduction, but the results of in-depth interviews suggest that they have been of great value for the occupational success of men with privileged origins.

In sum, the study of patterns of occupational mobility suggests that, in addition to poverty and income inequality, inequity in educational and occupational opportunities must be considered among the principal obstacles for future socioeconomic development and social justice in Monterrey, and probably as well in other cities of Mexico. Reducing inequity of opportunities in urban areas poses a significant challenge for social policies, particularly in the context of limited resources for social expenditure and an open preference for social spending in rural areas. In recent years, the state has gradually abandoned

universal social policies, such as subsidies to services and basic goods, and opted for a "targeting" strategy, based on the identification of vulnerable population groups and the channeling of monetary, educational, health and nutritional resources through direct fellowship programs. However, so far both *Progresa* and *Contigo*, the two federal programs implementing these new social policies, have limited their scope to rural areas, thus excluding poor urban families from any type of assistance. In this context, one challenge is to conceive and implement social policies that help to "level the field" and contribute to increase educational and occupational opportunities among the urban poor, which may not suffer from the extreme deprivation observed in rural areas, but still represent a significant proportion of those at the bottom of the income distribution.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The study of occupational mobility in Latin America is relatively underdeveloped, particularly in relation to research in industrialized societies. This dissertation has contributed to this field by studying long-term trends in mobility as well as other relevant aspects of social stratification in Monterrey. However, there are several topics that were not fully treated in this study. These issues will require more attention in future research if we aim to improve our understanding of changes in social mobility and the emerging forms of social stratification in Latin American cities. I dedicate this final section to enumerate them and outline a brief research agenda for future research.

The first topic refers to the limits for the generalization of the results of this research. The Monterrey study has both regional and gender boundaries. In

relation to the former, the strength of a case study is that it reveals with clarity the effects of local economic circumstances on mobility patterns, but this is also its major weakness when trying to generalize to other cities, even within Mexico. As Pozos (1996) has shown for Mexico City, Guadalajara and Monterrey during the crisis of the 1980s, the effects of economic circumstances may vary significantly across cities, depending on the vulnerability of their local economies to external challenges. These variations may have been even larger across cities in different countries, each with different institutional arrangements and specific ways of adaptation to globalization. Thus, it is evident that all generalizations to other cities in this dissertation must be understood as research hypotheses, which must be further corroborated in future studies accounting for regional and national particularities.

The study of women's occupational mobility also represents an important challenge for future research. Limited resources, but also the difficulties of including both men's and women's occupational experiences under an integrated research framework, lead me to focus exclusively on men. However, due to the increasing female's labor force participation it is important to incorporate women into future studies on social stratification and mobility. Research in this field has typically focused on the determinants of labor force entries and exits, as well as in the relationship between women's occupational trajectories and demographic outcomes, i.e. marriage and fertility. There is little knowledge about the structuration of women's occupational trajectories across the life course, as well as on gender-based patterns of segregation in the access to jobs, incomes, and

internal mobility. The progress in this field also depends on the generation of longitudinal data sets recording women's occupational, family, and residential trajectories, which are virtually non-existent today.

A third area that requires further attention is the connection between individuals and households in social stratification and mobility processes. In this research I have used individuals as the principal unit of analysis. Yet, the emphasis on individual outcomes does not necessarily means to deny the capital importance of households as intermediate units between labor markets and individual behaviors. The challenge is to develop an analytical framework that allows us to disentangle the connection between individual actions and household dynamics. The extensive research on household survival strategies is a good departing point for further research, but one important limitation of this perspective is that it overlooks the importance of the temporal dimension. Individual careers take place over a long period of time, during which both individual and family circumstances change. Therefore, it is necessary to incorporate this temporal dimension into to the analysis, by studying the synchrony between family time and individual time throughout occupational careers.

Finally, the case of Monterrey illustrates the importance of considering mobility across multiple dimensions of stratification, particularly in a situation of rapid social change such as that of Latin American cities in recent decades. Patterns of mobility may vary if instead of considering occupations we focus on other dimensions of mobility, such as incomes, prestige, or the access to other

valuable goods like education or housing. Although here I have focused exclusively on occupational mobility, the reduction in average incomes and the increasing schooling levels between 1965 and 2000 suggest that occupational mobility trends may be different than mobility trends in incomes or in educational attainment. It is essential to consider this multidimensionality in mobility patterns to obtain a clearer perspective of long-term changes in social stratification. Thus, one of the most important lessons that can be obtained from this study is that the recent economic and social transformations of Latin America may have different faces, some of them positive but other negative, and therefore we must be cautious not to elaborate absolute judgments about the benefits and harms that such transformations have produced on individual lives.

APPENDIX A. METHODOLOGY OF THE MONTERREY 2000 SURVEY

In this appendix I describe the principal characteristics of the main data source used in this dissertation, the "Monterrey Occupational Mobility and Life Course Survey" (hereafter "Monterrey 2000 survey" or "2000 survey"). The questionnaire was inspired by the instrument used by Balán, Browning and Jelin in their original 1965 survey. I describe the main characteristics of this questionnaire in the first section. Then I explain the design of the sample, including the selection of the universe and the sampling procedure. Next I discuss the principal obstacles found during the administration of questionnaires and the steps followed to overcome them. I also describe the processing of the information gathered in the questionnaires, from the coding of open responses to the creation of the data sets. Finally, I evaluate some of the results of the survey against other data sources.

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

The design of the questionnaire for the Monterrey 2000 survey was carried out with four major objectives in mind: a) to seek for compatibility with the data on occupational and residential histories obtained by Browning and colleagues in 1965; b) to incorporate the most relevant developments in employment surveys, exemplified by the National Survey of Urban Employment (ENEU); c) to explore issues that have become increasingly relevant in recent times and were not explored in the original Monterrey study, such as the

perceived effects of the crises of the 1980s and 1994-1995 and the relationship between occupational trajectories, cultural consumption and lifestyles and; d) to produce a questionnaire that was "doable", that is, with the appropriate length to be applied in a single session.

These objectives led to conflicting alternatives. The search of comparability with 1965, for example, clashed with the need of incorporating the methodological improvements of ENEU. On the other hand, the incorporation of new topics, such as life styles and cultural consumption, necessarily implied an increase in the extension of the questionnaire, making more difficult its application. The final version of the questionnaire was a balance between these often contradicting objectives.

The questionnaire is divided in two parts: a household questionnaire and an individual questionnaire. The individual questionnaire includes the life histories and other questions asked personally to the selected respondent. The titles of each section for both questionnaires are presented on Table A-1. Both questionnaires are reproduced in appendix B.

The contents of each section can be consulted by reviewing the questionnaires in the appendix. Here I will focus on the sections that collect the life histories (B.III. to B.V), because they are the link between the 1965 and the 2000 data and therefore represent the most relevant parts of the questionnaire four the purposes of this dissertation.

The overall methodology used to collect the life histories is similar to that applied by Balán, Browning and Jelin in the 1965 survey[96]. This method is based on a rectangular matrix, where each row represents a single year and each column a particular history or "life course domain", such as migration, work, family, education, etc. The interviewer fills the cells of this matrix with the significant events experienced by the interviewee within a particular life course domain *and* in the specific year of occurrence.

However, there are four aspects of the 1965 life histories that were altered for the 2000 survey. It can be noted first that in 1965 the columns assigned to each life course domain include a title but no additional instructions or question sequences. The criteria defining the information that should be included in the histories, as well as the strategies followed to record the sequence of events across different domains, were taught to the interviewers during the training phase previous to the administration of the questionnaires (Balán, Browning, and Jelin 1973: p.p. 347-354).

It can be deducted that this strategy required thorough training sessions and very close supervision. However, in the case of the Monterrey 2000 survey budget and time limitations, as well as the aim of incorporating the most relevant improvements brought by ENEU, suggested modifications towards a more "rigid" questionnaire, where interviewers had explicit guidelines to follow during the interviewing process. Thus, the following changes were introduced: a) a sequence of explicit questions was designed for each life course domain; b) the

[96] Appendix C presents a sample of the life histories section in the 1965 questionnaire for comparison with the 2000 questionnaire.

interviewers were offered a pre-defined set of possible answers wherever this was possible, and c) the strategy to fill the matrix of events was modified, from one where the interviewer switched back and forth from one domain to another, to other where the interviewer completely filled one domain and then continued with the next one, only returning to verify the consistence in the timing of events across different domains.

A second characteristic of the 1965 questionnaire is that each row in the matrix of events represents a calendar year ("Año"), starting in 1906 ("06") and ending in 1965 ("65"). During the administration of the questionnaire, the interviewer selected the starting row by identifying the year of birth and entering the age ("Edad") "0" in the following column. To simplify this process, the Monterrey 2000 survey questionnaire follows the alternative option: instead of representing calendar years, each row corresponds to an individual age, starting from "0" and ending in "65". Thus, interviewers started filling the histories always in the first row of the life histories section, and introduced the corresponding calendar year in each row, instead of individual age.

The third significant modification in relation to the 1965 questionnaire is the introduction of "sub-rows" within each row, where the interviewer orderly filled as many as three events taking place in the same year. This modification was accompanied by explicit instructions to: a) record only those instances where the interviewee spent at least certain amount of time (i.e. 2 months living in certain place in the case of the residential history), and b) use the following row with an

appropriate clarifying annotation to record events in those cases where there were four or more events within the same year.

Finally, two of the domains included in the 1965 questionnaire –the educational and health histories--, are eliminated from the Monterrey 2000 survey instrument, and replaced by less extensive questions in other sections. The elimination of these sections made easier and faster the administration of the questionnaire. The decision of leaving them out from the life histories is based on the fact that severe health problems and exits/reentries to school are not frequent, and therefore it was possible to capture them with specific and less time-consuming questions.

In sum, these modifications simplified the administration of the life histories and simultaneously preserved two of the most important advantages of the original design: the matrix format, that facilitates an orderly account of events across different life course domains, and the ability to review the consistency in dates by cross-checking the timing and sequence of events in different life course domains.

The changes in the format of life histories were also accompanied by modifications in their content. In the following sections I describe the contents of the histories corresponding to each life course domain.

Residential History

The residential history records all changes in the locality of residence, as well as changes in the neighborhood of residence within Monterrey, which end in a stay of two or more months in the place of destiny. This history captures three

relevant pieces of information: the name of the locality (or the name of the neighborhood, for those movements with Monterrey as a destiny), the name of the municipality, and the name of the state. This information was subsequently coded according to the appropriate census and geographic information, as I will describe later in this chapter.

Family History

The family history is divided in three parts: kinship history, marriage history, and children history. The kinship history registers all transitions in the relationship that the respondent held with the head of the household. Respondents were asked to identify who was the head of the household when he was born (his father, mother, etc.), as well as all subsequent changes in the headship of the household up to the time of the interview.

The marriage history records all transitions in marital status. This section starts with two questions about the current marital status and the number of times the respondent had been married or cohabitated. These questions allowed the interviewer to identify the total number of events to be registered in the history.

The children history is divided in two sections. The first section registers the dates of birth for all children and the second the dates of deaths, if one or more of the respondent's children had deceased. As in the previous case, both histories start with general questions asking the total number of births and deaths, thus giving the interviewer directions in relation to the number of events to be registered. In addition, the birth order was included both in the birth and decease

histories, in order to facilitate the posterior link between the data on births and deaths.

Occupational History

Registering the jobs the respondent held during his life was the most important part of the questionnaire. Therefore, special attention was given to the design of this section. Respondents were asked about each occupation held for two or more months, the name of the occupation, the most important tasks and activities performed in that particular job, the position in the occupation, and the products or services the firm produced. In addition to these characteristics, all present in the 1965 survey, the Monterrey 2000 survey questionnaire asks whether or not each particular job provides health insurance, how the respondent obtained that job, the size of the firm, and the precise dates (in months and years) where the job started and finished. Finally, the 2000 questionnaire includes a question specifically designed to identify those workers who followed a career of promotions or demotions within a firm (question 62). This question allows the interviewer to identify each individual job segment of occupational careers within firms and record these segments as separate jobs.

SAMPLE DESIGN

In this section I describe the sample design of the Monterrey 2000 survey. This design involved two major steps: the selection of the universe and the sampling procedure. These steps are detailed below.

Selection of the Universe

The universe was defined as the resident male population, 31-60 years of age, of the metropolitan area of Monterrey. This definition allowed me to compare the results with those of the 1965 survey, but also imposed several limitations. The most important of these limitations is the exclusion of women. Two major considerations led me to exclude women from the sample. First, budget restrictions only allowed me to administrate only a limited number of questionnaires. The inclusion of women would have implied a significant reduction in the number of males interviewed, thus compromising the precision of results and the comparability with the 1965 study. Second, even when women's labor participation has notably increased in recent decades, their occupational trajectories are still often interrupted or temporarily suspended by events in other life course domains, such as marriage or childbearing. The greater complexity in female labor trajectories, although interesting and increasingly relevant for the overall debate on mobility patterns, demands a separate analysis that cannot be accomplished in this dissertation.

The other significant limitation is the exclusion of men between ages 21 and 30, who were included in the universe of the original 1965 study. Again, the main reasons for excluding these men were monetary: given my limited budget, I privileged those cohorts with longer occupational trajectories, represented by men over 30 years of age. The negative side of this choice is that the conditions of entry into the labor force for Monterrey men in the last 15 years (mainly

reflected in the experience of young men) are not properly represented in the sample.

The geographic definition of Monterrey as an urban area deserves a separate mention. In the last decades the city has expanded beyond the administrative limits of the *municipio*. In the design of the Monterrey 2000 survey sample, I decided to include all the localities pertaining to the agglomeration of Monterrey, as defined by INEGI for the ENEU sample. This definition includes localities in the municipalities of Monterrey, Santa Catarina, San Pedro Garza García, Guadalupe, San Nicolás de los Garza, Escobedo, Apodaca, Benito Juárez and García.[97]

Sampling procedure

The target sample size for the Monterrey 2000 survey was 1,200 cases. Like in the case of the 1965 study, my interest was to collect enough cases to contrast the experience of different cohorts, as well as men in high and low socioeconomic strata. Thus, the decision was made to elaborate a two-staged cluster stratified design, over-representing the older cohorts and men living in high socioeconomic strata neighborhoods. The steps followed to obtain the sample were as follows:

1. The city was divided into 975 sections, or "Areas Geoestadísticas Básicas" (AGEB's). The AGEB is the minimal geographical area used by INEGI to produce demographic information, and it is generally equivalent to a

[97] Two of the municipalities, García and Benito Juárez, were included in the universe, but none of their neighborhoods was chosen in the random procedures leading to the selection of the final sample.

neighborhood. These 975 AGEB's were subsequently divided in two groups: one comprising high socieconomic strata AGEB's (79 in total)[98] and the other including the remaining AGEB's.

2. From the total of 975 AGEB's, a simple random sample of 143 was taken. From the sub-group of 79 high socioeconomic strata AGEB´s, and additional random sample of 57 AGEB's was taken. During these two independent random selections, the probability of selection was proportional to the number of dwellings in the AGEB, according to the Mexican 1995 Census (Figure A-1 shows a map of the selected AGEB's).
3. An inhabited block was randomly selected in each one of the 200 AGEB's. Then, a corner of each block was randomly selected and a census of the first 30 contiguous dwellings was administrated, registering the first name, address, and age of all male residents between the ages of 30 and 60. If there were less than 30 dwellings in the block, the interviewers were instructed to continue with the adjacent block, until completing the 30 dwellings. The census produced a list of 2,871 eligible men, distributed as shown in Table A-2.
4. Each one of the cells in Table A-2 was considered a stratum. Within each of these strata, a simple random sample was taken, with 316 cases assigned to each age group in "not-high" socioeconomic strata, and 84 cases by age group in "high" socioeconomic strata. The final distribution of the "target" sample is given in Table A-3.

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[98] The selection of high socioeconomic strata AGEB's was based both on the socioeconomic information available from the 1990 census and my previous knowledge of the socioeconomic geography of the city.

The resulting sample was equally distributed among birth cohorts (400 cases in each age group), thus over representing older men. The sample also over represented men in high socioeconomic strata, because the probability of selection was larger for high SES sampling units (AGEB's) than for their low-and medium counterparts (see step 2 above). In order to obtain a representative sample, it was necessary to design sampling weights accounting for these differences. The procedure to estimate these sampling weights is summarized in table A-4. I used two pieces of information available at the time of the survey. First, the number of men aged 30-60 residing in both strata of AGEB's, according to the 1995 Mexican "Conteo" (column 1 in Table A-4). Second, the age distribution by SES of the AGEB, according to the project census (Column 2). Using this information, I estimated the total Monterrey male population in each strata (Column 3). Then, I calculated the sampling weights by dividing the total population in each strata by the number of questionnaires applied in each strata (Column 4). Thus, the resulting sampling weights (Column 5), when applied to the survey data, produce a distribution that resembles the SES patterns of the 1995 "Conteo" and the age distribution of the project census.[99]

[99] The sampling weights were calculated with the data of the 1995 "Conteo" because the results of the 2000 Mexican census were not yet available. A more precise set of sampling weights can be obtained with the recently published data of the 2000 census. However, these new sampling weights would hardly introduce significant modifications to the survey results, because the distribution of the population by SES of the AGEB and age groups is not likely to significantly change in a five-year period.

ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES

The survey was conducted between July and November of 2000. During this period, three pretests were conducted. In the first pretest, I personally applied three interviews to a group of acquaintances and neighbors. After this informal pretest, a more formal exercise was planned, with the participation of seven experienced interviewers, who administrated 35 questionnaires to randomly selected men in low and high SES neighborhoods. Five of these interviewers – those who combined previous experience and the best performance in the pretest- were selected as supervisors.

The third pretest included the 25 interviewers who were selected to participate in the survey, as well as the 5 supervisors. After the census phase of the project was finished[100], these interviewers participated in a two-day training session, which included a detailed description of the questionnaire, several "in-classroom" exercises, the application of a questionnaire to a randomly selected respondent and, finally, a session where the supervisors revised the applied questionnaire and signaled each interviewer his/her omissions and mistakes, as well as corrections showing the proper way to fill the questionnaire. At this stage of the survey, the objective of such exercise was not to introduce further modifications to the questionnaire, but training the interviewers in its administration. It is worth to mention that most of the training session was dedicated to practice the administration of the life histories.

[100] Thirty interviewers, most of them with experience as part-time interviewers for INEGI or private survey offices, applied the census. The census phase included a one-day training session, a short-pretest, and the fulfillment of the 200 AGEB's census described in the previous section.

Three major difficulties arose during the application of questionnaires. First, the great majority of selected men were active workers and they were not easy to locate at their homes, except at nights and during the weekend. Second, the questionnaire was relatively long and it was difficult to convince some interviewees to participate[101]. Finally, bad weather during the month of September delayed the application of questionnaires.

One consequence of these difficulties was a high desertion rate among interviewers. Of the 25 original interviewers, 12 had to be replaced. All substitute interviewers were offered a training session similar to that offered to the rest of the group at the beginning of the interviewing phase.

A more serious problem was the considerable number of individuals who where originally selected to be interviewed and had to be replaced. The negative to participate was the most frequent reason for substitutions, but other factors, such as discrepancies between the demographic data obtained in the census and the actual profile of the selected candidate to be interviewed, also contributed to this problem[102]. In sum, 284 individuals originally selected (23.7%) had to be replaced for these reasons.

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[101] The time for the application of the questionnaire varied from 45 to 95 minutes, depending on the extension of the respondent's personal history.

[102] The interviewer was provided with the name, address and age of the candidate to be interviewed. Certain discrepancies between this information and the actual profile of the interviewee were allowed, such as small differences in age or in first names. However, in those cases where the interview candidate was not living anymore in the household, or where the demographic information given to the interviewer was totally inconsistent with that of the members of the household, the interviewer was asked to return with his/her supervisor to receive additional instructions. In most cases, these situations led to the substitution of the candidate to be interviewed.

In order to introduce the least possible biases to the sample design, each individual who could not be interviewed was replaced by another one randomly selected from the same stratum. Furthermore, in most cases (90%), the replacements were assigned to the same municipality where the replaced candidate lived. Table A-5 presents the absolute and relative number of replacements by strata. It can be noted that substitution rates were particularly elevated in the high SES Strata, especially in the second stratum, where 46.4% of the originally selected candidates had to be substituted. It is impossible to know with certainty the impact of these substitutions on the overall sampling design, but the assignment of replacements with similar age, SES, and residential location was the best solution available to reduce the negative effects on the representativity of the data.

PROCESSING OF INFORMATION

The administrated questionnaires were coded and thoroughly revised before entering them to the data sets. After this task was completed, special programs were created to verify the quality and internal consistency of the data sets. The entire process leading from the administration of questionnaires to the final data sets can be summarized in six steps:

1. Initial revision. Immediately after the questionnaires were administrated, supervisors revised them in detail. Those questionnaires with incomplete information or inconsistencies in the life histories were returned to interviewers for a second visit and further completion.

2. Coding. After the initial revision was passed, supervisors proceeded to code the questions with open answers, utilizing a previously elaborated list with the most frequent answers. Two exceptions were the occupational and residential histories, where different coding strategies were followed. In the case of occupational histories, the decision was made to utilize the coding scheme applied by INEGI to code ENEU and other surveys with information on occupations. Thus, the 1996 Mexican Classification of Occupations (INEGI 1998a) and the Economic Activities Classification (CAE) (INEGI 1994) were used to code the information on occupations and type of industry. Accordingly, the training of the supervisors for coding these questions was based on the training manuals of ENEU (INEGI n.d.; INEGI 1998b) On the other hand, the coding of the residential histories demanded extensive consultation of the Mexican Censuses between 1910 and 1995, and therefore it was more convenient to postpone this task until the information was entered and ordered in the final data sets (more details below).
3. Final Revision. After coding the questionnaires, supervisors delivered them to the general coordinator. With my personal supervision, each questionnaire was subject to a final revision, where its internal consistency and the coding of occupations were checked.
4. Data Entering. After their final revision, the information of the questionnaires was entered into twelve different data sets, each one containing different sections of the questionnaire. The data entering process was performed by personnel with experience in these kind of tasks.

5. Consistency and quality check of data sets. After all questionnaires were entered, I personally designed several programs to check the internal consistency and overall quality of the data sets. These programs identified not valid answers and inconsistencies in skips. They also verified the internal coherence in the sequence and timing of events within the different life histories. The questionnaires corresponding to entries with inconsistencies were double-checked and most inconsistencies amended. In addition, the number of events entered in each history was verified against the information in the questionnaires, to guarantee that no information of the life histories was missing in the data entering process.
6. The final step was the coding of residential histories. Two types of information were coded: data on localities of destiny, for those entries referring to movements outside of Monterrey, and data on the neighborhood of destiny, for movements within Monterrey. In the first case, two important pieces of information were the size of the locality at the time of the movement and the geographic location of communities. The size of the locality was obtained from a compilation by the Geography Institute of the UNAM (Instituto de Geografía-UNAM 1962), as well as direct information collected from the 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 1995 censuses. The future geographic identification of localities was secured by adding the official INEGI codes to the names of the municipalities and states. In the case of movements within Monterrey, the name of the neighborhood was coded with the corresponding zip code.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER DATA SOURCES

Tables A-6 to A-9 compare some demographic and occupational characteristics of Monterrey men obtained from the 2000 survey representative sample with those from the complementary survey of the Mexican Census of 2000 and the ENEU for the third quarter of 2000. The data for both the 2000 Census and ENEU surveys are restricted to men between 31-60 years residing in the metropolitan area of Monterrey, thus representing the same universe than the Monterrey 2000 survey.

Table A-6 presents the age distribution of the Monterrey 2000 survey and the Census 2000 survey. The distributions are very similar. The larger differences are in the age groups 31-34 (18.1% vs. 20.8%, respectively) and 50-54 (14.3% vs. 12.1%). In all the other age groups, the absolute differences between the two surveys do not exceed 2 percent points.

In Table A-7 are given the distributions of the Monterrey 2000 survey and the census by level of education. There are very minor differences between these two distributions. Perhaps the only notable divergences are a slightly lower proportion of men pertaining to the lowest category in our survey (11.7% vs. 13.3%), as well as a small surplus in the percentage of men with professional education (25.8% vs. 28.0%).

Tables A-8 and A-9 compare the distributions by occupational category and type of industry for the Monterrey 2000 survey and the ENEU corresponding to the third quarter of 2000.[103] The distributions in our sample

[103] It is important to keep in mind that in these two cases the differences between the Monterrey 2000 survey and ENEU might be due not only to a flaw in the design of

closely follow those of ENEU. In the case of occupations, the largest difference is in skilled manual positions, with 27.9% in our survey and 32.0% in ENEU. Similarly, in the distribution by type of industry, the Monterrey 2000 survey produces a slightly higher proportion of men in manufacturing activities (31.0% vs. 28.6%).

In sum, the contrast with the 2000 Mexican Census and ENEU 2000 yields very similar results. This makes me confident that the sample design, fieldwork procedures, coding criteria, internal data consistency checks, and weighting of Monterrey 2000 survey have produced a reliable source of information, that depicts with a reasonably degree of accuracy the characteristics of the target population.

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the sample, but also to systematic differences in coding procedures. Even when, as I mentioned before, all the necessary steps were taken to follow similar coding criteria, it is obviously impossible to fully achieve this goal, simply because ENEU and the Monterrey 2000 survey are two independent coding exercises. Nevertheless, the possible differences in coding criteria are not likely to introduce major divergences in results, especially when occupations and industries are grouped in broad categories, as I do in this dissertation.

Table A-1. Sections of the questionnaires

- Household Questionnaire
  - A.I. Household residents sheet
  - A.II. Migration
  - A.III. Dwelling Characteristics and Goods
- Individual Questionnaire
  - B.I. Family Background
  - B.II. Current Job Characteristics
  - B.III. Residential History
  - B.IV. Family History
  - B.V. Occupational History
  - B.VI. Education
  - B.VII. Health
  - B.VIII. Migration to Monterrey
  - B.IX. Information on the Spouse
  - B.X. Surviving Children
  - B.XI. Work and Economic Situation
  - B.XII. Family Values
  - B.XIII. Life Styles and Cultural Practices

Table A-2. Distribution of the Population Enumerated in the Census Previous to the Survey, by Socioeconomic Strata and Age

	Socioeconomic Strata	
Age	Not high	High
31-40	1022	267
41-50	732	214
51-60	475	161

Table A-3. Distribution of the "Target" Sample, by Socioeconomic Strata and Age

	Socioeconomic Strata	
Age	Not high	High
31-40	316	84
41-50	316	84
51-60	316	84

Table A-4. Procedure to calculate sampling weights

Strata	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. High SES, Ages 31-40	29514	0.42	12275	84	146.13
2. High SES, Ages 41-50		0.33	9838	84	117.12
3. High SES, Ages 51-60		0.25	7401	84	88.11
4. Not high SES, Ages 31-40	384943	0.46	176497	316	558.53
5. Not high SES, Ages 41-50		0.33	126415	316	400.05
6. Not high SES, Ages 51-60		0.21	82031	316	259.59

(1) Total population of males 31-60 in Monterrey, according to the 1995 Mexican Census

(2) Proportion of the population in each age group, by SES of the AGEB, according to our census

(3) Estimated distribution of males by strata [(1) x (2)]

(4) Distribution of the sample by strata

(5) Expansion factor (sampling weight) required to expand the sample size to the estimated distribution by strata [(3)/(4)]

Table A-5. Number and Percent of Substituted Respondents by Sampling Strata

	Substitutions	
Sampling Strata	Number	Percent
1. High SES, Ages 31-40	27	32.1
2. High SES, Ages 41-50	39	46.4
3. High SES, Ages 51-60	21	25.0
4. Not high SES, Ages 31-40	62	19.6
5. Not high SES, Ages 41-50	67	21.2
6. Not high SES, Ages 51-60	68	21.5

Table A-6. Age Distribution of Male Population Between Ages 31 and 60 of Monterrey, According to the Mexican 2000 Census and the Monterrey 2000 survey

Age Groups	2000 Census	MTY 2000
31-34	20.8	18.1
35-39	23.1	21.3
40-44	18.5	20.0
45-49	14.4	14.3
50-54	12.1	14.3
55-60	11.1	12.0
Total	100.0	100.0
(n)	*32,381*	*1,200*

Source: INEGI (2001): XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda. Base de Datos de la Muestra del Censo, and representative sample of the Monterrey 2000 survey

Table A-7. Level of Education of Male Population Between Ages 31 and 60 of Monterrey, According to the Mexican 2000 Census and the Monterrey 2000 survey

Educational level	2000 Census	MTY 2000
Less than completed primary	13.3	11.7
Completed Primary	17.1	16.2
Any Secondary	25.0	25.1
Any Preparatory	18.8	19.0
Any Professional	25.8	28.0
Total	100.0	100.0
(n)	*32,381*	*1,200*

Source: INEGI (2001): XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda. Base de Datos de la Muestra del Censo, and representative sample of the Monterrey 2000 survey

Table A-8. Occupational Distribution of Male Population Between Ages 31 and 60 of Monterrey, According to ENEU 2000 and the Monterrey 2000 survey

Occupational Group	ENEU 2000	MTY 2000
Managers and Professionals	14.7	15.2
Technicians, Middle-level Managers, Owners of Sales Businesses	15.1	16.6
Office workers and Sales Agents	7.3	8.4
Supervisors in Manual Activities & Sales Clerks	8.7	9.6
Operatives & Craftsmen (except construction workers)	32.0	27.9
Unskilled Manual Workers & Construction Laborers	11.6	12.4
Unskilled Service Workers	10.4	9.6
Farm Workers	0.2	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0
(n)	*2,163*	*1,134*

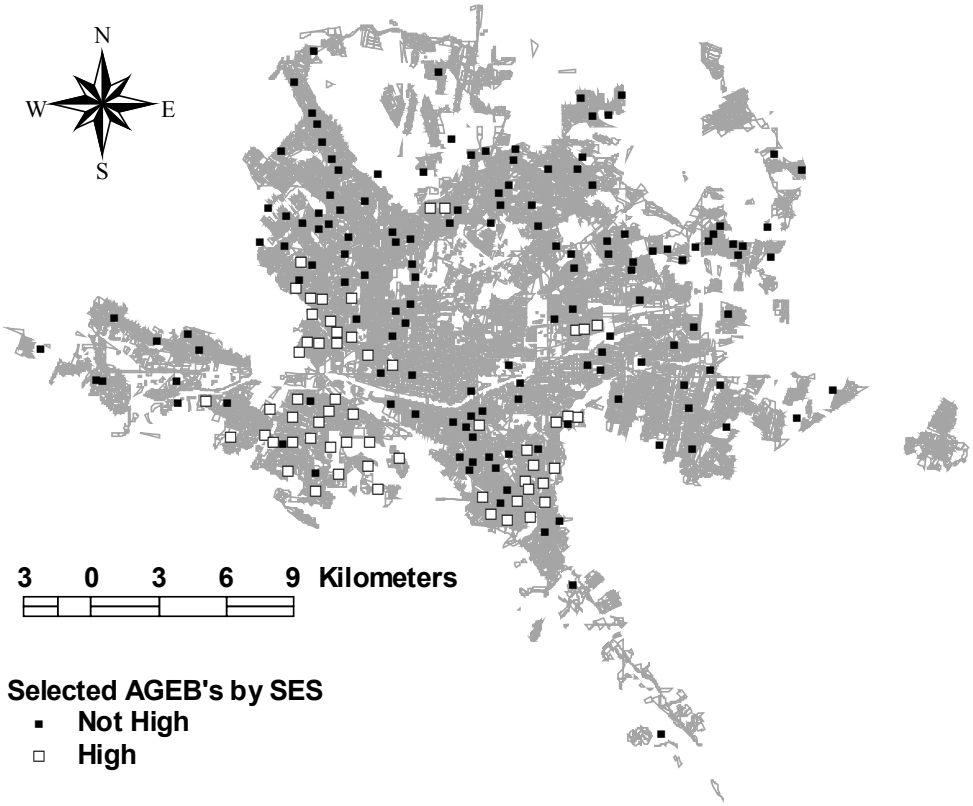
Source: INEGI (2001): XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda. Base de Datos de la Muestra del Censo, and representative sample of the Monterrey 2000 survey

Table A-9. Type of Industry of Male Population Between Ages 31 and 60 of Monterrey, According to ENEU 2000 and the Monterrey 2000 survey

Type of Industry	ENEU 2000	MTY 2000
Extractive and Farm	0.2	0.6
Manufacturing	28.6	31.0
Construction	12.7	11.8
Commerce and Finance	20.1	19.5
Other Services	38.4	37.1
Total	100.0	100.0
(n)	*2,163*	*1,135*

Source: INEGI (2001): XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda. Base de Datos de la Muestra del Censo, and representative sample of the Monterrey 2000 survey

Figure A-1. Map of AGEB's selected in the sample, by SES strata



APPENDIX B. QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE 2000 MONTERREY OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND LIFE COURSE SURVEY

ENCUESTA SOBRE MOVILIDAD OCUPACIONAL Y CURSO DE VIDA EN MONTERREY 2000
CUESTIONARIO DE VIVIENDA
INFORMACIÓN CONFIDENCIAL

CLAVE IDENTIFICACIÓN

|___|___| -- |___|___|
C.E. **N° VIV.**

DATOS DE IDENTIFICACIÓN

Ageb…….....	|___|___|___| - |___| *Clave*
Municipio:_____ *Nombre*	|___|___| *Clave*
Manzana…….....	|___|___| *Clave*

DOMICILIO

_____ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | | ___ | ___ | ___ |
Calle, avenida, carretera o descripción de la vivienda *Núm. Ext.* *Núm. Int.*

Entre la calle: _____ y la Calle: _____

_____ _____
Colonia *Teléfono*

CONTROL DE VISITAS	V1	V2	V3
FECHA	|___|___| |___|___| |___|___| *DIA MES AÑO*	|___|___| |___|___| |___|___| *DIA MES AÑO*	|___|___| |___|___| |___|___| *DIA MES AÑO*
HORA DE INICIO	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*
HORA DE TÉRMINO	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*
DURACIÓN (Horas y minutos)	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*
RESULTADO *(Anotar para cada visita, el código correspondiente)*	|____|	|____|	|____|

1. Entrevista completa
2. Entrevista incompleta(*Hacer cita)*
3. Entrevista aplazada (*Hacer cita)*
4. Nadie en casa *(revisita*)
5. Se negó a dar información

Yo _____ con el cargo de ENCUESTADOR, declaro que realicé personalmente la entrevista contenida en este cuestionario; que realicé todas y cada una de las preguntas y anoté sin omitir todas las respuestas correctamente. En caso de que sea falso acepto cualquier pena legal en mi contra

FIRMA: _____

Yo _____ con el cargo de SUPERVISOR, declaro que verifiqué personalmente la información contenida en este cuestionario y que validé su contenido correctamente. En caso de que sea falso acepto cualquier pena legal en mi contra.

FIRMA: _____

Buenos días (tardes). Mi nombre es _____. Trabajo para el grupo LEVANTA, una empresa que se dedica a realizar encuestas de opinión. En esta ocasión estamos realizando una encuesta sobre trabajo y familia, con el fin de conocer el pasado laboral y familiar de los ciudadanos de Monterrey. Este hogar ha sido seleccionado al azar para contestar este cuestionario. La información que proporcione será confidencial y sólo será usada con fines estadísticos

AI. HOJA DE RESIDENTES

Para iniciar, quisiera saber algunos datos generales de todas las personas que viven en esta vivienda:

														SOLO PARA QUIENES TIENEN 15 AÑOS O MÁS						
	IDENTIFICACIÓN	**PARENTESCO**									**SEXO**		**EDAD**	**ESTADO CIVIL**						**EDUCACIÓN**
	1	**2**									**3**		**4**	**5**						**6**
	Por favor ¿Me puede decir el nombre de todos los que viven en esta vivienda, comenzando con la persona que es el jefe? *Anotar en cada renglón los nombres correspondientes, empezando con el jefe de la casa. Para cada caso realice las siguientes preguntas:*	**¿Qué es** ___________ (NOMBRE) **de (JEFE DE LA VIVIENDA)?** *(Tachar en cada renglón el código correspondiente)* 1. Cónyuge 2. Hijo/hija 3. Yerno/nuera 4. Padre/madre 5. Hermano/hermana 6. Suegro/suegra 7. Otro pariente 8. Sirviente 9. No pariente									**¿** ________ (NOMBRE) **es hombre o mujer?** *(Tachar en cada renglón el código correspon-diente)* 1. Hombre 2. Mujer		**¿Cuán-tos años de edad tiene** ______**?** (NOM-BRE) *(Anotar en cada renglón la edad correspondiente)*	¿____________ NOMBRE) **vive en...** *(Si la persona tiene **15 años o más** Tachar en cada renglón el código correspondiente de estado civil. Si la persona tiene menos de 15 años, salte a la siguiente persona de la lista)* 1. **Unión libre?** 2. **Matrimonio?** 3. **Es viudo(a)?** 4. **Es divorciado (a)?** 5. **Está separado(a)?** 6. **Es soltero(a)?**						**¿Cuál fue el último grado de escuela aprobado por** ______________**?** NOMBRE) *(Si la persona tiene **15 años o más**, anotar el código de nivel y el número del grado que corresponda. Si la persona tiene menos de 15 años, salte a la siguiente persona de la lista)* *Nivel* 0. No fue a la escuela 1. Primaria 2. Secundaria o Secundaria técnica 3. Preparatoria o preparatoria técnica 4. Normal 5. Profesional
1		JEFE DE LA VIVIENDA									1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
2		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
3		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
4		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
5		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
6		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
7		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
8		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
9		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
10		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
11		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
12		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
13		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
14		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*
15		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	|__|__|	1	2	3	4	5	6	|____| |____| *Nivel* *Grado*

POR FAVOR MARQUE CON UN CÍRCULO EN ROJO EL (LOS) NOMBRE(S) DE LA(S) PERSONA(S) SELECCIONADA(S) PREVIAMENTE A LA(S) QUE SE APLICARÁ EL CUESTIONARIO INDIVIDUAL

A.II. EMIGRACIÓN

7. Durante los últimos 5 años, esto es, de Septiembre de 1995 a la fecha, ¿Alguna persona que vive o vivía aquí con ustedes se fue a vivir a otro lugar fuera de Monterrey?
(En la casilla anotar el código correspondiente. Si contesta que SÍ = 1, preguntar por el número de personas y anotar la cantidad)

1 = Sí 2 = NO *(Saltar a pregunta 18)* ..... |___|

8. ¿Cuántas personas? ..... |___||___|

9. ¿Por favor me dice el nombre de cada una de las personas que se fueron a vivir a otro lugar durante los últimos 5 años?
(Anotar en la columna 9 cada uno de los nombres)

10. La última vez que se fue de Monterrey ¿Vivía _____ aquí en esta casa con ustedes? *(En la columna 10, marcar con "X" la respuesta correspondiente)* |___|
(NOMBRE)

1 = Sí 2 = NO *(Saltar a la siguiente persona)*

11. ¿_____ es hombre o mujer? *(En la columna 11, Marcar con "X" el código de la respuesta correspondiente)*
(NOMBRE)

1 = Hombre 2 = Mujer

12. ¿Qué edad tenía _____ cuando se fue de Monterrey? *(Anotar en la columna 12, la edad correspondiente)*
(NOMBRE)

13. ¿Cuál es el nombre del poblado o ciudad a la que se mudó _____? *(Anotar en la columna 13, el nombre del poblado o ciudad)*
(NOMBRE)

14. ¿En qué estado está ese poblado o ciudad? *(Anotar en la columna 14, el nombre del estado)*

15. ¿En qué país está ese poblado o ciudad? *(Anotar en la columna 15, el nombre del país)*

16. ¿Cuál es el nombre del último trabajo que _____ tuvo antes de irse de Monterrey? *Si no trabajó o no sabe, especifique (Anotar en la columna 16, el nombre del trabajo)*
(NOMBRE)

17. ¿Cuáles eran las tareas o funciones principales que desempeñaba _____ en ese trabajo? *(Anotar en la columna 17, las tareas o funciones)*
(NOMBRE)

	9	10 Sí	10 No	11 H	11 M	12	13	14	15	16	17
1		1	2	1	2	|__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|	_____ ___	_____ _____ |__|__|__|
2		1	2	1	2	|__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|	_____ ___	_____ _____ |__|__|__|
3		1	2	1	2	|__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|	_____ ___	_____ _____ |__|__|__|
4		1	2	1	2	|__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|	_____ ___	_____ _____ |__|__|__|
5		1	2	1	2	|__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|	_____ ___ |__|__|	_____ ___	_____ _____ |__|__|__|

A.III. VIVIENDA Y BIENES.

En esta parte le pido por favor que me informe algunas cosas sobre esta casa:	
18. ¿Es esta casa prestada, rentada, o propia? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Prestada *(Saltar a 20)* 2. Rentada *(Saltar a 20)* 3. Propia	|____|
19. ¿Está la casa totalmente pagada, o todavía la están pagando? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Totalmente pagada 2.Todavía hacen pagos	|____|
20. Sin contar la cocina y baños ¿Cuántos cuartos en total tiene esta casa? *(Anotar la cantidad respectiva)*	|____|____|
21. ¿Me puede decir cuáles de los siguientes aparatos tienen en esta casa? *(Leer cada uno y de los incisos y anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = SÍ 2 = NO	
a. **Licuadora**	|____|
b. **Horno de microondas**	|____|
c. **Máquina lavadora de ropa**	|____|
d. **Máquina secadora de ropa**	|____|
e. **Teléfono**	|____|
f. **Televisión**	|____|
g. **Videocassetera**	|____|
h. **Computadora**	|____|
i. **Aire acondicionado o aire lavado**	|____|
j. **Máquina lavadora de platos**	|____|
k. **Cablevisión, Multivisión, Sky, Directv o antena parabólica**	|____|

22.¿Cuántos automóviles tienen en esta casa?*(Anotar la cantidad correspondiente)*	|____|
SI CONTESTA QUE NO TIENE, ANOTAR 0 Y PASAR AL CUESTIONARIO INDIVIDUAL "B. ANTECEDENTES FAMILIARES")	
22.1 ¿De qué marca, modelo y año son? *(Anotar la marca, el modelo y el año)*	

	Marca y modelo	Año
1		|____|____|____|____|
2		|____|____|____|____|
3		|____|____|____|____|
4		|____|____|____|____|
5		|____|____|____|____|

CONTINÚE CON LA(S) ENTREVISTA(S) INDIVIDUAL(ES). SI EL INFORMANTE NO ES LA PERSONA SELECCIONADA, PREGUNTE SI ALGUNA DE LAS PERSONAS SELECCIONADAS PREVIAMENTE PARA ENTREVISTAR SE ENCUENTRAN PRESENTES EN ESE MOMENTO. SI NO SE ENCUENTRAN O NO ESTÁN DISPONIBLES EN ESE MOMENTO, INFÓRMESE DE LA HORA Y EL DÍA EN QUE ESTÁN DISPONIBLES Y/O TRATE DE HACER CITA PARA LA PRÓXIMA VISITA.

ENCUESTA SOBRE MOVILIDAD OCUPACIONAL Y CURSO DE VIDA EN MONTERREY 2000
CUESTIONARIO INDIVIDUAL
INFORMACIÓN CONFIDENCIAL

CLAVE IDENTIFICACIÓN

|___|___| -- |___|___| -- |___|___|
C.E. **N° VIV.** **N° IDENT.**

DATOS DE IDENTIFICACIÓN DE LA PERSONA SELECCIONADA

Ageb…….....	|___|___|___| - |___| *Clave*
Municipio:_____ *Nombre*	|___|___| *Clave*
Manzana…….....	|___|___| *Clave*

DOMICILIO DE LA PERSONA SELECCIONADA

_____ | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___ | | ___ | ___ | ___ |
Calle, avenida, carretera o descripción de la vivienda *Núm. Ext.* *Núm. Int.*

Entre la calle: _____ y la Calle: _____

_____ _____
Colonia *Teléfono*

NOMBRE DEL ENTREVISTADO	EDAD
_____	_____

CONTROL DE VISITAS	**V1**	**V2**	**V3**
FECHA	|___|___| |___|___| |___|___| *DIA MES AÑO*	|___|___| |___|___| |___|___| *DIA MES AÑO*	|___|___| |___|___| |___|___| *DIA MES AÑO*
HORA DE INICIO	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*
HORA DE TÉRMINO	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*
DURACIÓN (Horas y minutos)	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*	|____|____| : |____|____| *Horas Minutos*
RESULTADO *(Anotar para cada visita, el código correspondiente)*	|____|	|____|	|____|

1. Entrevista completa
2. Entrevista incompleta(*Hacer cita)*
3. Entrevista aplazada (*Hacer cita)*
4. Nadie en casa *(revisita*)
5. Se negó a dar información

Yo _____ con el cargo de ENCUESTADOR, declaro que realicé personalmente la entrevista contenida en este cuestionario; que realicé todas y cada una de las preguntas y anoté sin omitir todas las respuestas correctamente. En caso de que sea falso acepto cualquier pena legal en mi contra

FIRMA: _____

Yo _____ con el cargo de SUPERVISOR, declaro que verifiqué personalmente la información contenida en este cuestionario y que validé su contenido correctamente. En caso de que sea falso acepto cualquier pena legal en mi contra.

FIRMA: _____

Buenos días (tardes). Mi nombre es _____. Trabajo para el grupo LEVANTA, una empresa que se dedica a realizar encuestas de opinión. En esta ocasión estamos realizando una encuesta sobre trabajo y familia, con el fin de conocer el pasado laboral y familiar de los regiomontanos. Usted ha sido seleccionado aleatoriamente para contestar este cuestionario. La información que proporcione será confidencial y sólo será usada con fines estadísticos

B.I. ANTECEDENTES FAMILIARES	
1. ¿Cuándo nació usted? *(Anotar el número del mes y el año)* 1. **Mes** 2. **Año**	|___|___| |___|___|___|___|
2. ¿Dónde nació usted? *(Anotar el nombre de la Ciudad, Municipio y Estado)* 1. **Pueblo o ciudad** _____ 2. **Municipio** _____ 3. **Estado** _____	|___|___|___| |___|___|___| |___|___|
3. ¿En qué año nació su padre? *(Anotar el año. Si el entrevistado no sabe, pídale que diga una aproximación)*	|___|___|___|___|
4. ¿Dónde nació su padre? *(Anotar el nombre de la Ciudad, Municipio y Estado)* 1. **Pueblo o ciudad** _____ 2. **Municipio** _____ 3. **Estado** _____	|___|___|___| |___|___|___| |___|___|
5. ¿Todavía vive su padre? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = Sí *(Saltar a 7)* 2 = No	|___|
6. ¿En qué año falleció su padre? *(Anotar el año. Si el entrevistado no sabe, pídale que diga una aproximación)*	|___|___|___|___|
7. Desde que nació hasta los 15 años de edad, ¿vivió usted la mayor parte del tiempo con su padre? *Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Sí *(Saltar a 9)* 2. No	|___|
8. ¿Quién era entonces el jefe de familia en donde usted vivía? *(Anotar el código correspondiente Y REVISAR CON EL ENTREVISTADO SI ES HOMBRE O MUJER)* 1. Madre 2. Otro hombre. ABUELO 3. Otro hombre. TIO 4. Otro hombre. HERMANO 5. Otro hombre. OTRO PARIENTE 6. Otro hombre. NO PARIENTE 7. Otra mujer. ABUELA 8. Otra mujer. TIA 9. Otra mujer. HERMANA 10. Otra mujer. OTRO PARIENTE 11. Otra mujer. NO PARIENTE	|___|___|
EN LAS PREGUNTAS 9 A 17, SI NO VIVIÓ CON SU PADRE, REFIÉRASE A LA PERSONA REPORTADA EN LA PREGUNTA 8	
9. ¿En qué trabajaba su ...padre... cuando usted nació?¿Cuál era el nombre del oficio, puesto o cargo que desempeñaba en aquel entonces? *PREGUNTAR SOBRE EL ÚLTIMO TRABAJO SI EL PADRE O SUSTITUTO ESTABA JUBILADO O RETIRADO* *(Anotar el nombre del oficio, puesto o cargo)* _____	
10. ¿Cuáles eran las tareas o funciones principales que desempeñaba su ...padre... en ese trabajo? *(Describa las actividades principales)* _____ _____	|___|___|

11. En ese trabajo ¿Su ...padre... era *(Leer todas las opciones y anotar el código correspondiente)* **1. Patrón** **2. Trabajador por su cuenta** **3. Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario con planta o base** **4. Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario con contrato escrito temporal** **5. Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario con contrato verbal** **6. Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario, no sabe el tipo de contrato** **7. Trabajador familiar sin pago** **8. Trabajador no familiar sin pago** **9. Otro (*especificar*)** _____	|____|
12. En aquel trabajo, ¿A qué se dedicaba la empresa, negocio o patrón, en donde su ...padre... trabajaba? *(Describa el tipo y material de los productos que se elaboraban o los servicios que se prestaban)* _____ _____	|___|___|
13. ¿En qué trabajaba su ...padre... cuando usted tenía 20 años? ¿Cuál era el nombre del oficio, puesto o cargo que desempeñaba en aquel entonces? *SI EL PADRE O SUSTITUTO ESTABA JUBILADO O RETIRADO PREGUNTAR SOBRE LA ÚLTIMA OCUPACIÓN.* *(Anotar el nombre del oficio, puesto o cargo)* _____	
14. ¿Cuáles eran las tareas o funciones principales que desempeñaba su ...padre... en ese trabajo? *(Describa las actividades principales)* _____ _____	|___|___|
15. En ese trabajo ¿Su ...padre... era *(Leer todas las opciones y Anotar el código correspondiente)* **1. Patrón** **2. Trabajador por su cuenta** **3. Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario con planta o base** **4. Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario con contrato escrito temporal** **5. Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario con contrato verbal** **6.Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario, no sabe el tipo de contrato** **7.Trabajador familiar sin pago** **8.Trabajador no familiar sin pago** **9.Otro (especificar)** _____	|____|
16. En aquel trabajo, ¿A qué se dedicaba la empresa, negocio o patrón, en donde su ...padre... trabajaba? *(Detalle el tipo y material de los productos que se elaboraban o los servicios que se prestaban)* _____ _____	|___|___|
17. ¿Fue su padre a la escuela? ¿Cuál fue el último grado y nivel aprobado por su padre en la escuela? (*Si el entrevistado no está seguro, pídale que responda el grado y nivel que él cree fue el más alto).* *(ANOTAR el código de NIVEL Y el número de GRADO)* 0. Ninguno 1. Primaria 2. Secundaria o secundaria técnica 3. Preparatoria o prepa. técnica 4. Normal básica o superior 5. Profesional o más	|____| *Nivel* |____| *Grado*
18. ¿En qué año nació su madre? *(Anotar el año. Si el entrevistado no sabe, pídale que diga una aproximación)*	|___|___|___|___|
19. ¿Dónde nació su madre? *(Anotar el nombre de la Ciudad, Municipio y Estado)* 1. **Pueblo o ciudad** _____ 2. **Municipio** _____ 3. **Estado** _____	|___|___|___| |___|___|___| |___|___|

20 ¿Todavía vive su madre? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = Sí *(Saltar a 22)* 2 = No	|___|
21. ¿En qué año falleció su madre? *(Anotar el año. Si el entrevistado no sabe, pídale que diga una aproximación)*	|___|___|___|___|
22. ¿Fue su <u>madre</u> a la escuela? ¿Cuál fue el último grado y nivel aprobado por su madre en la escuela? *(Si el entrevistado no está seguro, pídale que responda el grado y nivel que él cree fue el más alto).* *(ANOTAR el código de NIVEL Y el número de GRADO)* 0. Ninguno 1. Primaria 2. Secundaria o secundaria técnica 3. Preparatoria o prepa. técnica 4. Normal básica o superior 5. Profesional o más	|___| *Nivel* |___| *Grado*
23. En total, ¿Cuántos hijos e hijas tuvo su madre? *(Anotar la cantidad correspondiente)*	|___|___|
24. Sin contarlo a usted ¿Cuántos de esos hijos fueron hombres? *(Anotar la cantidad correspondiente)* Ninguno = 00 *(Saltar a B.II. Trabajo actual)*	|___|___|
25. ¿Cuántos de sus hermanos <u>hombres</u> nacieron antes que usted? *(Anotar la cantidad correspondiente)*	|___|___|
B.II. TRABAJO ACTUAL	
Ahora le voy a preguntar sobre las características de su trabajo actual:	
26. Durante la semana pasada, trabajó usted para sostener a la familia o cubrir algunos de sus propios gastos, al menos una hora o un día? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = Sí *(Saltar a 33)* 2 = No	|___|
27. Aunque ya me indicó que no trabajó la semana pasada ¿Tiene actualmente algún empleo o tiene un negocio por su cuenta? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = Sí *(Saltar a 33)* 2 = No	|___|
28. La semana pasada ¿Ayudó usted a trabajar sin pago en un negocio de un familiar u otra persona? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = Sí *(Saltar a 33)* 2 = No	|___|
29. ¿Aunque sea por poco tiempo, ha trabajado usted alguna vez en su vida? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = Sí 2 = No *(Saltar a Sección B.III: Historia residencial)*	|___|
30. Hablemos ahora del último trabajo que tuvo. En ese trabajo. ¿Cada cuando obtenía sus ingresos y cuánto dinero le pagaban? *(ANOTAR EL CÓDIGO CORRESPONDIENTE AL PERÍODO DE TIEMPO Y EL MONTO DE LOS INGRESOS DE ESE PERIODO)* 1. Cada mes 2 . Cada 15 días 3. Cada semana 4. Diario 5. Por hora 6. Otro (especifique) _____ 7. No quiso dar información *(Preguntar 31)* *No olvide anotar tanto el periodo como el monto. Sólo si consigue ambos datos salte a 32*	*Periodo* |___| *Monto* |___|___|___|___|___|

31. Actualmente el salario mínimo es de 1000 pesos mensuales. La cantidad que obtuvo en su último trabajo fue: *(Leer las opciones y Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. **Menor al salario mínimo** 2. **Igual al salario mínimo** 3. **Mayor que un salario mínimo hasta 2 salarios mínimos** 4. **Mayor que 2 salarios mínimos hasta 3 salarios mínimos** 5. **Mayor que 3 salarios mínimos hasta 5 salarios mínimos** 6. **Mayor que 5 salarios mínimos hasta 10 salarios mínimos** 7. **Mayor que 10 salarios mínimos hasta 20 salarios mínimos** 8. **Mayor que 20 salarios mínimos** 9. **No quiso dar información**	|____|
32. Usualmente, ¿Cuántas horas a la semana le dedicaba a esa ocupación? *(Anotar el número de horas)* ***SALTAR A B.III, HISTORIA RESIDENCIAL***	|___|___|
33. ¿Cuántos trabajos en total tiene usted?	|____|
34. Hablemos ahora de su TRABAJO PRINCIPAL. En ese trabajo, ¿cada cuando obtiene sus ingresos y cuánto dinero le pagan? *(ANOTAR EL CÓDIGO CORRESPONDIENTE AL PERÍODO DE TIEMPO Y EL MONTO DE LOS INGRESOS DE ESE PERIODO)* 1. Cada mes 2 . Cada 15 días 3. Cada semana 4. Diario 5. Por hora 6. Otro (especifique) _____ *No olvide anotar tanto el periodo como el monto. Sólo si consigue ambos datos salte a 36* 7. No quiso dar información *(Preguntar 35)*	*Período* |____| *Monto* |__|__|__|__|__|
35. Actualmente el salario mínimo es de 1000 pesos mensuales. La cantidad que obtuvo en su ocupación principal el mes pasado fue: *(Leer opciones y Anotar el código correspondiente)* **1. Menor al salario mínimo** **2. Igual al salario mínimo** **3. Mayor que un salario mínimo hasta 2 salarios mínimos** **4. Mayor que 2 salarios mínimos hasta 3 salarios mínimos** **5. Mayor que 3 salarios mínimos hasta 5 salarios mínimos** **6. Mayor que 5 salarios mínimos hasta 10 salarios mínimos** **7. Mayor que 10 salarios mínimos hasta 20 salarios mínimos** **8. Mayor que 20 salarios mínimos** **9. No quiso dar información**	|____|
36. Usualmente ¿Cuántas horas a la semana le dedica a su trabajo principal? *(Anotar el número de horas)*	|___|___|
37. ¿Tiene usted algún pariente que trabaje en la misma empresa, dependencia o negocio donde usted trabaja? *(Anotar el código correspondiente).* 1 = Sí 2 = No *(PASAR A LA SECCIÓN B.III)*	|____|
38. ¿Es ese pariente dueño, director o gerente de la empresa, dependencia o negocio? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = Sí 2 = No	|____|

B.III. HISTORIA RESIDENCIAL

Ahora quisiera preguntarle sobre todos los lugares donde usted ha vivido. La historia de sus cambios de residencia es muy importante para nuestro estudio. Le pido que ubique los cambios de residencia en la fecha en que éstos ocurrieron. Más adelante cotejaremos estas fechas con las de otros eventos importantes en su vida.

Revisar pregunta 2 (Sección BI). Si la persona nació en los municipios del Area Metropolitana de Monterrey, pregunte:

¿En qué colonia vivía su madre cuando usted nació? *Anotar el nombre de la colonia en la primera línea de la columna 39, el nombre del municipio en la 40, y "Nuevo León" en la 41.*

Si la persona nació en otro lugar, anotar el nombre de la localidad, municipio y estado de nacimiento en las columnas correspondientes del primer renglón. Luego pregunte:

Usted ya me indicó que vivía en _____ cuando nació. ¿Podría decirme todos los lugares fuera de Monterrey y las colonias en Monterrey donde usted ha vivido por al menos dos meses, así como la edad que usted tenía cuando se mudó a cada uno de esos lugares?
Localidad/colonia, municipio y estado

Anote el destino de cada mudanza en la edad en que ésta se efectuó. Si es necesario, utilice el año calendario y la tabla de eventos históricos para ayudar al entrevistado a recordar las edades. Si la persona se mudó a un lugar o colonia y vivió ahí por menos de 2 meses, ignore ese cambio de residencia y pase al siguiente. No olvide anotar la localidad (o colonia si el movimiento tuvo como destino el Área Metropolitana de Monterrey), el municipio y el estado. Si la persona nació en el Area Metropolitana de Monterrey y siempre ha vivido en esa colonia, anote la colonia y municipio de nacimiento en el primer renglón y pase a la siguiente sección.

Año (40, 41,...,2000)	Edad	LUGAR DE LOS CAMBIOS DE RESIDENCIA		
		¿Cuál es el nombre del pueblo o ciudad (colonia) al que se mudó?	¿En qué municipio está ese pueblo o ciudad?	¿En qué estado está ese pueblo o ciudad?
		39	40	41
	0	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__| _____ |__|__| _____ |__|__|
	1	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__| _____ |__|__| _____ |__|__|
	2	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__| _____ |__|__| _____ |__|__|
	3	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__| _____ |__|__| _____ |__|__|
	4	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__| _____ |__|__| _____ |__|__|
	5	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__| _____ |__|__| _____ |__|__|
	6	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__| _____ |__|__| _____ |__|__|
	7	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__| _____ |__|__| _____ |__|__|
	8	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__| _____ |__|__| _____ |__|__|
	9	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__| _____ |__|__| _____ |__|__|
	10	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__| _____ |__|__|__|	_____ |__|__| _____ |__|__| _____ |__|__|

B.IV. HISTORIA FAMILIAR

Ahora vamos a hablar sobre su pasado familiar. Quisiéramos saber en casa de quién ha vivido durante su vida, cuándo se casó y en qué fechas tuvo a sus hijos.

Edad	PARENTESCO	UNIONES	HIJOS					
	42. ¿Quién era el jefe del hogar en el hogar en que usted vivía cuando nació? *(Escuchar y anotar el código en el primer renglón (edad 0))* 1. Su padre 2. Su madre 3. Su abuelo(a) 4. El mismo 5. Su hermano(a) 6. Su suegro(a) 7. Su hijo(a) 8. Otro pariente 9. Su patrón(a) 10. Otro no pariente **¿Qué edad tenía usted cuando su** *(persona que era el jefe)* **dejó de ser el jefe del hogar donde usted vivía?** *Ubicar renglón de la edad y preguntar:* **En aquel momento ¿Quién pasó a ser el jefe del hogar donde usted vivía?** *Escuchar y anotar el código en 42. Utilice los códigos anotados arriba. Repetir las dos preguntas anteriores hasta llegar al parentesco que corresponde a la situación actual.*	**43. ¿Actualmente, está usted** **1. Casado o unido?** **2. Separado, divorciado?** **3. viudo?** **4 soltero?** *(Anotar código)* > |____| **44. ¿Cuántas veces ha estado usted casado o unido?** *(Anotar número de veces)* |___| *Si nunca estuvo unido, Salte a 46* **45. ¿A qué edad se casó o unió por _____vez?** **(*primera, segunda..... etc.*)** *Anote el código 1 (Matrimonio o unión) en la edad correspondiente* **¿A qué edad terminó esta unión?¿Terminó esta unión por** 2. **Separación o divorcio?** 3. **Viudez?** *(ANOTAR EL CÓDIGO EN LA COLUMNA 45, EN LA EDAD EN QUE TERMINÓ LA UNIÓN. Repetir las dos preguntas anteriores para todas las uniones. Verifique que todas las uniones sean incluidas y que el último evento corresponda a la situación actual (pregunta 43))*	**46. En total ¿Cuántos hijos e hijas ha tenido en su vida?** *(Anotar el número de hijos. Si no tuvo ninguno, anote el código 00)* Núm. de hijos |_____|_____| *(Si no ha tenido hijos, pasar a 54)* **47. Empezando por el que nació primero, ¿Cuál es el nombre de cada uno de sus hijos e hijas y en que año nacieron?** *(ANOTAR NOMBRE EN LA COLUMNA 47, EN EL AÑO DE NACIMIENTO)* **48. ¿Cuál fue su mes de nacimiento**? *(Anotar número del mes correspondiente en la columna 48)* **49. Orden de nacimiento** *(1º, 2º, etc.)* *Para todos los nacimientos: (Anotar el número de orden en la columna 49)*				**50. Cuántos de estos hijos e hijas han fallecido?** *(Anotar el número de hijos fallecidos. Si no tuvo ninguno, anote el código 00)* Hijos fallecidos |_____|_____| *(Si no hay hijos fallecidos, pasar a 54)* **51. ¿Me puede decir el nombre de su hijo o hija fallecido y en que año falleció?** *Si hay más de un fallecido, preguntar por cada uno* *(ANOTAR NOMBRE EN LA COLUMNA 51, EN EL AÑO DE FALLECIMIENTO)* **52. ¿En qué mes murió?** **(Anotar número del mes correspondiente en la columna 52)** **53. Orden de nacimiento** *(1°, 2°, 3°, etc.)* *(Anotar orden en la columna 53. Verifique que corresponda con orden en pregunta 49)*
	42	**45**	**47**	**48**	**49**	**51**	**52**	**53**
0	|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|
1	|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|
2	|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|
3	|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|
4	|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|
5	|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|
6	|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|
7	|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|
8	|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|
9	|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|
10	|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|		|__|__| |__|__| |__|__|	|__| |__| |__|

B.V. HISTORIA OCUPACIONAL "A"

En esta sección le solicitamos información sobre su experiencia laboral. Por favor considere cada puesto o cargo que haya tenido como un trabajo distinto, aunque hayan sido en la misma empresa. Revisaré junto con usted las fechas de inicio y fin de cada trabajo. También veremos si estas fechas concuerdan con las de otros sucesos en su vida, para que así tengamos una idea más clara de las fechas de cada evento.

REVISAR PREGUNTAS 26 A 29 (SECCIÓN B.II, OCUPACIÓN ACTUAL). SI EL ENTREVISTADO NUNCA TRABAJÓ EN SU VIDA, SALTE A B.VI. "EDUCACION". SI TRABAJÓ, PREGUNTE:

¿Comenzando por su primer trabajo, me podría decir todos las ocupaciones, puestos y oficios que ha desempeñado por al menos dos meses a lo largo de su vida?

Año (40, 41,...,2000)	Edad	OFICIO O CARGO		TAREAS Y POSICIÓN	SEG. MEDICO	
		54. ¿En qué mes y año comenzó en ese oficio, puesto o cargo? *Después de ubicar el año, anotar en la columna 54 el número del mes correspondiente. Si no recuerda, ayude con otros eventos de las historias previas o con la tabla de eventos históricos*	**55. ¿Cuál era el nombre de ese oficio, puesto o cargo?** *(Anote en la columna 55 el nombre del puesto. Especifique en caso de que se trate del trabajo actual o del último trabajo).*	**56. ¿Cuáles eran las tareas o funciones principales que desempeñaba en ese trabajo** *(puesto)*? *(Anotar en la columna 56 las tareas o funciones)* **57. En ese trabajo***(puesto)***, usted era:** *(Leer cada una de las opciones y anotar en la columna 57 el código correspondiente)* 1. **Patrón** 2. **Trabajador por su cuenta** 3. **Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario con planta o base** 4. **Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario con contrato escrito temporal** 5. **Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario con contrato verbal** 6. **Trabajador a sueldo, jornal, o salario, pero no sabe el tipo de contrato** 7. **Trabajador familiar sin pago** 8. **Trabajador no familiar sin pago** 9. **Otro**	**58. En ese trabajo** *(puesto)*, **¿Tenía usted derecho a seguro médico, como IMSS, ISSSTE, o alguna clínica de la empresa o negocio?** *(En la columna 58 anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = Sí 2 = No 9 = No sabe	
		54	55	56	57	58
	0	|__|__|	_____	_____ |__|__|	|__|	|__|
	1	|__|__|	_____	_____ |__|__|	|__|	|__|
	2	|__|__|	_____	_____ |__|__|	|__|	|__|
	3	|__|__|	_____	_____ |__|__|	|__|	|__|
	4	|__|__|	_____	_____ |__|__|	|__|	|__|
	5	|__|__|	_____	_____ |__|__|	|__|	|__|
	6	|__|__|	_____	_____ |__|__|	|__|	|__|
	7	|__|__|	_____	_____ |__|__|	|__|	|__|
	8	|__|__|	_____	_____ |__|__|	|__|	|__|
	9	|__|__|	_____	_____ |__|__|	|__|	|__|
	10	|__|__|	_____	_____ |__|__|	|__|	|__|

B.V. HISTORIA OCUPACIONAL "B"

Edad	GIRO DE LA EMPRESA	OBTENCIÓN	CAMBIOS Y SALIDAS
	59. ¿A qué se dedicaba esa empresa, negocio, o patrón, donde usted trabajaba? *(En la columna 59, describa el tipo y material de los productos que se elaboraban o los servicios que se prestaban)* **60. ¿Cuántas personas en total, incluyéndolo a usted, trabajaban en esa empresa o negocio en aquel tiempo?** *(Si no sabe, pida a la persona que dé una aproximación . Si no tiene ni siquiera una aproximación, anote 9999)* *(Anotar el número de personas en la columna 60)*	**61. ¿Cómo consiguió ese trabajo?** *(Escuchar y anotar en la columna 61 la opción más adecuada)* 1. Pariente o amigo trabajando ahí le consiguió 2. Pariente o amigo le avisó que solicitaban personal 3. Leyó anuncio público donde solicitaban trabajo 4. Bolsa de trabajo 5. Inició negocio propio sin ayuda de nadie 6. Inició negocio propio con ayuda de amigos o parientes 7. Se hizo cargo del negocio familiar 8. Ascenso o descenso de puesto 9. Otro	**62. En ese puesto, ¿Recibió dentro de la empresa o negocio algún ascenso, descenso o cambio de puesto o posición?** *(EN LA COLUMNA 62, ANOTAR EL CÓDIGO Y PREGUNTAR SEGÚN CORRESPONDA:* 1. Sí **63.¿En qué mes ocurrió ese cambio?** **64. ¿En qué año ocurrió ese cambio?** 2. No **63. ¿En qué mes salió de ese trabajo?** **64. ¿En qué año salió de ese trabajo?** **65.¿Porqué salió de ese trabajo?** 1. Lo despidieron 2. Hubo un recorte de personal 3. Cerró el negocio o la empresa 4. Encontró un mejor trabajo o negocio 5. No era buen negocio 6. Jubilado o pensionado 7. Otro *(Anotar en las columnas 63, 64, y 65 los códigos correspondientes)*

	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
0	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
1	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
2	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
3	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
4	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
5	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
6	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
7	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
8	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
9	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
10	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|
	_____ |__|__|	|__|__|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|__|	|__|

B.VI. EDUCACIÓN

66.. ¿Asistió usted alguna vez a la escuela? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = SÍ 2 = No *(Pasar a pregunta 73)*	|____|
67.¿Qué edad tenía usted cuando salió de la escuela por última vez? *(Anote la edad actual si es que todavía asiste a la escuela)*	|___|___|
68. ¿Cuál fue el último nivel y grado que aprobó usted en la escuela? *(ANOTARel código de NIVEL Y el número de GRADO)* 1. Primaria 2. Secundaria 3. Secundaria técnica 4. Preparatoria 5. Preparatoria técnica 6. Normal básica o superior 7. Profesional o más Saltar a 72	|___| *Nivel* |___| *Grado*
69. ¿Cuál fue la carrera profesional que usted cursó? *Anotar el nombre de la carrera.* ***SI ESTUDIÓ MÁS DE UNA CARRERA, PREGUNTE POR LA ÚLTIMA QUE CURSÓ.*** *Si no estudio una carrera profesional, Pasar a 72* _____	|___|___|
70. ¿En qué universidad o institución cursó esta carrera? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León (UANL) 2. Tecnológico de Monterrey (ITESM) 3. Universidad Regiomontana (UR) 4. Universidad de Monterrey (UDEM) 5. Centro de Estudios Universitarios 6. Instituto Tecnológico Regional de Nuevo León (SEP) 7. Otro (Especifique) _____	|___|___|
71. ¿Esta escuela era pública o privada? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Pública 2. Privada	|____|
72. Antes de salirse definitivamente de la escuela ¿En algún momento de su vida abandonó por un año o más la escuela? ***(Anotar código correspondiente)*** 1 = SÍ 2 = NO *(Saltar a pregunta 73)*	|____|
72.1 ¿Cuántas veces abandonó la escuela por un año o más? *(Anotar el número de veces)*	|____|
72.2 ¿A qué edad(es) fue que abandonó temporalmente la escuela? *(Anotar edad en que dejó la escuela)* *Edad al 1er abandono*	|___|___|
Edad al 2o abandono	|___|___|
Edad al 3er abandono	|___|___|
73. También nos gustaría saber si usted ha asistido a algún curso de capacitación para el trabajo, ya sea dentro de las empresas en que ha trabajado o en otra parte ¿Ha asistido usted alguna vez a alguno de esos cursos? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = Sí 2 = No *(Saltar a sección B.VII Salud)*	|____|
74. ¿A cuántos de esos cursos ha asistido usted? *(Anotar el número de cursos)*	|___|___|
75. ¿En qué año tomó el primero de esos cursos? *(Anotar el año)*	|___|___|___|___|
76. ¿Siente usted que esos cursos le han ayudado mucho, poco, o nada a conseguir un mejor trabajo? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Mucho 2. Poco 3. Nada	|____|

B.VII SALUD	
77. ¿Ha sufrido usted alguna vez en su vida una enfermedad o accidente que le haya impedido ir a la escuela o trabajar por al menos un mes? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 =Sí 2 = No *(Saltar a Sección B.VIII MIGRACIÓN A MONTERREY)*	|____|
78. ¿Cuántas veces ha tenido problemas de salud con esa gravedad? *(Anotar el número correspondiente)*	|____|

79. ¿Me puede indicar qué edad tenía cuando dejó de trabajar o estudiar debido a ese *(esos)* **problemas de salud?** *SI HA TENIDO MÁS DE UN EPISODIO, ANOTARLOS EN ORDEN CRONOLÓGICO. Si es necesario, utilice la tabla de eventos históricos para ayudar al entrevistado a recordar la edad que tenía en cada episodio.*	*Edad*
1. Episodio 1:	|___|___|
2. Episodio 2	|___|___|
3. Episodio 3:	|___|___|
4. Episodio 4:	|___|___|

B.VIII. MIGRACIÓN A MONTERREY

REVISAR PREGUNTA 2, SECCION B.I, "ANTECEDENTES FAMILIARES". APLICAR ESTA SECCIÓN SÓLO A LOS ENTREVISTADOS QUE NACIERON FUERA DE LOS MUNICIPIOS DEL AREA METROPOLITANA DE MONTERREY

80. Cuando usted se vino a vivir a esta ciudad *(por primera vez)* **¿Vino solo o con otros parientes?** *(Anotar el código correspondiente)*	
1 = Solo *(Pasar a pregunta 81)* 2 = Con familia **¿Vino usted con…**	|____|
Leer cada parentesco. ANOTAR EN LA CASILLA EL NÚMERO de parientes con los que el entrevistado migró a Monterrey. Si no migró con ese pariente, marque "0"	*¿Cuántos?*
1. **Su padre**? _____	|____|
2. **Su madre**? _____	|____|
3. **Su esposa**? _____	|____|
4. **Hermanos**? _____	|____|
5. **Hijos**? _____	|____|
6. **Abuelos**? _____	|____|
7. **Tíos**? _____	|____|
8. **Primos**? _____	|____|
9. **Otros parientes?** _____	|____|
81. Justo antes de que usted se viniera a vivir a esta ciudad *(por primera vez)* **¿Ya vivían aquí otros parientes?** *(Anotar código)*	
1 = Sí **¿Ya vivían aquí…** 2 = NO *(Saltar a Sección B.IX)*	|____|
Leer cada parentesco. ANOTAR EN LA CASILLA EL NÚMERO de cada uno de los parientes que ya vivían en el Area Metropolitana de Monterrey. Si no había parientes de ese tipo en Monterrey, marque con un "0"	*¿Cuántos?*
1. **Su padre**? _____	|____|
2. **Su madre**? _____	|____|
3. **Su esposa**? _____	|____|
4. **Hermanos**? _____	|____|
5. **Hijos**? _____	|____|
6. **Abuelos**? _____	|____|
7. **Tíos**? _____	|____|
8. **Primos**? _____	|____|
9 **Otros parientes?** _____	|____|
82. Alguno de los parientes que ya vivían aquí le ayudaron cuando usted se mudó para acá ? ¿Cómo le ayudaron? *(Leer opciones y ANOTAR CÓDIGO DE TODAS LAS OPCIONES QUE EL ENTREVISTADO SEÑALE)*	
1. **Ayudaron con pasajes** _____	|____|
2. **Préstamo de dinero** _____	|____|
3. **Regalo de dinero** _____	|____|
4. **Llegaron a vivir a su casa** _____	|____|
5. **Ayudaron a conseguir casa** _____	|____|
6. **Ayudaron a conseguir trabajo** _____	|____|
7. **Otro** (especifique) _____	|____|
	|____|

B.IX. INFORMACIÓN SOBRE LA PAREJA

REVISAR HISTORIA FAMILIAR (PREGUNTA 43, AL INICIO DE LA HISTORIA FAMILIAR) E IDENTIFICAR ESTADO CIVIL ACTUAL. CONFIRMAR:

83. Entonces, usted actualmente está: *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. **Casado por el civil o la iglesia?** 2. **Viviendo en unión libre?** 3. **Separado o divorciado?** 4. **Viudo?** 5. **Soltero?** *(Saltar a Sección B.X)*	|___|

PAREJA. SI EL ESTADO CIVIL ACTUAL NO COINCIDE CON LA INFORMACIÓN DE HISTORIA DE UNIONES, POR FAVOR REVISAR Y CORREGIR LA HISTORIA DE UNIONES

84. ¿Dónde nació su esposa *(pareja/ex-esposa)***?** *(Anotar el nombre del pueblo o ciudad, municipio y estado)* 1. **Pueblo o ciudad** _____ 2. **Municipio** _____ 3. **Estado** _____	 |___|___|___| |___|___|___| |___|___|
85. En qué mes y año nació su esposa *(pareja/ex-esposa)***?** *(Anotar el número del mes y el año)* 1. **Mes** 2. **Año**	 |___|___| |___|___|___|___|
86.. ¿Asistió su esposa *(pareja/ex-esposa)* **alguna vez a la escuela?** *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = SÍ 2 = No *(Pasar a Sección B.X)*	|____|
87. ¿Cuál fue el último nivel y grado que aprobó su esposa *(pareja/ex-esposa)* **en la escuela?** *(ANOTAR código de NIVEL Y el número del GRADO)* 1. Primaria 2. Secundaria 3. Secundaria técnica 4. Preparatoria 5. Preparatoria técnica 6. Normal básica o superior 7. Profesional o más	|____| *Nivel* |____| *Grado*

B.X. HIJOS SOBREVIVIENTES

REVISAR PREGUNTAS 46 Y 50, AL INICIO DE LA HISTORIA FAMILIAR. SÍ NO TIENE HIJOS SOBREVIVIENTES, SALTAR A LA SECCIÓN B.XI

88.¿Cuántos de sus hijos que viven actualmente son hombres y cuántas mujeres? *(Anotar la cantidad correspondiente)* 88.1 Hombres *(Si contesta que tiene únicamente hombres, Preguntar 89 y de ahí pasar a 91)* 88.2 Mujeres *(Si contesta que tiene únicamente mujeres, Saltar a 90)*	 |____| |____|
89. ¿Usted cree que su hijo mayor podrá vivir mucho mejor, algo mejor, relativamente igual o peor que como usted vive ahora? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Mucho mejor 2. Algo mejor 3. Igual 4. Peor	 |____|
90. ¿Usted cree que su hija mayor podrá vivir mucho mejor, algo mejor, relativamente igual o peor que como usted vive ahora? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Mucho mejor 2. Algo mejor 3. Igual 4. Peor	 |____|

91. ¿Cuántos de sus hijos e hijas que viven actualmente tienen 15 años o más de edad? *(Anotar el número de hijos, o en su caso 0)* 0. Ninguno *(Saltar a Sección B.XI)*	|____|

APLIQUE SÓLO A HIJOS SOBREVIVIENTES CON 15 O MÁS AÑOS DE EDAD

	NOMBRE	EDAD ACTUAL	SEXO	CASA	EDAD CASA	UNIÓN	EDAD UNIÓN	ESCUELA	EDAD ESCUELA	TRABAJO	EDAD TRABAJO
	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102
	Empezando por el mayor ¿Me puede decir por favor el nombre de todos sus hijos e hijas con 15 años de edad o más? *(Anotar los nombres)*	**¿Qué edad tiene _____? (NOMBRE)** *(Anotar la edad)*	**¿_____ (NOMBRE) es hombre o mujer?** *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Hombre 2. Mujer	**¿ _____ (NOMBRE) Todavía vive aquí con usted?** *(Anotar el código correspon-diente)* 1 = SÍ *(Saltar a 97)* 2 = NO	**¿Qué edad tenía _____ (NOMBRE) cuando dejó de vivir en esta casa por primera vez?** *(Anotar la edad)*	**¿ _____ (NOMBRE) ha estado casado o ha vivido en unión libre alguna vez?** *(Anotar el código correspon-diente)* 1 = SÍ 2 = NO *(Saltar a 99)*	**¿Qué edad tenía _____ (NOMBRE) cuando se unió por primera vez?** *(Anotar la edad)*	**¿ _____ (NOMBRE) todavía va a la escuela?** *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = SÍ *(Saltar a 101)* 2 =NO	**¿Qué edad tenía _____ (NOMBRE) cuando dejó la escuela?** *(Anotar la edad)*	**¿ _____ (NOMBRE) ha trabajado alguna vez en su vida?** *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = SÍ 2 = NO (Saltar a Sección B.XI	**¿Qué edad tenía _____ (NOMBRE) cuando tuvo su primer trabajo?** *(Anotar la edad)*
1		|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|
2		|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|
3		|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|
4		|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|
5		|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|
6		|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|
7		|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|
8		|__|__|	|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|	|__|	|__|__|

B.XI. SITUACION LABORAL Y ECONOMICA

Ahora le voy a hacer unas preguntas sobre su situación económica y la de su familia	
103. Sumando los ingresos de todas las personas que viven en su casa ¿Cuál es su ingreso familiar mensual? *Anotar la cantidad en pesos que el entrevistado señale. Si obtiene una cantifdad salte a 105. SI NO LA OBTIENE SIGA CON 104*	|__|__|__|__|__|
104. Actualmente el salario mínimo es de mil pesos mensuales. Los ingresos mensuales totales de este hogar serían: *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Menores al salario mínimo 2. Igual al salario mínimo 3. Mayores que un salario mínimo hasta 2 salarios mínimos 4. Mayores que 2 salarios mínimos hasta 3 salarios mínimos 5. Mayores que 3 salarios mínimos hasta 5 salarios mínimos 6. Mayores que 5 salarios mínimos hasta 10 salarios mínimos 7. Mayores que 10 salarios mínimos 8. No quiso dar información	|____|

105. En una escala del 1 al 10, donde uno son los hogares más pobres de Monterrey y diez son los hogares más ricos ¿Dónde ubicaría usted los ingresos de su hogar? *(Anotar el número correspondiente)*	|___|___|
106. ¿Cree usted que su situación económica actual es mejor, igual o peor que su situación hace 5 años? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Mejor 2. Igual 3. Peor 4. NS	|____|
107. Ahora pensando en el futuro ¿Cree usted que su situación económica dentro de 5 años será mejor, igual o peor que su situación actual? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Mejor 2. Igual 3. Peor 4. NS	|____|
108. ¿Qué tan satisfecho o insatisfecho está usted con su trabajo actual? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Muy satisfecho 2. Satisfecho 3. Insatisfecho 4. Muy insatisfecho	|____|
109. ¿Considera usted que el trabajo que tiene actualmente es mejor, igual o peor que el que tenía su padre a su misma edad? *(Si el padre había muerto o estaba jubilado o pensionado a esa edad, pregunte sobre último trabajo del padre. Anote el código correspondiente)* 1. Mejor 2. Igual 3. Peor 4. NS	|____|
110. ¿En qué aspectos es mejor *(o peor)* **que el que tenía su padre?** *(transcriba en detalle lo que contesta la persona)* _____ _____	|___|___|
111. Comparando con el trabajo que tiene el mayor de sus hermanos varones ¿El suyo es mejor, igual o peor que el de él? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Mejor 2. Igual 3. Peor 4. No tiene hermanos	|____|
112. Comparando con la mayoría de la gente en Monterrey ¿Usted diría que en lo económico le ha ido bien, regular, o mal durante su vida? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Bien 2. Regular 3. Mal	|____|
113. ¿Recuerda usted o no la crisis de los ochentas, al final del gobierno de López Portillo e inicios del de De la Madrid, cuando la moneda se devaluó de 22 a 45 pesos por dolar? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = Sí 2 = No	|____|
114. ¿Recuerda usted o no la crisis de 1995, al final del gobierno de Carlos Salinas y en los primeros años del de Zedillo, cuando la moneda se devaluó de 3.5 a 8 nuevos pesos por dólar? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1 = Sí 2 = No	|____|

115. Muchas familias pasan por dificultades económicas, aunque sea por poco tiempo. Me gustaría saber si a partir de 1995, esto es, en los últimos 5 años, la familia con la que usted ha vivido ha tenido alguna de las siguientes dificultades:

(Lea cada una de las opciones y ANOTAR en cada caso el código que corresponda) SÍ = 1 NO = 2

1. Despido o pérdida del trabajo de alguno o varios miembros del hogar	|____|
2. Dificultad de algún miembro del hogar para encontrar trabajo	|____|
3. Disminución de los ingresos por mala época en algún negocio o empresa familiar	|____|
4. Problemas para pagar la educación de quienes estaban estudiando	|____|
5. Problemas para cubrir gastos en comida o ropa de los miembros del hogar	|____|
6. Problemas para cubrir el pago de los servicios de la casa (luz, gas, teléfono, etc.)	|____|
7. Problemas para cubrir otros gastos	|____|
8. Otro que yo no le haya mencionado *(Especifique claramente) :* _____	|____|

116. ¿Considera usted que estos problemas estuvieron muy relacionados, poco relacionados, o no tuvieron nada que ver con con las crisis económica que vivió el país a partir de 1995, al inicio del gobierno de Ernesto Zedillo? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Muy relacionados 2. Poco relacionados 3. No tuvieron nada que ver	|____|
117. Le voy a mencionar algunas de las cosas que los hogares hacen para "apretarse el cinturón" cuando tienen dificultades económicas ¿Cuáles de estas medidas recuerda usted se tomaron en su hogar a partir de 1995, cuando tuvieron los problemas económicos de los que acabamos de hablar? *(Lea cada una de las opciones y Anotar en cada caso el código que corresponda)* SÍ = 1 NO = 2	
1. ¿Pidieron dinero prestado a amigos o familiares?	|____|
2. ¿Evitaron gastos "de lujo" (restaurantes, regalos) y sólo gastaban en las cosas más importantes?	|____|
3. ¿Se fueron a vivir a casa de otros parientes para ahorrar en gastos de renta, servicios, etc.?	|____|
4. ¿Preparaban de comer en casa cosas más baratas?	|____|
5. ¿Otros miembros del hogar se pusieron a trabajar?	|____|
6. ¿Alguno de los que estudiaban dejó la escuela?	|____|
7. ¿Algún miembro del hogar migró a Estados Unidos para conseguir trabajo?	|____|
8. ¿Algún miembro del hogar migró a otra ciudad en México para conseguir trabajo?	|____|
9. ¿Alguien de los que ya trabajaban consiguió un segundo trabajo?	|____|
10. ¿Abrieron un negocio propio para aumentar los ingresos?	|____|
11. ¿Tuvieron que vender bienes familiares para hacer frente a los problemas económicos?	|____|
12. ¿Alguna otra cosa? *(Especificar, Escribir una idea clara)* _____ _____	|____|

118. Ahora pensando un poco más atrás en el pasado, me gustaría saber si durante la década de los ochenta --de 1980 a 1989-- la familia con las que usted vivía tuvo alguna de las siguientes dificultades económicas: *(Lea cada una de las opciones y Anotar en cada caso el código que corresponda)* SÍ = 1 NO = 2	
1. Despido o pérdida del trabajo de alguno o varios miembros del hogar	|____|
2. Dificultad de algún miembro del hogar para encontrar trabajo	|____|
3. Disminución de los ingresos por mala época en algún negocio o empresa familiar	|____|
4. Problemas para pagar la educación de quienes estaban estudiando	|____|
5. Problemas para cubrir gastos en comida o ropa de los miembros del hogar	|____|
6. Problemas para cubrir el pago de los servicios de la casa (luz, gas, teléfono, etc.)	|____|
7. Problemas para cubrir otros gastos	|____|
8. Otro que yo no le haya mencionado *(Especifique claramente) :* _____	|____|
9. Ninguna de las anteriores *(Saltar a Sección B.XII)*	|____|
119. ¿Considera usted que estos problemas estuvieron muy relacionados, poco relacionados, o no tuvieron nada que ver con con las crisis económica que vivió el país a en los ochenta, al final del gobierno de López Portillo y durante el gobierno de Miguel de la Madrid? *(Anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. Muy relacionados 2. Poco relacionados 3. No tuvieron nada que ver	|____|
120. Le voy a repetir algunas de las cosas que hacen los hogares para "apretarse el cinturón" cuando tienen dificultades económicas ¿Cuáles de estas medidas recuerda usted que se tomaron en su hogar durante los ochentas, cuando tuvieron los problemas económicos de los que acabamos de hablar? *(Lea cada una de las opciones y Anotar en cada caso el código que corresponda)* SÍ = 1 NO = 2	
1. ¿Pidieron dinero prestado a amigos o familiares?	|____|
2. ¿Evitaron gastos "de lujo" (restaurantes, regalos) y sólo gastaban en las cosas más importantes?	|____|
3. ¿Se fueron a vivir a casa de otros parientes para ahorrar en gastos de renta, servicios, etc.?	|____|
4. ¿Preparaban de comer en casa cosas más baratas?	|____|
5. ¿Otros miembros del hogar se pusieron a trabajar?	|____|
6. ¿Alguno de los que estudiaban dejó la escuela?	|____|
7. ¿Algún miembro del hogar migró a Estados Unidos para conseguir trabajo?	|____|
8. ¿Algún miembro del hogar migró a otra ciudad en México para conseguir trabajo?	|____|
9. ¿Alguien de los que ya trabajaban consiguió un segundo trabajo?	|____|
10. ¿Abrieron un negocio propio para aumentar los ingresos?	|____|
11. ¿Tuvieron que vender bienes familiares para hacer frente a los problemas económicos?	|____|
12. Alguna otra cosa? *(Especificar, Escribir una idea clara)* _____	|____|

B.XII. VALORES FAMILIARES

Ahora me gustaría saber su opinión sobre algunos temas relacionados con la vida familiar.

¿Me puede decir por favor cuál de las siguientes frases es más cercana a su forma de pensar?
(Leer pausadamente cada pareja de opciones y anotar 1 o 2 según sea el caso)

121. 1. Si marido y mujer no son felices, pueden divorciarse **2. El matrimonio es sagrado, y nunca debe acabar en divorcio**	|____|
122. 1. Los padres no deben nunca limitar el número de hijos **2. Si lo desean o lo necesitan, los padres pueden limitar el número de hijos**	|____|
123. 1. Una esposa debe tomar sus propias decisiones, aun cuando esté en desacuerdo con su esposo **2. Una buena esposa es aquella que siempre obedece a su esposo**	|____|
124. 1. Lo más importante que un niño debe aprender es la obediencia y el respeto a la autoridad de los padres **2. En algunas ocasiones, se debe permitir a los niños estar en desacuerdo con sus padres**	|____|
125. 1. La obligación de un hombre es mantener únicamente a su esposa e hijos **2. La obligación de un hombre es, aparte de mantener a su esposa e hijos, ayudar a sus parientes siempre que pueda, debido a que también son parte de la familia**	|____|
126. 1. El matrimonio debe ser la única forma de vivir en pareja **2. Las parejas pueden vivir juntas, aún sin estar casadas**	|____|
Hablando ahora del trabajo de la mujer... *(Leer cada una de las opciones 127 a 129 y anotar el código de ACUERDO que le corresponda a cada una)* 1. De acuerdo 2. Desacuerdo 9. NS / NC	
127. ¿Está usted de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con que una mujer soltera trabaje?	|____|
128. ¿Está usted de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con que una mujer casada, pero sin hijos, trabaje?	|____|
129. ¿Está usted de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con que una mujer casada con hijos trabaje?	|____|

B.XIII. ESTILOS DE VIDA Y PRACTICAS CULTURALES

Por último, me gustaría saber un poco sobre sus gustos musicales y manejo del tiempo libre...

130. ¿Cuáles son las tres estaciones de radio que más le gustan, empezando por la que le gusta más?	
1. _____	|__|__|
2. _____	|__|__|
3. _____	|__|__|
131. ¿Cuáles son los tres compositores musicales, cantantes, o grupos musicales que más le gustan, empezando por el que le gusta más?	
1. _____	|__|__|
2. _____	|__|__|
3. _____	|__|__|
132. Por favor, dígame si en general le gusta, le es indiferente, no le gusta o no conoce, cada uno de los siguientes géneros musicales: *(Leer cada una de las opciones Anotar el código de la escala de "gusto" correspondiente)* Le Gusta 1 / Indiferente 2 / No gusta 3 / No conoce 4	
1. **Cumbia colombiana** (Celso Piña, Tropa Colombiana)	|____|
2. **Música pop en inglés** (Madonna, Michael Jackson)	|____|
3. **Baladas en español** (José José, Luis Miguel)	|____|
4. **Clásica** (Mozart, Beethoven)	|____|
5. **Grupera** (Límite, Tigres del Norte)	|____|
6. **Rock en español** (Caifanes, Soda Stereo)	|____|
7. **Ranchera** (Vicente Fernández, José Alfredo Jiménez)	|____|
8. **Rock clásico en inglés** (Beatles, Rolling Stones)	|____|
9. **Boleros** (Agustín Lara, Gonzalo Curiel)	|____|
10. **Otro** (especifique) _____	|____|

133. ¿Me podría indicar si alguna vez ha ido a los siguientes museos y teatros? *(Leer cada opción y anotar el código correspondiente)* 1. = SI 2 = NO	
1. **Museo de Arte Contemporáneo** (MARCO)	|____|
2. **Museo de Monterrey**	|____|
3. **Museo de Historia Mexicana**	|____|
4. **Museo del Obispado**	|____|
5. **Teatro Universitario**	|____|
6. **Cineteca de Nuevo León**	|____|
7. **Salón de la Fama del Beisbol**	|____|
8. **Auditorio Luis Elizondo**	|____|
9. **Teatro de la Ciudad**	|____|
134. De las siguientes actividades, ¿Me puede decir cuáles son las que usted practica con frecuencia, raramente y las que nunca practica? *(Para cada actividad Leer y Anotar el código de la escala de Frecuencia correspondiente)* 1. Con frecuencia 2. Raramente 3. Nunca	
1. **Ir a pasear a parques o plazas dentro de la ciudad** (ej. La Pastora, Macroplaza)	|____|
2. **Ir al cine**	|____|
3. **Ir de compras a McAllen, Laredo u otra ciudad en Estados Unidos**	|____|
4. **Visitar museos o centros culturales** (MARCO, Cineteca)	|____|
5. **Sentarse en casa a ver televisión**	|____|
6. **Salir por su cuenta a correr o practicar otro ejercicio**	|____|
7. **Ir de visita a casa de otros parientes**	|____|
8. **Ir a misa u otros servicios religiosos los fines de semana**	|____|
9. **Ir al estadio a ver futbol profesional o beisbol**	|____|
10 **Ir a la arena a ver la lucha libre o el box**	|____|
11. **Quedarse en casa a descansar**	|____|
12. **Participar en algún deporte de equipo con amigos o vecinos**	|____|
13. **Salir a la carretera (EL Cercado) a pasear o comer**	|____|
14. **Leer novelas u otros libros**	|____|
15. **Ir de compras a pulgas o "mercaditos"**(Pulga Mitras, San Luisito, mdos. sobre ruedas)	|____|
16. **Hacer arreglos y reparaciones en la casa**	|____|
17. **Practicar la pintura, escultura u otras artes plásticas**	|____|
18. **Sentarse en casa a escuchar la radio**	|____|
19. **Salir de compras al "Mall"** (ej. Liverpool, Plaza San Agustín, Plaza La Silla)	|____|
20. **Ir a escuchar conciertos de música clásica**	|____|
21. **Salir afuera de la casa a platicar con los vecinos**	|____|
22. **Ir a conciertos musicales de música popular** (no de música clásica)	|____|
23. **Practicar algún instrumento musical**	|____|
135. Entre los siguientes periódicos, ¿Cuál es al que usted más le agrada leer? ¿Cuál es al que usted más le <u>desagrada</u> leer? *(Leer la lista completa de periódicos. Anotar primero el código del periódico que más le agrada y luego el del que más le desagrada)* 1 = Más le agrada 2 = Más le desagrada	
1. **El Sol** a) *Periódico que más <u>le agrada</u>*	|____|
2. **El Diario de Monterrey**	
3. **El Porvenir**	
4. **El Extra**	
5. **El ABC**	
6. **El Norte** b) *Periódico que más <u>le desagrada</u>*	|____|
7. **La Jornada**	
8 **El Metro**	
9. **Ninguno**	

Agradecemos mucho su participación en este estudio. Sus respuestas van a ser muy útiles para el mismo.

APPENDIX C. LIFE HISTORIES IN THE 1965 SURVEY

9

Año	Historia ocupacional						
	Nombre de la ocupación	Tareas que realiza	Posición	Empresa			Ingreso
				A que se dedica	No. pers. ocup.	Relación Familiar	
06							
07							
08							
09							
10							
11							
12							
13							
14							
15							

Año	Edad	Historia de las migraciones				Historia educacional	Historia familiar	Salud
		Ciudad o pueblo	Est.	Tamaño				
				Ciudad				
				Pueblo				
				Campo				
06								
07								
08								
09								
10								
11								
12								
13								
14								
15								

APPENDIX D: DESCRIPTION OF THE OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

The occupational classification that I use in this dissertation is presented in Table D-1. The classification divides occupations in eight hierarchical groups, according to a) whether the particular occupation constitutes a manual or a non-manual activity, b) the degree of skills required to perform it, and c) the authority associated with it. These eight groups can be further collapsed in four large categories --higher non-manual, lower non-manual, higher manual, and lower manual-- or in two categories --manual versus non-manual. In the dissertation I use different levels of aggregation depending on the number of cases and the type of analysis to be performed in each particular situation.

This scheme is clearly influenced by occupational classifications widely used in stratification research for several decades, including the original 1965 study on Monterrey performed by Balán, Browning and Jelin; the most recent work of Goldthorpe and colleagues on mobility in industrial societies (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992), as well as the research of Roberts (Roberts 1995; Roberts and Oliveira 1994) and (Escobar undated) in the more familiar context of urban Latin America and Mexico. However, the scheme proposed here also departs from previous classifications in several ways. Particularly, there are some specificities in the criteria used to classify four types of occupations: a) salesmen b) technicians, b) construction workers, and d) farm workers. These distinctive criteria are discussed in detail below. In some cases, the differences respond to data limitations and, more specifically, to the need of using a classification

compatible with the 1965 survey, the two different versions of ENEU and the 2000 survey. In other aspects, however, the decision to modify previous classifications responded to more substantive reasons, such as considerations about the inadequate positioning of certain occupations in the socioeconomic structure of Monterrey.

SALESMEN

In their original Monterrey study, Browning and colleagues classified men working in sales according to three characteristics: a) the position of the respondent in the business (owner or employee), b) the type of business (i.e. a small grocery store versus a departmental store), and c) the number of people working in the business (Balán 1982). The consideration of these three dimensions created a complex sub-classification of salesmen. For instance, owners of small grocery stores (the "blue collar salesmen") were classified in the higher manual category, while owners of larger businesses (6 or more employees) performing administrative duties were allocated in the higher non-manual category. On the side of employees, those who worked in small grocery stores were classified in the lower manual category, but sales clerks in large departmental stores where grouped with other lower non manual workers.

In my opinion, these criteria capture the most relevant differences in status and social positions within the broad group of men working in sales. But as useful as this detailed classification may be, in this dissertation I decided to utilize a simpler scheme, only because ENEU and the 2000 survey do not provide the

necessary information[104]. The alternative used here to classify men in sales considers a) their occupational position, b) their description of their main activities, and c) whether the business has an established office or "local", as opposed to ambulant sales. Thus, starting with owners of sales businesses, they are allocated in the higher-non-manual (group I.A) or lower non-manual (group II.A) categories depending on whether their job description includes working exclusively in administrative activities or doing other activities associated with lower positions, such as buying or storing merchandise, attending clients, etc. In the case of employees, the distinction is made between sales agents, whose duties require some degree of specialization and often control over other workers, and sales clerks, a more diverse group dominated by employees in small-scale businesses and low-paid employees in medium to large department stores[105]. These two groups are classified in the lower non-manual category (groups II.B and II.C, respectively). Finally, all men working in street sales are classified as unskilled service workers (group IV.B), independently of their position as self-employed workers or employees.

[104] In the case of the 2000 survey, there is not available information on the size of the firm for the occupation of the father. In ENEU, grocery stores in neighborhoods cannot be easily distinguished from other kinds of businesses, like shoe stores, boutiques, etc.

[105] The 199 men working as sales clerks in ENEU 2000 illustrate the diversity of this group: 19% are family workers not receiving a wage and another 26% have a verbal contract in stores with less than 6 employees. In the other extreme, 29% work under written and permanent contracts in businesses with more than 50 employees.

TECHNICIANS

In most occupational classifications technicians are at the top of the occupational hierarchy, together with professionals and managers. In my opinion, however, the profile of technicians in Monterrey puts them closer to office workers, professors, and other specialized service workers than to professionals and managers. It is true that technicians perform specialized activities and that might lead to think that they have a better position than other less skilled service workers, such as secretaries, typists or archivists, but their wages suggest that they are in a similar or even worse situation than office clerks and other semi-skilled non-manual workers.[106]

It is also difficult to argument that levels of authority or the quality of contractual relationships within firms are similar or even remotely comparable for technicians, on one hand, and managers and professionals on the other. The differences in skills and potential for making a living as an independent worker are also more striking than similarities in the comparison of technicians and professionals. For all these reasons, I decided to group technicians together with other semi-skilled office workers and intermediate managers in the lower non-manual category (group II.A), instead of assigning them in the highest occupational category.

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[106] The average wage of technicians, according to ENEU 2000, was 5,677 pesos, versus 13,930 pesos for Professionals and Managers and 6,961 pesos for skilled non-manual workers in the group II.A. In 1987 there were smaller differences among these three groups (4,481, 4,324 and 6,735 pesos, respectively), but technicians were still closer to other skilled non-manual workers than to professionals and managers.

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

A third significant modification is that all construction workers are classified in the lower manual category (group IV.A), regardless of their skill level. The existence of career paths and hierarchies among construction laborers is undeniable. Young men starting a career as general helpers in the construction business can aspire to climb positions and become "maistros albañiles" as years pass and they learn to dominate one of the multiple specialized tasks in the field. In my opinion, however, specialization does not bring the same rewards and benefits for construction workers than for manual workers in other fields. First, there is a lack of prestige for a career as a construction worker, even among residents of low-income neighborhoods, where most construction workers live. In my research on gangs and youth cultures in Monterrey at the beginning of the 1990s, it was common to listen young men contemptuously refer to construction work as "la costra" ("the scab"), in allusion to the gray dust crust that formed in the skin of those laboring in construction.[107] The perceived status of "albañiles" among the members of the middle-class is not positive either: regardless of whether they are helpers or "maestros", construction laborers are often portrayed as the archetype of the "naco", a negative term used to describe the uneducated and "lacking of taste" members of the underclass.

However, the negative perceptions about the status of construction laborers are not the only reason to classify the latter in the lower manual category. The particular characteristics of these jobs and the way construction workers

[107] Hernandez León (1990) also presents evidence on this in his work about youth gangs in Monterrey.

define their occupation also suggest that the lines dividing unskilled and skilled workers (or, using their own terms, "peones" and "maestros") are blurrier than in other manual activities. Construction jobs are highly unstable, due to the seasonality of the industry and its vulnerability to economic recessions. "Maistros", both independent and associated with contractors, are often forced to take low skills positions when the business is slow. It is also common for independent "maistros" to take temporary jobs in private houses, where they work by themselves without any helpers, doing small-scale repairs or additions to the existing constructions.

Moreover, the criteria defining who is a helper and who is a "maistro" are not clearly defined, perhaps in part because craftsmanship rules only apply partially: as they learn specialized skills, "peones" are allowed by most "maistros" to perform these specialized activities in parallel with their routine assistance tasks. However, nothing impedes experienced helpers to seek independent jobs and alternate them with the work they do for the "maistro", thus ensuring a valuable alternative source of income as they get more experience and create a portfolio of potential clients before seeking independence. It is not surprising then that the criteria defining who is a "peon" and who a "maistro" are not clear, even in the eyes of construction workers themselves.

A final reason to classify skilled construction workers in the lower manual category is that surveys are a poor instrument for distinguishing the difference among "maestros" and "peones". In most cases, workers in construction label themselves with the broader term "albañil", regardless of their position. When

asked about their main activities and duties, answers often account for several activities, such as "carrying bricks, laying bricks, and laying tile". It is common that these enumerations mix specialized and general helping activities, thus making difficult the distinction between "peones" and "maistros". My personal experience with the Monterrey 2000 survey suggests that this problem may have lead to the misclassification of helpers as skilled construction workers. In the case of ENEU I do not have direct evidence, but the fact that the survey registers more than two skilled "albañiles" for each helper suggests the presence of a similar misclassification problem[108].

In sum, for analytical and methodological reasons it seems more appropriate to classify skilled construction workers in the lower manual category. This does not mean that hierarchies are not relevant among constructions workers, or that the attainment of a position as "maistro" is not perceived as relevant for construction laborers themselves. However, an attainment of this sort cannot be equaled in status and material benefits to upward mobility in other manual activities. In addition, given the particular characteristics of the job and the limitations of the available data sources, we cannot even be certain about the empirical accuracy of the distinction between skilled and unskilled construction workers.

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[108] The 2000 ENEU reports 289 Monterrey men working as skilled construction workers, versus 132 working as helpers. In rough terms, this suggests that there is one "peon" for each two "maistros". As described above, the reality is that "maistros" often have one or more helpers working for them, thus making highly unlikely a distribution such as that reported by ENEU. This may indicate a misclassification of unskilled construction workers as skilled laborers.

FARM WORKERS

Finally, all workers in agricultural activities are grouped at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, in the lower manual category. In the original Monterrey study, Browning and colleagues classified farm workers in different strata according to whether they were *jornaleros* or independent farmers. Among the latter, they also considered the type of crop and the size of the plot to distinguish between small and big farmers (Balán 1982). A similar distinction between self-employed farmers and agriculture laborers is also present in the classification scheme proposed by Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) to study stratification and mobility in industrialized nations. For the purposes of this study, however, I decided to use a simpler classification because the Monterrey 2000 survey does not provide information on the type of crop and the size of the plot for fathers working in agriculture, and therefore the distinction between the self-employed peasants in subsistence activities and owners of larger, more productive farms cannot be made. Since in numerical terms the former dominate over the latter, I decided to group all men in farm activities in Category IV, together with other unskilled manual workers.

Table D-1. Occupational Classification

Two groups	Four groups	Eight groups	Description
Non-Manual	I. Higher Non-Manual	Managers & Professionals	Professionals; High-level managers in the public and private sectors; college professors
	II. Lower Non-Manual	A. Skilled White Collar Workers	Technicians and specialized personnel; teachers (except college); arts & sports workers; Middle-level supervisors (department's heads); owners of sales businesses
		B. Clerical Workers & Sales Agents	Clerical Workers (secretaries, archivists, etc.); Sales agents in insurance and real state
		C. Sales Employees & Control Workers	Supervisors and inspectors in industry; Sales employees in established businesses
Manual	III. Higher Manual	Skilled Manual Workers	Machines operatives and craftsmen, specialized manual workers; vehicle conductors
	IV. Lower Manual	A. Unskilled Manual Workers	Unskilled industrial workers (peones, ayudantes); all construction workers
		B. Unskilled Service Workers	Street sales workers; workers in personal services; domestic service workers; security workers
		C. Farm Workers	Workers in farm activities

APPENDIX E. THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

This dissertation has a clear quantitative orientation. The analysis of the most important trends in occupational mobility, as well as of changes over time in the process of occupational attainment, requires of an intensive use of survey materials and relatively complicated statistical techniques. However, I considered that it was important to complement this quantitative approach with a look at the perceptions of men in relation to the process of occupational attainment, their accounts of the social and economic situation of the city in the past, their prospects about the future, and the relationship between their social origins, their current occupation, and values, cultural dispositions, and life-styles.

It was evident that given its own technical characteristics, the survey was going to be of limited value for this task. Therefore, I decided to carry out a number of in-depth interviews where I could obtain more detailed information from men. These interviews were of great value for my research for three reasons. First, by asking men directly about their occupational careers and the significance that these trajectories had for their lives, I was able to increase my understanding of the occupational attainment process and give more meaning to the quantitative information obtained in the survey. Second, the in-depth interviews also helped to illustrate some of the ideas I discuss in the dissertation, thus facilitating their presentation. Finally, the in-depth interviews were of great value to obtain information about aspects that were not fully developed in the questionnaire or required a more qualitative approach, such as the importance of social capital and the study of values, tastes, preferences, and life-styles.

I carried out eight in-depth interviews. Before searching the candidates for the interviews I defined several criteria for their selection. First, I set an age limit of 30 to 60 years, similar to the age limits of the survey. Then, I decided that within this group I would focus on young men, so I decided to privilege men with less than 40 years of age (five of the eight cases). The next criterion was to include in the group of interviewees men with diverse occupational experiences and in different social positions. This selection produced a sample of men with very diverse social backgrounds, occupational careers, and current socioeconomic positions (see Table E-1) To initially contact the candidates I made use of my personal network of friends and relatives, who provided me a list of potential candidates and, in some cases, talked personally with the candidates prior to my intervention in order to ask them for their collaboration.

Finally, the interviews were performed in one session and lasted between one and two hours. The own respondent selected the site of the interview. Two interviews were carried out in the respondent's home, three in their workplace, and the other three in my own home. I followed an interview guide that helped me to cover all the relevant themes, although in all cases the flow of the interview guided the order of the themes and the detail in which they were treated.

Table E-1. Summary of Social and Demographic Characteristics of Interviewees

Name	Age	Social Origins	Education	Trajectory of Inter-generational Mobility	Trajectory of Intra-generational Mobility	Current Occupation
Luis	33	Born in Monterrey; both parents from Monterrey; high class origins.	University Degree	Stable in higher non-manual	Upward mobility within non-manual	Manager and owner of a travel agency with more than 5 employees
Eduardo	31	Born in Monterrey; father from Monterrey, mother migrant from rural area; working class origins	Secondary	Stable in lower manual	Stable in low manual	Mason ("maistro albañil")
Roberto	33	Born in Monterrey; both parents are rural immigrants; father with university degree; middle-class origins	University Degree	Stable in higher non-manual	Upward mobility within non-manual	Architect
Gerardo	49	Immigrant from rural area; farm origins	University Degree	Upward mobility from farm to non-manual	Stable in lower-non manual	Self-employed. Owner of a grocery store
José Angel	43	Born in Monterrey; both parents are rural immigrants; working class origins	University Degree	Upward mobility from manual to higher non-manual	Stable in higher non-manual	Doctor and hospital middle-level manager
Manuel	30	Born in Monterrey; father migrant; mother from Monterrey; middle-class origins	Preparatory	Stable in higher non-manual	Upward mobility within non-manual	Sales Manager
Mario	58	Immigrant from rural area; working class origins	Primary	Upward mobility in manual	Upward-downward mobility in manual	Unskilled worker
Carlos	32	Born in Monterrey; both parents from Monterrey; high class origins.	Graduate Studies	Stable in higher non-manual	Stable in higher non-manual	University professor and program administrator

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