



Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Research in Social Stratification and Mobility

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/rssm

Intergenerational social mobility in Spain between 1956 and 2011: The role of educational expansion and economic modernisation in a late industrialised country



Carlos J. Gil-Hernández^{a,*}, Ildefonso Marqués-Perales^b, Sandra Fachelli^{c,d}

^a Department of Political and Social Sciences (SPS), European University Institute (EUI), Badia Fiesolana, Via dei Roccellini 9, I-50014 San Domenico di Fiesole, Italy

^b Department of Sociology, Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de Sevilla, Calle Pirotecnia, 41013 Sevilla, Spain

^c Department of Sociology, Facultat d'Economia i Empresa, Universidad de Barcelona (UB), Avda. Diagonal 696, 08034, Barcelona, Spain

^d Department of Sociology, Facultat de Ciències Polítiques i de Sociologia, Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB), 08193 Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès), Spain

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Intergenerational mobility
Spain
Cohort analysis
Educational expansion
Modernisation
Simulations

ABSTRACT

This article explores intergenerational class mobility patterns and the role played by education in Spain using counterfactuals. Both men and women born from 1926 to 1981 are analysed, meaning the study covers a period of profound economic and educational advances in a late-industrialised country. The results suggest that, among the cohorts born in the 1970s, men have experienced a slight increase in social fluidity, while women have experienced a substantial increase that seems partially driven by their massively increased access to routine non-manual positions independent of their social origins. Inequality of educational opportunities and class returns to education have declined, whereas the direct effect of social origins (*DESO*) has remained constant for men and has decreased considerably for women. The counterfactual analysis shows that the slight increase in social fluidity for men is mainly driven by educational expansion. For women, the *DESO* and educational expansion account for a great share of increasing fluidity. Therefore, certain assumptions made by the *Modernization Theory* and *Goldthorpe's Theory of Social Mobility* can be put into question.

1. Introduction

Social background and education are generally considered to be the most important factors in explaining socioeconomic outcomes (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Hout & DiPrete, 2006). Building upon the *status attainment model* and its Origins (O) - Education (E) - Destinations (D) triangle, social background is associated with an individual's destination class both directly and indirectly. The indirect path operates via educational attainment (O-E) and social class returns to education (E-D). The direct effect of social origins (*DESO*) shapes class destination through the resources that parents can provide for their children, such as economic, social and cultural capital and other unobservable attributes (Bourdieu, 1986; Bernardi & Ballarino, 2016). New methodological developments enable the assessment of the role of education in shaping relative social mobility trends or social fluidity (Breen, 2010; Pfeffer & Hertel, 2015).

Peripheral European countries, such as Spain, tend to differ from core European countries in terms of their institutional settings due to historical particularities, along with the different timing and magnitude of their social stratification dimensions (Ishida, 2008). Given the late

industrialisation and democratisation of Spain, along with the scarcity of previous research literature, the Spanish case calls for further investigation, including its examination in the wider European context (Gil-Hernández et al., forthcoming). During the last few decades, the Spanish scenario has been characterised by marked economic and occupational modernisation and a steep process of educational expansion. What implications have these processes had for social fluidity trends? What is the specific role of education in shaping social mobility (Martínez Celorrio & Marín Saldo, 2012)? Are these processes unevenly driven by gender (Salido, 2001)?

In order to explore these issues, the article is organised as follows: First, we provide an outline of the Spanish institutional context shaping long-term occupational and educational trends. Second, we briefly review the main theories and previous findings on the role played by education and economic modernisation in social fluidity to derive the research hypotheses of this investigation. Third, the data and methods used to test the hypotheses are explained. Fourth, we discuss the results of this investigation. Finally, we present a set of conclusions, limitations and suggestions for the direction of future research.

* Corresponding author.

E-mail address: carlos.gilhernandez@eui.eu (C.J. Gil-Hernández).

2. Spanish context

Three social institutions can be considered as critical in the shaping of opportunity structures in industrialised societies: the state, the labour market and family structure (Hout & DiPrete, 2006). Therefore, it is plausible to think that different configurations of these institutions can lead to diverse social mobility outcomes (Nolan, Esping-Andersen, Whelan, Maître, & Wagner, 2011). In this section, we provide a comprehensive account of the historical institutional particularities shaping the Spanish modernisation process and its corresponding structural changes.

2.1. Late economic modernisation, labour market and welfare state

Dramatic political, social and economic changes have occurred in Spain in the second half of the twentieth century, in particular since the transition from a dictatorship to a democracy in the mid-1970s. From the end of the Civil War in 1939 to 1959, the country had an autarkical and agricultural-based economy that was all but closed to international trade. From that point on, the country has experienced a deep modernisation process in which gross domestic product (GDP) per capita has steadily increased and in which membership of the European Union (EU) was achieved in 1986. From the late 1990s until the late 2000s, Spain experienced steady economic growth at higher rates than most EU countries. Fig. 1 illustrates this marked economic development process over the last four decades, particularly involving the birth cohorts studied in this research (see the vertical lines).

Nevertheless, economic growth in Spain is highly dependent on the business cycle. Since the oil crisis in 1973 and the transition to a democracy in the late 1970s, three major economic crises have affected GDP growth in the early 1980s, 1992–1993 and 2007–2008. Political reforms aiming to deregulate the margins of the labour market (1984) were implemented to deal with the volatility of the Spanish economy (Bentolila & Dolado, 1994; Toharia & Malo, 2000). As a result, the Spanish labour market is characterised by a high degree of internal segmentation or dualisation (Miguélez & López-Roldán, 2014; Polavieja, 2006).

Even though economic hardships existed, a Spanish welfare state was created and a tax system was formally implemented during the 1980s, leading to a boost in social spending, declining poverty rates and income inequality. Due to its particular arrangements, Spain is considered a member of the Southern European Welfare or *familialistic* cluster, mainly characterised by low social and family spending levels and the primacy of family provision of welfare (Ferrera, 1996). Thus, female labour force participation has been historically low. However, it should be noted that, from the mid-1980s to the late 2000s, female

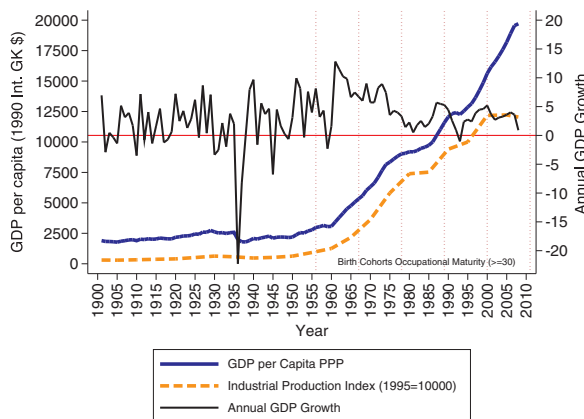


Fig. 1. Economic Modernisation in Spain. Source: The Maddison-Project, 2013; Prados de la Escosura, 2003; INE, 2016.

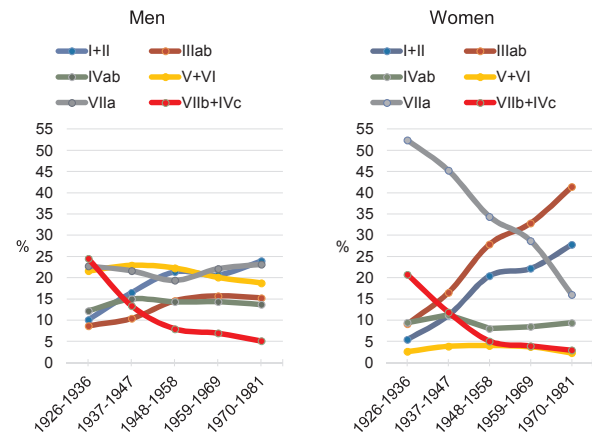


Fig 2. Occupational upgrading by birth cohorts and gender. Source: Own elaboration based on ESD-1991; ECV-2005 and ECV-2011 (INE).

labour force participation increased rapidly from 30% to 70% (OECD, 2014). Furthermore, the Spanish welfare state grew during the 1980s, creating a considerable niche of public jobs in which women are overrepresented.

2.2. Occupational upgrading

In a relatively short timespan, Spain has followed a different trend from early industrialised countries in which its social structure has experienced an abrupt transition from a vast agricultural sector to a post-industrial society without going through an intermediate industrial stage (Bernardi & Garrido, 2008).¹

If we examine the Spanish social structure in terms of gender, three salient elements may be outlined that can be seen in Fig. 2.² First, there has been a dramatic and constant decline in the farming sector (VIIb + IVc) for both men and women. Between the oldest birth cohort (1926–1936) and the youngest birth cohort (1970–1981), the agricultural sector was reduced by 20% for men and 15% for women. Second, non-manual positions (I + II and IIIab) have undergone a considerable growth of 20% for men and 55% for women. Therefore, women are overrepresented in non-manual positions. Men have also undergone a deep occupational upgrading. In the oldest cohort, the service class (I + II) accounts for just 10%³; however, in the youngest cohort, it accounts for 25%. Third, at the same time, the male unskilled manual class (VIIa) has continued to make up a large proportion, consequently leading to an occupational polarisation between qualified and nonqualified social classes (Oesch & Rodríguez Menés, 2011). The female unskilled manual class has plummeted in size in comparison to men.⁴ As a consequence of this decline, both service class and routine non-manual (IIIab) workers account for the largest proportion of the female social structure, which can be considered as sectors with a greater proliferation of meritocratic selection procedures.

Given this particular evolution of the Spanish social structure, several differences can be highlighted with respect to other European countries (ILO, 2011). First, the service class is considerably smaller (i.e., half the size of Germany). Second, the petty bourgeoisie stands at a high level, similar to Italy. Third, the agricultural and nonqualified

¹ This factor is usually related to the chronically high unemployment rates of Spain (Esping-Andersen, 1999).

² Social class is operationalised through the EGP schema. See Section 4.2. for details.

³ The service class broadly corresponds to managerial (large employers) and higher and lower grade professional and technician occupations.

⁴ If the immigrant population is considered, the share of the manual unskilled classes enlarges given the substantial migration influx between 1995 and 2010 (Fachelli & López-Roldán, 2017).

Download English Version:

<https://daneshyari.com/en/article/5106586>

Download Persian Version:

<https://daneshyari.com/article/5106586>

[Daneshyari.com](https://daneshyari.com)