

PROFESSIONAL/OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND DOCTORS CARRIERS (FRANCE AND ARGENTINA)

Miriam Aparicio*

Abstract

Key words :

Professional;

Mobility;

Doctors;

Carriers;

“Plafond” Effects;

Comparative Study.

Here The Education-Work relationship is an issue for debate. According of the interactionist or reproductivist paradigm, education is considered as the central tool of personal, professional and national development and mobility, to be blamed for the perpetuation of cultural and social differences. This issue has been dealt with by Dr. Aparicio in works covering more than three decades and three generations along the line in university individuals (graduates, drop-outs, teachers, doctors), inserted in different occupational areas. The general purpose was to analyze the factors (quantitative) or dimensions (qualitative) which make an impact on university and work achievement (in their interaction) from their *sui generis* systemic theory. We will also work on the comparative studies done with doctors from different contexts, which are related to the professional mobility “observed” regarding the widely spread idea of degrees devaluation and mobility stagnation under the plafond effects (saturation) and problems associated to work insertion and promotion according to the level of education reached. The results show: a) said occupational mobility is resented even in quite marked-out levels within contexts in which the plafond effects make a lesser impact.

* **PhD. in Education and PhD. in Psychology, CONICET (National Council of Scientific Research); Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Mendoza, Argentina.**

1. Introduction

Research on Mobility has a long history (since 1980 until today). More precisely in 1983, Dr. Aparicio translated the work by R. Boudon, into Spanish [1]; this work would impact on the last decades of the world and on the key issues of her research. The comparative studies done with doctors fall within such frame, that is, with individuals who have reached the highest level of education.

The question arises: Was the PhD. degree the passport to professional mobility? Education is the principal “tool” for personal, professional and even national development. However, under the plafond effects (saturated with graduates – the more developed the countries are, the more evident the mobility), a high level of education does not always guarantees a kind of insertion into the labor market in keeping with the education acquired, nor with the career occupational mobility . It does not guarantees either the Satisfaction achieved or the feeling of Success into the professional practice under the present market conditions, so much so that we introduced the difference between objective Satisfaction and subjective Satisfaction.

Here are our guiding questions (hypotheses).

Let us consider for a moment the notion of democratization of education, which had consequences on employment.

The perspective of educational mobility as a factor of social and professional achievement was paramount in the 1960s, especially in the US, and it was quite linked Aspirations or n-Ach (we refer to the founding fathers: [2], [3], [4],[5],[6],[7],[8],[9],[10], [11], [12].

In Argentina, a country where university has been free and open to “everyone wishing to dwell on Argentine land”, to cite the Argentine Constitution, this perspective is central in the “national ethos”. It is well known that during the last century Argentina received one of the most important European migratory floods in history. These Europeans having different levels of education, yearned for their descendants to get to university. This matter was immortalized in the phrase “my son, the doctor”, quite used by Italians (the largest community settled in Argentina, so much so, that in Buenos Aires, it is even larger than the native population). With the ethos of effort in a country where the structural and situational conditions, they managed to progress and change the

physiognomy of the country, from the educational as well as from the occupational point of view, helping the country develop to the extent that it became the 4th world power [13].

This issue has been dealt with by Dr. Aparicio on two occasions.

In a first stage, coinciding with the research by CONICET and within the sociological-political-economic context, she dealt with Intergenerational Mobility in university graduates in order to analyze the role of Education in the national and personal growth process [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [19], [20], [21],[22], [23], [24], [25], [26], [27], [28], [29]; [30], [31].

The work studied 1,152 families thanks to the cooperation of INDEC (National Statistics Bureau). This helped to get a representative sample of the Mendoza City and its surroundings.

A descriptive-percentage analysis was carried out that showed the progress in sociocultural and economic variables, which made no impact on the psychosocial variables associated to abrupt changes, as it was observed in studies carried out, especially in the US (anomy, cultural conflict associated to a change in the membership group, status inconsistency, etc.[32], [33],[34], [35], [36], [37], [38], [39], [40], [41], [42], [43],[44], [45], [46]. Mobility rates were also applied: [47], [48], [49]. This was followed by a mathematical analysis: [50], [51]. The results, beyond the methodological problems encountered arising from a *sui generis* systemic perspective, revealed a clear educational and socio-professional mobility, which in turn had an impact at the psychosocial level [52], [53], [53],[54],[55].

In a second stage (from 1995 on), the study focused on the analysis of the impact of core and sociocultural variables, not only on sociological factors but on psychosocial factors as well. The stage also discussed Professional or Career Mobility – without overlooking intergenerational Mobility – in Argentina in relation to the Mobility observed in other countries with quite different characteristics (Spain, Paraguay, France).

It should be noticed that, towards the 2000s, the professional careers become the core issue in international studies in which professional Mobility or “promotion” takes again a very important place. In fact, this variable, in the research practice, had been left aside due to different factors

such as the increasing importance of work insertion in relation with the market demands, in addition to other problems, such as the growing business relocation and competitiveness within the frame of globalization. All that made an impact on and fragmented the actors' identity. This problem is still central since it concerns itself with the individuals within their socioeconomic context, even affecting their health [56], [57], [58], [59], [60], [54], [55].

As regards Argentina, we go from a very solid educational and social mobility – relatively, one of the highest worldwide – to a state of stagnation. The 90s become a landmark, which some called “the lost decade”. Then there is the crisis of 2000-2003, most relevant as regards employment. Our research showed over 20% of university graduate who were unemployed, even though those with a higher level of education were better positioned than those with a lower level. Structural unemployment reaches the highest point [61], [62], [63]. The careers of the university graduates became jeopardized by the socio-political and economic situation and so did the possibilities of mobility at the professional level [64], [42], [43], [44], [65], [66], [67], [68], [69].

In addition, the notion that *educational* intergenerational Mobility had stagnated after the migratory flood in the XX century spread. However, our results showed that, even if this mobility had decreased compared with the previous century, it had not ceased: those individuals whose parents and grandparents had low or medium levels of education managed to enter university. One of the latest research works showed the even in the sample of doctors (human and social sciences as well as hard sciences) educational promotion or mobility continued, despite what other viewpoints (hyper-functionalists / reproductivists) supported, more in accordance with a notion of an elite university for an elite [70]. Our results have been recently confirmed at Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires (UBA): in august 2017 the rector declared that “... *half of the students are the first members in their families to enter university*” (...) “*The role of the university is to be available to all sectors. Every day, more and more people endeavor to get a university level of education.*” [71]. In brief: many parents and grandparent did not get to university.

The question was: Which was the Scenario in the occupational area regarding mobility?

General Objectives

- 1 To be acquainted with professional mobility in Ph.D. programs in social and human sciences within two different contexts: Argentina and France; two countries with quite different histories in terms of Ph. D training in this disciplinary area.
- 2 To get to know if the “plafond” effect or university graduates saturation (educational mobility) makes an impact on the two groups of doctors as regards professional mobility.
- 3 To determine the issue of the fall of professional mobility during the period of “degree devaluation” and the notions supported by the means or systems of belief, with no empirical referents, so as to avoid non-critical extrapolations.

Hypothesis

Ph.D. studies have an impact on work positioning and, more globally, on professional careers, even more in less developed countries and when the “saturation” effect is less obvious.

2. Methodology

2.1. Population

We worked with Ph. D. students and doctors in social and human sciences in Argentina (UNCuyo, Ph. D. program in Education and Social Sciences) and in France (a university in Paris, with a long history). Three Ph.D. programs will be involved: Education (Adults), Management Sciences and Sociology, hoping to find different levels of work positioning and insertion according to disciplinary areas/fields. The study considered the students entering as from 2005 in both institutions. The samples were representative [72].

2.2. Techniques

Among the quantitative techniques, we used a semi-structured interview for Ph. D. students and doctors (2005-2014). Among the qualitative techniques, we used a semi-directive interview, word association [73], [74], [75] and hierarchical evocation. Finally, we designed a mobility scale with the participation of HR Directors, including Argentine university students. This paper focuses on the descriptive-quantitative level.

3. Results

We could access to occupational Mobility issue in its different types (vertical, horizontal, internal, external) in different situations and we found revealing coincidences [76], [72].

First, we explained some notions implied on such types; we then pointed out some of the most substantial results (the French and Argentine group)¹. Our core issue is professional Mobility (one of the central variables related to careers) according to « Careers », so as to reveal significant associations and unexpected aspects.

Let us sketch out the lines of analysis to be able to focus later on the figures by careers.

External and internal professional Mobility: between statistics and the mobility observed in our sample (France and Argentina) by career.

Let us remember: “Professional Mobility is a classical principle of adjustment in the labor market as well as a source of career development and improvement of employment conditions for the individuals.” (p.1) [77], [78].

There are two types of mobility: external and internal.

External mobility has to do with the change of institution/business or workplace and implies a risk of unemployment and job discontinuity (change of employer) [79]. In most cases, such external mobility is a type of mobility in decline, according to the professional experience. About this, the following should be pointed out:

-The lack of external mobility does not mean that the individuals remain in their Jobs: they may experience movements within the same workplace (public/private) they are working (internal mobility).

-Those youths who are well integrated in the labor market are usually those who change workplaces most often; that is, they evolve through different ways from internal mobility. This type of mobility requires more training and may be more destabilizing, as Dr. Aparicio states, since external mobility may be caused by a change of residence, a new recruitment, and a new evaluation. This mobility involves the participation of more intermediate actors than in internal mobility, in which the decision for promotion is taken in the center of the same workplace.

Globally, in the studies done by Cereq (France):

-Young people show predominance towards external mobility (men above all) over internal mobility.

¹ They are represented by their association with a variable (in our case, professional Mobility) but also with other associated variables which constitute the essence of the research). In this case, professional Mobility has been considered in its association to obtaining a degree, to Satisfaction, to Gender, to Income, and to Social background. In a second stage, the variables associated among themselves were regrouped.

Céreq states that “... external mobility is evident, especially, among men since, leveling the rest of the associated variables, 16% of them has more possibilities than women to change workplaces during the fourth or fifth year of active working life” (p.2) [79].

-This kind of mobility is, partly, sustained by the past mobility which, quite often shows on its base dissatisfaction with professional situation and uncertainty regarding the future.

-Mobility or change of employer becomes more important when the size of the workplace is “weak” (so, an indicator of “objective” achievement in this work is the size of the workplace in combination with other indicators.

-This external mobility is more obvious in the private than in the public sector: 36% against 22% (*Ibid.*, p. 2).

As regards internal mobility, it involves at least one of the three following elements: profession, activity content, a higher salary and also movement recognition as a kind of internal mobility.

This aspect is very important, even when it may appear minor: throughout Dr. Aparicio’s research on professional careers with different social actors (Aparicio 1995-2013), it could be verified that real “objective” mobility and the sensation of having experienced mobility are two different things. About this aspect, Dupray & Moullet [77] also express themselves. It should be necessary to focus on some aspects of these authors regarding young people:

-Less than the half of youths considers that these evolutions represent an “effective” internal mobility: “All in all, only a fourth of youngsters has experienced just one internal mobility” (*Ibid.*, p.1) [77]. We will later show which the levels of external and internal have been among the groups of doctors by careers, thus evidencing the highest levels of internal mobility. We will then notice certain inconsistency between alleged mobility and the actual mobility (lived as such) by the doctors.

-It could be expected that those who have recently entered the labor market to be the best equipped for internal mobility (p. 2).

-Internal mobility concerns more to men than to women. Dupray says that this fact is associated to being a father.

There are two differences between internal and external mobility: the latter depends on contextual factors and considerations associated to an individual career, in which the degree may play an important role. In other terms, external mobility depends on factors that surpass the professional sphere and reach the individual and family dimensions.

Let us resume some of Céreq's conclusions in France:

-Far from building alternative strategies of ways and itineraries for careers, internal and external mobility, globally speaking, concern different publics: internal mobility is closer to well-positioned debutants in terms of a degree as well as of employment.

-Internal and external mobility are associated to different employment formation profiles based on partly different conditions.

-They have had the same effects in the short run: mobility may be based on a non-promotional nature (in the French groups, external mobility appears the most effective: 65% of the debutants who have changed workplaces actually consider mobility to have been favorable; only the 27% declares having been promoted, whereas 11% has changed positions without considering themselves promoted [79], we resume now the figures the author provides to be faithful to the French data).

-As for the rest, external and internal mobility are associated to different levels of salary.

After showing some statistics of the French system (Argentina does not have processed data for this category, being the same type of mobility), let us take a moment to analyze the internal and external mobility observed in the groups of doctors according to career.

We have designed a scale to detect these mobilities with a group of HR Directors from different institutions in Argentina [67], and we examined what each career showed.

In France, we see a “lateral fall in the professional hierarchy from one organization to another”

of 11.1% in adults education and “a fall by descending displacement” only in Management Sciences (12.5%).

-As regards obtaining the “first job”, Management Sciences professionals are the ones with the highest percentage (34%).

-We could also confirm that in France there exists a “Horizontal displacement in a work pale in identical jobs” in the following careers: Adults Education (11.1%), Work Sociology (0%) y Management Sciences (6.25%). A more suitable displacement is observed in Adults Education (equivalent to the Ph.D. Degree in Education in Argentina).

In Argentina, displacement appears in a very clear way in the Ph.D. Degree in Education but it is non-existing in Social Sciences. The former shows the highest level of “horizontal displacement in the same workplace and same position”.

-As regards “lateral displacement from one workplace to another to a higher position”, studies done at Cnam show only one individual in such category (Adults Education).

-As regards “lateral displacement from one workplace to a more important one but to a less important position”, only 25% (the Work Sociology group) has experienced such displacement.

-Finally, “vertical displacement within the same workplace” is observed only in the Ph.D. Degree in Education (75%) and 0% for the rest on the careers. This shows that the (75%) Ph.D. Degree in Education at Universidad Nacional de Cuyo has been a factor of professional mobility for those who, for a long time, had wanted to have a quality program to let them to get a Ph. D, degree in such disciplinary area.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

The results help get to identify, by country, institution and career, the type of Mobility known by the groups of doctors in the frame of an original research and regarding an current issue in the world of work, whatever the context may be. These results haven compared with the existing statistics for the same categories.

Concerning the objectives set out, we could also see the implications of the plafond or doctors saturation effect. France was a pioneer in such matter, for it is well-known that the Sorbonne ranks second among the west universities. Argentina, along this line, had the first university in Latin-America, which opened a few years after the Conquest. However, the number of doctors (in absolute terms and by career) is much higher in France, and precisely there doctors experience a lower mobility (particularly, in the area of Education).

Finally, although away from the purpose of our analysis, we could see that not always the higher mobility “observed” (as Bertaux states) is “experienced” or “felt” by those who reached the fourth level as actual mobility, that is why Mobility is not always associated to Satisfaction. Similar results were shown in the same research concerning income and other economic benefits: some seek in these Ph.D. Degrees in Social Sciences – less promising than others in terms on economic development – their personal fulfillment and professional development rather than economic satisfaction.

References

- [1] Boudon, R.. “*L’inégalité des chances. La mobilité sociale dans les sociétés industrielles,*” Paris, PUF. Traduction by Miriam Aparicio, Barcelona, LAIA, 1983.
- [2] Keller, S. and Zavalloni, M., “Ambition and Social class: A Respecification,” *Social Forces*, 43, pp. 58- 70, 1964.
- [3] Sauvy, A. and Girard, A., “Les diverses clases sociales devant l’enseignement,” *Population*, 20, pp. 205-232, 1965.
- [4] Krauss, I., “Sources of Educational Aspirations among Working-Class Youth,” *Amer. Sociol. Review*, 29, pp. 867- 879, 1964.
- [5] Chinoy, E., “The Tradition of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers,” *American Sociol. Review*, 20, 180-186, 1955.
- [6] Duncan, O. D. and Hodge, R., “Education and Mobility Social, A Regression Analysis,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 68, pp 629-644, 1963.
- [7] Elder, G. Jr., “Family Structure and Education Attainment,” *Amer. Sociol. Review*, 30, pp. 3-10, 1965.

- [8] Mir, A., "Orígenes socioeconómicos, status de la escuela y aspiraciones y expectativas educativas y ocupacionales de estudiantes de secundaria," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, 2, pp. 169-190, 1972.
- [9] Levy-Leboyer, C., "*L'ambition professionnelle et la mobilité sociale*," Paris, PUF, 1971.
- [10] Jencks, C.-S. and Brown M., "The Effects of Desagregation on Student Achievement: Some New Evidence from the Equality Educational Opportunity Survey," *Sociology of Education*, 48, pp. 126-140, 1975.
- [11] Bénétón, P., "Discours sur la genèse des inégalités dans les sociétés occidentales contemporaines," *R.Française de Sociol.*, 25, 1, pp. 106-122, 1975.
- [12] Bénétón, P., Logique et prégnance social chez Boudon. *Revue Tocqueville*, 3, pp. 119-136, 1980.
- [13] Panettieri, J. "Los trabajadores en tiempos de la inmigración masiva en la Argentina 1870-1910," Universidad de La Plata, Argentina, PhD. These, 1966.
- [14] Solari. A., Campiglio N. and Prates S., "Educación, ocupación y desarrollo," *América Latina*, 3, pp. 43- 61, 1967.
- [15] Germani, G., "Les effets de la mobilité sociale sur la société," *Sociologie du Travail*, 4, pp. 383-415, 1965.
- [16] Germani, G., "Los procesos de movilización e integración y el cambio social," *Desarrollo Económico*, 3, pp. 403- 421, 1963.
- [17] Germani, G. and Sautu, R., "*Regularidad y origen social en los estudiantes universitarios*," Universidad de Buenos Aires, Instituto de Sociología, 1965.
- [18] Germani, G., "La estratificación social y su evolución histórica en Argentina. *Argentina Conflictiva, estudios sobre problemas sociales argentinos*," pp. 87- 113, 1972.
- [19] Aparicio, M., "Subdesarrollo: situación y perspectiva desde una teoría psicosocial," *Sociologica*, 6/7, pp 3-47, 1981.
- [20] Aparicio, M., "La sociología de las desigualdades hoy. Dos explicaciones para la relación desigualdad social/desigualdad escolar," *Cuadernos del CIC*, Centro de Investigaciones Cuyo. Nota, 1984a.
- [21] Aparicio, M., "Educación, Ocupación y Desarrollo. Puesta a prueba de una hipótesis a través de una encuesta," *Cuadernos del CIC*, 6, pp. 102-166, 1984b.

- [22] Aparicio, M., “Cambios asincrónicos en la Argentina vistos a través de la movilidad y la participación,” *Cuadernos del CIC*, 6, pp. 65-102, 1984c.
- [23] Aparicio, M., “¿Herencia cultural o herencia social?” *Cuadernos del CIC*, 13, n° especial, pp. 39-76, 1985a.
- [24] Aparicio, M., “Un análisis de los supuestos teóricos de la movilidad social,” *PRED*, n° special, 55 p., 1987.
- [25] Aparicio, M., “Algunas consideraciones sobre la relación Educación/Ocupación desde la perspectiva de la movilidad socio-profesional”, *Actas del II Seminario Argentino de Orientación Vocacional/Ocupacional “Hacia una Argentina con identidad,”* pp.169-186, 1988.
- [26] Aparicio, M., “La escuela y la génesis de las desigualdades sociales,” *Revista de Ciencias de la Educación y Formación Docente*, 1, pp. 53-78, 1990a.
- [27] Aparicio, M. “Hacia un análisis crítico de la teoría de la subcultura de clases desde la perspectiva de la movilidad social,” *Investigaciones en Sociología*, pp. 85-146, 1990b.
- [28] Aparicio, M., “¿Universidad de masas? Un estudio en cifras para las dos últimas décadas en la Argentina,” Serie Investigaciones, n° especial, Mendoza, Ed. Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina, pp.1-96. 1992.
- [29] Aparicio, M., “La devaluación de los diplomas y algunos de sus efectos sociales,” *Investigaciones en Sociología*, 22-23, pp. 33-68, 1992/1993.
- [30] Aparicio, M., “Hacia un balance crítico de algunas teorías sobre la escolarización,” *Revista Educación-Cuyo*, 3, pp.197-276, 1993.
- [31] Rajneri, J., “Qué hacer con las universidades. Historia de matrículas e ingresos irrestrictos,” *Diario La Nación*, 1990.
- [32] Jackson, E. and Curtis, R., “Effects of Vertical Mobility and Status Inconsistency: A Body of Negative Evidence,” *Amer. Sociol. Review*, 37, pp. 701-713, 1972.
- [33] Jackson, E., “Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress.” *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 27, pp. 469-480, August 1962.
- [34] Jackson, E.-F. and Burke P. J., Status Consistency and Syntoms of Stress: Additive and Interaction Effets,” *Amer. Sociol. Review*, 30, pp. 556- 564, 1965.
- [35] Segal, D. R., “Status Inconsistency, Cross Pressures, and American Political Behavior,” *Amer. Sociol. Review*, 37, pp. 352- 358, 1967.

- [36] Benoit-Smullyan, J., "Status, Status Types and Status Interrelationships," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 9, pp. 151-161, 1969.
- [37] Heintz, P., "*Los prejuicios sociales. Un problema de personalidad, cultura y sociedad*," Madrid, Tecnos, 1968.
- [38] Heintz, P., "*Hacia un paradigma sociológico del desarrollo con especial referencia a América Latina*," Buenos Aires, Instituto, 1970.
- [39] Aparicio M., "Identidad y 'síndrome de realización'," *La Psicología Social en México*, vol 7, pp.771-776, 2001 a.
- [40] Aparicio, M., "Cambio y conflicto a través de los perfiles de inconsistencia de status". Asimismo, "Desequilibrio de status, anomia y marginalidad," *Actas del Primer Congreso de Psicología Social*, pp. 78-92, 1984d.
- [41] Aparicio, M., "Conformismo anómico y conducta desviada como un problema de personalidad, cultura y sociedad," *Actas de IX Jornadas de Investigaciones*, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, pp. 97-114, 1985c.
- [42] Aparicio, M., "Implicancias psicológicas en las respuestas juveniles ante diferentes perfiles de status," *Boletín Argentino de Psicología - BAP*. Publicación de la Asociación Argentina de Investigaciones Psicológicas, pp. 51-55, 1996a.
- [43] Aparicio, M., "Conflicto cultural y búsqueda e identidad. Un estudio empírico," *Sociologica, Revista Argentina de Ciencias Sociales*, Buenos Aires, 11/12, pp. 225-305, 1996b.
- [44] Aparicio, M., "La mujer universitaria en el mercado de empleo: situación y desafíos para la década de los noventa en un marco de igualdad de oportunidades," *Revista Educación-Cuyo*, 6, pp. 63-104, 1997.
- [45] Aparicio, M., "*Les facteurs psychosociaux en relation avec la réussite universitaire et professionnelle*," 2a PhD. Thèse. Très honorable avec félicitations du jury (800 p., 2 Vol.), Doctorat en Sciences de l'éducation, Université René Descartes, Paris V. Sorbonne, France, 2005.
- [46] Aparicio, M., "Mohamed Cherkaoui: His Thoughts and His Impact and Validity in Argentina," in GEMASS and G. Manzo (Ed.), *Paradoxes, Mechanisms, Consequences: Essay in honor of Mohamed Cherkaoui*," University of Oxford, Bardell Press, Vol. 2, *Social Mechanisms*, pp. 7-20, 2015c.

- [47] Bartolomew, D. J., “*Stochastic Models for Social Processes*,” 2nd Ed, John Wiley and Sons, pp. 57-94, 1973.
- [48] Yasuda, S., “A Methodological Inquiry into Social Mobility,” *Amer. Sociol. Rev.* 29, pp. 16-23, 1964.
- [49] Matras, J., Social Mobility and Social Structure: Some insights from the Linear Model, *Amer. Sociol. Review*, 32, 608-614, 1967.
- [50] Aparicio, M., “Una mirada crítico-retrospectiva al problema de la medida de la movilidad social,” *Actas del Segundo Congreso Argentino de Enseñanza y Aplicación de la Metodología de Investigación en Ciencias Humanas y Segundo Congreso Argentino de Enseñanza y Aplicación de la Metodología de la Investigación Social*, pp. 1-18, 1984e.
- [51] Aparicio, M., “Problemas metodológicos en la medida de la movilidad social,” *Actas VIII Jornadas de Investigaciones*, pp. 24-31, 1984f.
- [52] Bertaux, D., “*Destins personnels et structure de classe. Pour une critique de l’anthropologie politique*,” Paris, PUF, 1977.
- [53] Aparicio, M., “Movilidad estructural y movilidad neta a partir de una configuración de movilidad observada,” *Actas de IX Jornadas de Investigaciones*, Consejo de Investigaciones, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, pp. 41-48, 1985b.
- [54] Aparicio, M., “Towards a *sui generis* Systemic Theory: The Three-Dimensional Spiral of Sense. A Study in Argentina Applied to Identity and Professionalization,” (Article 1), *Asian Academic Research Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, Vol 2, issue 7, pp. 246-282, December 2015a.
- [55] Aparicio, M., “The Theory of the Three-Dimensional Spiral of Sense: An Application with special Reference to Identity and Professionalization in other Disciplinary Areas,” (Article 2), *Asian Academic Research Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, Vol 2, issue 7, pp. 194-245, December 20015b.
- [56] Dubar, C., “*La socialisation. Construction des identités sociales et professionnelles*,” Paris, Colin, 1991.
- [57] Dubar, C., “*Cheminements professionnels et mobilités sociales*,” Paris, La Documentation française, 1992.
- [58] Dubar, C., “*La crise des identités*,” Paris, PUF, 2000.

- [59] Dubet F. and Martucelli D., “Théories de la socialisation et définitions sociologiques de l’école,” *Revue française de sociologie*, n° 37, pp. 511-535, 1996 a.
- [60] Kaddouri M., “Le soi entre présentation et représentation,” *Education permanente*, n° 162, pp. 9-15, 2005.
- [61] Aparicio, M., “Le chômage structurel. Réponses psychosociales d’après deux ‘patterns’ d’inconsistance de statut,” in B. Gangloff, *Satisfactions et souffrances dans le travail*, Paris, L’Harmattan, pp. 7-15, 2000.
- [62] Aparicio, M. “*Calidad y Universidad. Un estudio sobre graduados a la luz de un modelo multidimensional (1985-2002)*. UTN,” Mendoza: ZETA, 186 pp., 2003a.
- [63] Aparicio, M. (2009). “*Les facteurs psychosociaux et la réussite universitaire et professionnelle*,” ANRT, Lille, Presses de l’ANRT, 469 pp, 2009.
- [64] Aparicio, M., “Inserción laboral de graduados universitarios. Un estudio en relación con variables estructurales, socio-culturales y de personalidad en la última década,” *Investigaciones en Sociología*, pp.1-28, 1995.
- [65] Aparicio, M., “Subempleo, inconsistencia de status y efectos psicosociales disgregadores: Un estudio en graduados argentinos,” *Revista Internacional de Estudios en Educación*, 3, 2, pp. 123-135, July 2003b.
- [66] Aparicio, M., “Commentaire à l’article Le chômage structural. Réponses psychosociales d’après deux ‘patterns’ d’inconsistance de statut,” *Travail et Emploi*, 87, Juillet 2001.
- [67] Aparicio, M., “Movilidad profesional y satisfacción con los líderes grupales en organizaciones académico-científicas,” *La Psicología Social en México*, IX, pp. 665-678, 2002.
- [68] Aparicio, M., “Réussite, exclusion et logiques associées dans le système productif anticipé par le système éducatif. Une analyse à partir du modèle consommation-investissement,” in A. Lancry and C. Lemoine, “*La personne et ses rapports au travail*, Paris, L’Harmattan, pp. 59-63, 2004a.
- [69] Aparicio, M., “La psychologie de sous-emploi structurel. Une étude dans des organisations à la lumière de modèles attributionnels,” in A. Lancry & C. Lemoine, *La personne et ses rapports au travail*, Paris: L’Harmattan, pp. 49-68, 2004b.
- [70] Passeron J-C. (1989). Biographies, flux, itinéraires, trajectoires, *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 31, pp. 3-22.

- [71] Barbieri, A., “La mitad de los alumnos de la UBA son de primera generación de universitarios,” [https://radiomitre.cienradios.com/la-mitad-de-los-alumnos-de-la-uba-son-primera-generacion-de-universitarios/Consultado 29julio2017](https://radiomitre.cienradios.com/la-mitad-de-los-alumnos-de-la-uba-son-primera-generacion-de-universitarios/Consultado%2029julio2017)
- [72] Aparicio, M. and Cros, F. “*Trajectoires et identités. Un avenir incertain pour les docteurs?*,” Paris, L’Harmattan, 2015d.
- [73] Doise, W., Clemente, A. and Lorenzi-Cioldi, “*Représentations sociales et analyses de données*,” Grenoble, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1992.
- [74] Wagner, W. and Hayes, N., “*Everyday Discourse and Common Sense. The Theory of Social Representations*,” New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2005.
- [75] Wagner, W., Valencia, J. and Elejebarrrieta, F., “Relevance, Discourse and the ‘Hot’ Stable core of Social Representations. A Structural Analysis of Word Associations,” *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 35, pp. 331-354, 1996.
- [76] Aparicio, M., “Crise d’identité et devenir professionnel des étudiants qui sont engagés dans un doctorat en éducation/formation. Une approche comparative franco-argentine,” *Biennale internationale de l’éducation, la formation et des pratiques professionnelles*, Cnam, Paris, July 2012 (on line).
- [77] Dupray, A. and Moullet, S., “Femmes à l’entrée dans la vie active : un retard salarial en partie inexplicé,” *NEF*, n° 12, 2004.
- [78] Mansuy, M., “L’influence du premier emploi sur la trajectoire professionnelle,” *NEF*, n° 10, 2004.
- [79] Dupray, A., “Les mobilités en début de la vie professionnelle. Externes ou internes aux entreprises, des évolutions aux effets très différents,” *Bref*, n° 216, 2005.