

DIFFICULT HERITAGE: DISPOSITIONS AND SOCIAL TRAJECTORIES IN TWO FAMILIES FROM JULIACA (PERU)

A DIFÍCIL HERANÇA: DISPOSIÇÕES E TRAJETÓRIAS SOCIAIS DE DUAS FAMÍLIAS DA CIDADE DE JULIACA NO PERU

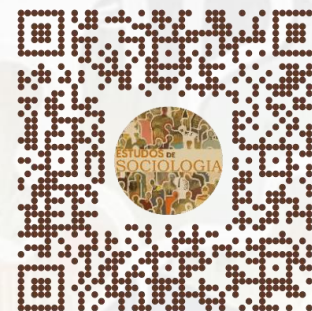
LA DIFÍCIL HERENCIA: DISPOSICIONES Y TRAYECTORIAS SOCIALES EN DOS FAMILIAS DE LA CIUDAD DE JULIACA-PERÚ



Francisco Euler Otazu CONZA¹
e-mail: eulerfrancisco36@gmail.com

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¹ Federal University of Pelotas (UFPEL), Pelotas – RS – Brazil. Adjunct professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Universidad Nacional del Altiplano-Puno (UNAP). Master in Sociology (UFPEL).

ABSTRACT: This article aims to study two families in relation to their trajectories and dispositions in the Peruvian city of Juliaca. Both families are observed from Bernard Lahire's perspective of plural actor. Lahire, specifically, has focused on the discovery of parents' transferring (or not) of informal work to children. Qualitative methodology was applied and two members of each family were considered: head of household and son/daughter. Since mid-year 2021 until year 2022, in-depth interviews (2 or 3) were applied to each family member. The main hint shows that informal work is not reproduced by children. In both families, heterogeneous configurations (with commercial and professional settings) can be observed.

KEYWORDS: Informal labor. Family settings. Dispositions. Peru.

RESUMO: *O presente artigo é o estudo de duas famílias em relação a suas trajetórias e disposições na cidade de Juliaca no Peru. As famílias são observadas a partir da perspectiva do ator plural de Bernard Lahire, especificamente, centra-se no descobrimento da transferência, ou não, do trabalho informal dos pais aos filhos. A metodologia usada é de cunho qualitativo, contou com a participação de dois integrantes por cada família: chefe de família e filha ou filho. Nesse sentido, entre 2021 e 2022, realizou-se entrevistas em profundidade com dois e três membros de cada família. O principal resultado deste trabalho costa que a reprodução do trabalho informal não é reproduzida pelos filhos, pois observam-se configurações familiares heterogêneas com disposições comerciais e profissionais das famílias estudadas.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Trabalho informal. Configurações familiares. Disposições. Peru.*

RESUMEN: *Este artículo aborda el estudio de dos familias en relación con sus trayectorias y disposiciones en la ciudad de Juliaca, Perú. Las familias son observadas a partir de la perspectiva del actor plural, de Bernard Lahire, de forma específica, se ha centrado en el descubrimiento de la transferencia o no transferencia del trabajo informal de los padres hacia los hijos. La metodología utilizada ha sido de corte cualitativo, contando con la participación de dos integrantes por cada familia: jefe de familia e hijo(a), para ello, se ha realizado entrevistas a profundidad entre tres y dos por cada miembro familiar a mediados del 2021 y parte del 2022. El principal indicio muestra que la reproducción del trabajo informal no es reproducida por los hijos, se observan configuraciones familiares heterogéneas con disposiciones comerciales y profesionales en las familias estudiadas.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Trabajo informal. Configuraciones familiares. Disposiciones. Perú.*

Introduction

Informal labor continues to be a controversial issue. It originated in Latin America in the 1980s and has been growing since the 1990s. In Peru, there are two marked stages of informality. On the one hand, the first studies of informality began in the 1980s (MANKY, 2017). In this context, informal work would be interpreted as the product of the social structure, three visions stand out: the economic (DE SOTO, 2009), the anthropological (MATOS MAR, 1984; 2012) and the sociological (QUIJANO, 1980; 1998). These perspectives focus their analysis on internal migration from rural areas to urban areas.

On the other hand, with the labor reforms established by the government of Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000). The focus of analysis shifts to the actors. In this context, migrations are in their third wave. They are the new *Limeños* (children born of provincial origins) who undertake their own businesses, mobilizing under two strategies: traditional and modern in the urban space (CATACORA, 2013). One study we highlight was the contribution of anthropologists Jürgen Golte and Adans Valdivia (2019): *the Trojan horses of the invaders: peasant strategies in the conquest of greater Lima*. Both anthropologists focus on migrants from different geographical origins settled in the city of Lima: migrants from Lima, migrants from the southern highlands, migrants from the northern highlands, and migrants coming from the coast. Most of them are small business owners.

Most research on informality in Peru has taken a fragmented approach. On the one hand, the first studies identified them as homogeneous groups resulting from the social structure, i.e., a macro-social view. On the other hand, with labor reforms, they focus on the social actors: informal workers are agents of their own development, for example, the case of the entrepreneurial groups of Unicachi and Gamarra - commercial centers of migrants from southern Peru - far from forming a homogeneous mass within the body of informality, they decide to group together through different networks of association: affective, economic, social and cultural (CATACORA, 2013; ROJAS, 2014; 2021), although such research observes informality at different stages; to a limited extent it has been approached from individuals. The objective of this work has been to discover what dispositions are mobilized or suspended within the family and what type of family configurations it acquired in the city of Juliaca², Peru. We are interested in discovering whether female heads of household (mother) inherit to their

² The city of Juliaca belongs to the province of San Roman, located in the department of Puno, Peru.

children the work they do: selling. To this end, Bernard Lahire's sociological perspective of the plural actor has guided this research.

The study of dispositions based on two family groups in a social space with an informal tradition is complex and requires a broader analysis. Using in-depth interviews with two family groups, we focused on the social and biographical trajectories of the participants. The trajectories of the heads of household and their children were then cross-checked to verify the transfer or non-transfer of dispositions between the two families. The information was obtained from 04 participants, whose number of interviews was between two and three interviews per interviewee. Likewise, two unstructured interview guides were designed: family and children. The sample design was carried out in a theoretical-intentional manner, using exclusion and inclusion criteria. In the case of the exclusion criteria, participants were considered to be younger, with less experience in sales and who do not work in the Santa Barbara food market³. Inclusion criteria for female heads of household: considerable age attained, i.e., senior citizens, different line of business in the food market. In the case of the children, the criterion adopted has been the geographic and affective proximity that they maintain with the female heads of household.

The reduced study of families and arrangements in a social space of informal work is a substantial contribution to the understanding of informality from the point of view of individuals. Thus, the article is organized in three sections. First, the contributions of Bourdieusian theory are analyzed, highlighting Bernard Lahire's plural perspective associated with dispositions, focusing on the individual assets of social actors. In a complementary way, Bernard Lahire's concept of family configurations is presented. Finally, the evidence is presented in two moments: the unfolding (social profiles, social actors' dispositions, dispositional ruptures, the crossing of social trajectories) and the reconstruction (family configurations) of family groups.

³ Food markets are spaces where basic necessities are sold. The first food markets in Peru began operating in 1950 (INEI, 2017). In this case, we will refer to the Santa Barbara food market: the oldest in the city of Juliaca..

The sociological perspective: habitus to individual heritages

The habitus represents the activating principle of practices. These refer to a set of generative activities that unfold in the dialectical relationship between the habitus and the situation. In this relationship, the agent carries out a process of adjustment within a social space. Such a notion strives in overcoming essentialism, present in structuralism and individualism, oriented to rescue the agent as an active, creative and inventive being (ORTIZ, 1989), that is, an action that should not be confused as "a mechanical reaction, nor the product of a direct determination by certain causes, nor a praxis inspired by a conscious project or a rational plan" (BOURDIEU, 2019, p. 253-254, our translation), in abstract terms, the habitus embodies an endless finality, which questions conditioning.

Likewise, habitus is a powerfully generative element that has been embodied in the agent and is objectified in the ways of walking, standing and speaking as highlighted by Pierre Bourdieu (1989) in the following lines:

A system of durable and transposable dispositions that, integrating all past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appropriations and actions [...] functioning all the time as permanent dispositions that highlight a process of internalization and externalization, more than a destiny, it is a possibility that is expressed in gestures, ways of standing, walking and speaking (BOURDIEU, 1989, p. 65, our translation).

From this, we can conclude that the habitus is a system of lasting dispositions, incorporated and embodied in the agents as a result of a double process: internalization and externalization.

However, the notions of habitus and field require a critical and empirical revision, since as the singular individual is introduced, plurality begins to emerge. Likewise, both concepts are generalizing and homogenizing, and would correspond to the study of large social groups with special or singular cases (LAHIRE, 2005; 2001). In this sense, the French sociologist Bernard Lahire proposes a sociology on an individual scale or a psychological sociology, focusing on the singular individual. The author looks for the social in the singular individual, entering into the context of the primary and secondary socialization of social actors.

In contemporary societies, differentiated actors are produced. This is verified externally and internally, since they have gone through different experiences throughout their social trajectory. Therefore, their actions are diverse and heterogeneous. The author investigates the social within the individual. For the author, social practice is the product of the incorporated past and the current context, producing an observable practice.

The theory of the plural actor⁴ distances itself from two visions: the uniqueness of the actor and internal fragmentation. On the one hand, the uniqueness of the actor is related to Pierre Bourdieu's critique of the concept of habitus, which would end up understanding in a unitary way the dimensions of practice. For example, in his work *The Distinction of Tastes in French Society*, he generalizes the concept of class habitus in a social space: he examines tastes with a social group and under a macro-sociological vision. On the contrary, by investigating each singular actor, a less uniform and simple reality is noted (LAHIRE, 2001). On the other hand, internal fragmentation is related to Erving Goffman's proposal about the self, that is, the individual would be divided into different selves. In an evaluation, the problem of Bourdieu's concept of habitus has been to highlight the uniqueness of dispositions, whereas Goffman's problem was to overemphasize fragmentation (LAHIRE, 2005). In such analyses there would be a sort of essentialism. Similarly, both visions interfere in the empirical observation of the plural actor. Therefore, the proposal of the plural actor supposes the overcoming of these two forms of essentialism (LAHIRE, 2001).

The plural actor theory focuses on the contexts of social actors. These contexts, through which individuals have passed, are multiple, forming a plurality of dispositions. These dispositions are neither coherent nor homogeneous, but form a stock stored within the individual's trajectory, which in some cases may or may not be updated. Bernard Lahire's aim is to enter into the incorporated past and into the experiences of previous socializations in order to question a homogeneous articulation between the past and the present.

The disarticulation between the past and the present of social actors. Theories of action that have focused on the actor's past (early childhood) have been oriented along these lines. In contrast, other theories have focused on the present (moment of action) without considering past actions. This has led to two oversights. First, those oriented to the actor's past do not take into consideration the order of interaction, the singular and pragmatic characteristics of the contexts. Second, those that are directed towards the actor's present, voluntarily or involuntarily, do not argue that all present action depends on the actors' embodied past (LAHIRE, 2001). Thus, both perspectives study the social actor separately. Therefore, the articulation between the past and the present are heterogeneous. We observe this in the micro-

⁴ The plural actor theory seeks to understand the individual in all its complexity, drawing on the literature of Marcel Proust and French sociology (Emil Durkheim, Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Bourdieu) (LAHIRE, 2001).

crises or maladjustments⁵ that individuals go through throughout their social trajectory. This is also observed in the case of the family.

Heterogeneous family configurations

The transmission of the habitus in the family takes place in a harmonious way. Within the family, the constitution of the habitus is interpreted as a mental structure which, having been inculcated in all individuals socialized in a certain way, is both individual and collective (BOURDIEU, 1996). It is also oriented towards the maintenance of a social order, that is, reproduction, not only biological, but also social, which is related to the structure of a space of social relations. Therefore, the family, under Bourdieu's vision, is a place par excellence "of accumulation of capital and its different species and of its transmission between generations: it safeguards its unity by and for transmission, in order to be able to transmit, and because it is so much that it transmits" [...] (BOURDIEU, 1996, p. 131, our translation). In this sense, the family is an institution of social reproduction.

On the other hand, for Bernard Lahire, the family is not designated as a coherent, homogeneous and harmonious organism, as highlighted by the macrosociological visions of the family environment. Also, it is not common to find uniformly homogeneous family configurations, culturally and morally as the author emphasizes.

[...] there are few model cases that would allow us to speak of a coherent family habitus, producing general dispositions entirely oriented in the same directions. Many children live concretely within a family space of socialization with variable demands and varied characteristics, where examples and counter-examples walk side by side (an illiterate father and a sister at university, brothers and sisters with school "success" and others with failure, and so on), a family space in which contradictory principles of socialization intersect [...] (LAHIRE, 2001, p. 45-46, our translation).

Likewise, the dissonance in the family⁶, proposed by Lahire, is noted in highlighting the plurality of experiences of the actors. In this case, the family appears as the matrix of the formation of children's mental dispositions and behaviors, where they learn; but it is also where suffering and all evils are present. For example, in the case of writing, the differences in the conformation of this socialization matrix are visualized.

⁵ The desires of the actors and the real situations are not always coherent. Within this articulation, small and medium crises can be observed: divorces, family crises, etc. (LAHIRE, 2001).

⁶ Another study on family and school is found in his book entitled in Portuguese *Sucesso escolar nos meios populares: as razões do improvável*, published in 2004.

Children who incorporate the functions, representations and certain specific cognitive and organizational effects of writing by indirect and diffuse impregnation, that is, through a whole family environment and not through direct acts of writing and reading (requested or explained, carried out as a collaborator, observed and imitated) (LAHIRE, 2011, p. 18, our translation).

The family universe is oriented as pedagogically instigating, the school stages this universe. On the other hand, children who have not been familiarized with writing and reading: the school embodies a new universe. For our case, we will observe the heterogeneity of family dispositions in informal sectors as we will see below.

Social profiles and individual trajectories

The social profiles that will be presented below have been reconstructed from the interviews. Thus, we present four social profiles in the following order: Marta and Juan (son), Eva and Judith (daughter)⁷. Likewise, the analysis has been divided into two groups: family A (Marta and Juan) and family B (Eva and Judith). This was done in order to analyze and expose the family configurations.

Marta: trade and profession

Marta sells in the fish section. She has been working at the market for more than 15 years; her mother also sold at the same stall she now occupies. Marta emphasizes that her mother did not allow her children to come to the market, she only came to help her in specific ways: opening her stall, bringing her lunch and closing her stall. Marta has completed two professions at the university: social service and psychology, both of which she has not practiced. Marta's work starts early: she gets up at five in the morning to get to the market at six in the morning to open her stall. She sells at the market for three days, then goes to the city of Arequipa: she sells and buys merchandise to bring back to the city of Juliaca. Most of Marta's children live in the city of Arequipa, except for Juan (the eldest son), who lives in the city of Juliaca for work. She has four children: three boys and one girl: the oldest is 46, the next is 39, the other is 38, and the youngest daughter is 36. Each of her children has higher education: one is a business administrator, another is a SENATI (National Technical Training Service) technician, the third is an early childhood education teacher, and the last is a computer network technician. Most of her children, except the eldest, are working in their professions.

⁷ The names used are fictitious. This is to protect the identity of the participants.

Juan: music and profession

Juan has been involved in various work activities. Among those we have been able to identify: music, sales in the publishing industry and entrepreneurship. Likewise, he has not concluded his studies in administration: he uses it as a work tool for the activities he is dedicated to, especially in the area of publishing. Of the three activities, the musical activity acquires notoriety in his trajectory. This activity was influenced by his father and paternal grandfather. He grew up away from the commercial activity, since his mother, as well as his grandmother, did not allow their children to dedicate themselves or to be related to the commercial activity.

Eva: trade and the second home

Eva has been working in the world of commerce since she was very young. She migrated to the city of Juliaca when she was 16 years old. Her parents are of peasant origin, they were dedicated to farming and livestock activities. She started selling lamb meat at the country fair in the city of Juliaca, which is now the commercial center n. 1 (a space dedicated to the sale of different products of first and second necessity). She would remain in that space for a short time, as they would be relocated to the Santa Barbara food market. She would remain for more than 15 years working in the market in the meat section. However, in a period of crisis: the low consumption of lamb meat and the growth of lamb meat vendors caused her to leave. In this context, her stall is transferred to another vendor⁸. From that moment on, Eva did not return to the market. At present, she lives with her youngest daughter (Judith), who has also shared the same biography in the market.

Judith: trade and profession

The youngest daughter of three siblings, Judith grew up in the world of commerce from an early age. She sold with her mother in the market, spending her childhood and part of her adolescence in the market. She emphasizes that the market was her life, however, as we have pointed out, the crisis experienced by the mother also affects the daughter's trajectory, in this case, the mother leaves the market and the daughter becomes a teacher. In her early days as a student, she still had the idea of continuing in the world of commerce and, at the same time, studying, but her pedagogical studies⁹ did not allow her to remain in both activities, which is why she is fully involved in her studies. At present, Judith is a primary school teacher and works

⁸ The transfer of a stall at the food market is made available to another vendor.

⁹ Pedagogical studies are mandatory for teaching in the education sector.

in the interior of the city of Juliaca. She lives with her mother, her daughter and her husband, who is also a teacher.

Family dispositions and individual estates: the difficult inheritance

As we have observed (in the social profiles described) in the case of Eva and Judit, the commercial universe stands out, specifically, the sale of lamb meat in the Santa Barbara market. However, both of them have abandoned this activity for about ten years, and in a reconstruction of the family A we maintain that there are two family biographies marked in both trajectories: the work in the market and the break with the commercial universe.

Family A: rural, commercial and professional provisions

The formation of the universe of commerce. Commerce is one of the activities that expands in the city of Juliaca in a generalized way. In this case, Eva had migrated to the city of Juliaca to start selling lamb meat. It should be noted that Eva did not start in the Santa Barbara market, but rather in the farmers' market in the city of Juliaca, as she points out: "Yes, before... before... there was none, but we also started selling in the small market¹⁰. That was the first market, and from there, we have come here to Santa Barbara. In the old market, which was in the commercial center, [...] it was just pampa¹¹, they sold everything there; it was like a Qhatu [a Quechua etymological word meaning fair or open-air market] [...]. As Eva indicates, she began selling lamb meat in a non-fixed stall, that is to say, she sold in the street. Thus, most of the first vendors who established themselves in the Santa Bárbara market came from the Commercial Center n. 1 in the city of Juliaca. It was there, according to Eva, the first social relationship with the universe of commerce.

In Eva's case, the rural dispositions are formed in the first socialization, relating to agricultural and livestock activities, although on a small scale and for self-consumption. The transition from the rural to the urban world is not a process of rupture, but of complementarity. The knowledge acquired from the rural world: developing agricultural and livestock activities embodies a rural disposition that is mobilized in the urban space.

¹⁰ Open-air market that would later be relocated to the Santa Barbara market.

¹¹ Etymologically, it comes from Quechua, which means a *flat space or plain*. It should be noted that Eva uses the Quechua word in most of the interviews, since it is her mother tongue.

In the city of Juliaca, Eva moves between two social spaces: the market and her home. She mentions that the market symbolizes her second home¹², since most of the time she has remained at her stall. Thus, her work schedule began at five in the morning and lasted until six at night, even on weekends.

To go to the market to sell, I would get up at 5:00 a.m. and I was at the market until 6:00 in the evening, of course, I would come home for lunch: every day I went to the market to sell. But sometimes there was cleaning [inside the market] and on Sunday I didn't go out. That day, I would clean my house and go to the market to shop for cooking; sometimes I would take heads¹³ and skin them to sell [...] (Eva, Juliaca, our translation).

As can be seen, Eva spends most of her time in the market. This indication shows the formation of "commercial dispositions" during her youth (second socialization), which are translated between sales and customers. In this context, of her three children, only the youngest daughter (Judit) socializes with the world of commerce. Her other children would opt for other activities. In this way, the trajectories of the daughter and the mother are intertwined with the food market.

The mother highlights the daughter's role in the world of commerce. These are reflected in the close emotional and working relationship between the two. As she emphasizes in the following lines:

[...] My little daughter has worked a lot, too, she used to sell and go to school¹⁴. She was a hard worker, she got up very early: at 6:00 a.m. she was already selling. She would gather the people, while I was preparing breakfast. She would come back saying: - Mommy, I have sold! -. She would give me every penny of what she sold, sometimes she would stay in the market, I would tell her: -Run to sell, I am going to stay a while to wash clothes and do things-. She, too, is a butcher [laughs] (Eva, Juliaca, our translation).

The mother states that her daughter has been involved in the world of commerce since she was seven years old. In relation to her other siblings, the youngest daughter maintains labor ties with sales. In this context, the consistency of the transfer of commercial arrangements to her youngest daughter appears.

¹² This could be exemplified as a "total institution" in the words of the Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman.

¹³ In this case, the expression "take heads" is related to the collection of merchandise, in this case, the lamb's head that is used to prepare a soup.

¹⁴ The Peruvian education system is divided in two: basic education (pre-school, primary school and secondary school) and higher education.

At that time, Judit's routine takes place in two social spaces: the school and the market. These are formed in the ways of getting up early, going to the market, buying merchandise and attending school at the same time:

[...] Every day, I would get up at five in the morning to buy merchandise in other markets, because we sold lamb and offal, so I would go to other markets to buy [merchandise] at a lower price, no. And then I would bring all this to sell it in the market; I would get everything ready and start selling; I was also in elementary school, so at seven in the morning I had to come home to get ready, eat my breakfast to go to school, so when I got out of school, which ended at one in the afternoon, I would go back to the market to continue helping my mother and have lunch there, too. Then, I would stay until half past five or six in the afternoon, when we finished, and we would go home, so that was every day [...] (Judit, Juliaca, our translation).

The habit of going to the market every day is an indication of the formation of commercial dispositions. This is conceived in Judit's first socialization. It is at the market that commercial dispositions are established. Likewise, the predisposition that is being formed also entails her sacrifice, in this case, to reduce the activities of the first socialization in order to dedicate herself to work, as Judit expresses it in the following way:

[...] I haven't had much of a childhood: playing, no, not like other children; I have spent my time working, but what I have learned is that several merchant mothers also had their daughters who were also my contemporaries, so we all always did that work: we studied and worked in the market [...] (Judit, Juliaca, our translation).

Likewise, Judit emphasizes that socialization with the market is not a unique case; other girls, too, developed the same role. Despite the fact that trading is a job for adults. The business and constantly interacting with others pleased Judit: "[...]A nice experience is the work in the market because I liked it, no [...], [...] I liked selling meat, so, that situation of commerce of buying, selling, no [...]" (Judit, Juliaca, our translation).

The universe of commerce for Judit translates into obtaining money and accumulation. Likewise, selling was not an imposed activity: "[...] I liked to exchange, to have money in my hand: to collect, and I did it because I liked it and not because my mother forced me, I think my life was the market [...]" (Judit, Juliaca, our translation). The satisfaction of being interrelated within the market and the sale becomes a commercial disposition that translates, following Pierre Bourdieu, into a structuring structure.

The relationship between the labor universe (the market) and the school universe would continue in the second socialization: school. In adolescence, incorporation is total, as Judit

points out: "[...] In school, rather, it was my job [to be in] the market, I was there all the time [...]" (Judit, Juliaca, our translation). In this period, the universe of commerce constitutes a disposition that translates into a socialized body.

The biographical break with the commercial universe

The suspension of commercial arrangements. A crisis arises in the biography of Judit and her mother. After having worked in lamb meat sales almost all their lives, they decide to leave the market, taking different paths. In this case, the decision was associated with the drop in demand for lamb meat. Momentarily, they decide to reactivate their business, buying more merchandise and acquiring a bank loan, but this crisis would persist. Therefore, they decide to sell their stall and abandon their business. On the one hand, the mother moves into the cooking business: selling lamb head broth¹⁵ outside the city of Juliaca. On the other hand, the daughter decides to become a teacher.

In the daughter's case, commercial provisions are replaced by professional provisions. It should be noted that Judit worked in the market until she was 18 years old. This change is related to the appearance of professional dispositions: studying to become a teacher, as reproduced in the following lines:

Hum... I always had a goal: to be a professional. Well, apart from the fact that I liked to support my mother in the market, but I had to be a professional and this, I had many difficulties to become a professional, because suddenly, if I had had more economic support from my parents, I would have gone to another university or another place; but the only option I had was to study at the Pedagogical School because, also, it did not demand much expense, right, and since I was in Juliaca, I had to study, yes or yes, at the Pedagogical School. And, apart from the fact that I also liked the field of education a little bit, but I wanted to pursue a professional career in law, right? But I didn't have that possibility and I had to think, no, to be a professional and I decided to study (Judit, Juliaca, our translation).

Commercial provisions are mobilized. This rupture deeply affects Judit:

[...] When I left the market, "I was quite shocked", that was when I was 18 years old, when I was in the pedagogical school¹⁶, because I studied my higher education at the pedagogical school, I was already studying for two semesters and I had to leave the market. The pedagogical school did not allow me to continue with the market, as it is in a school form: as in the school; then, I had

¹⁵ The preparation of a stew based on lamb's head is common in the highlands of Peru.

¹⁶ The Pedagogical School is a public higher education center for the formation of future teachers, which requires five years of study.

to be all day at the market or continue my studies, there were two issues that I had to decide for time reasons (Judit, Juliaca).

The professional disposition is strengthened by two factors: the beginning of her studies in pedagogy and her mother's departure from the sales field. At the beginning, the commercial and professional dispositions come into conflict. Thus, at the beginning, Judit wished to continue selling lamb meat, but as the semesters went by, the commercial activity became an obstacle, since the commercial activity required more than one person to manage it. In this case, as the mother had abandoned the meat business. This separation reinforces the abandonment of the commercial universe:

[...] if my mother had continued selling, I would have continued helping her in the afternoons or on Saturdays or Sundays, depending on my time, even when I was in school, I still sold meat: January and February during vacation time, but then it was no longer possible, because as you know, the commerce is for you to be there every day, and the owners depend on your permanence, it depends on you to be able to sell. So, as I was selling in January, February, March and April, and the other months I was absent, I could not continue. That is why I dedicated myself to studying. After the five years I was at the Pedagogic School, I never went back to the market... [...] (Judit, Juliaca, our translation).

Judit points out that, while she was in school, she tried to continue with her business, working seasonally during the months when she did not have classes, but it was complicated due to the time required to support both activities: studying and working. After that attempt, she did not return to the Santa Barbara food market.

Therefore, we can induce that the configurations of family A are heterogeneous. This is verified in the transit through different universes: rural, commercial and professional. Another characteristic in relation to family A is the suspension of the commercial disposition by the daughter and the activation of the professional disposition. This break with the commercial universe is produced by two factors: the decrease in sales and the economic crisis, modifying the social trajectory of both members.

Family B: commercial, professional, musical and entrepreneurial dispositions

Marta's and Juan's professional dispositions are heterogeneous. These dispositions are not consistent: in some contexts they appear clearly and, in others, they are neglected. On the one hand, the transfer of commercial dispositions is weak in Marta. This is confirmed in Marta's second socialization. For example, the daughter's punctual concurrence to the mother's sales

stand. This happens more clearly when she was a high school student, as Marta points out: "[...] after I got out of school, because it closed at 7 p.m. [food market], at 5 p.m. I would come, after changing, I would help my mother, that's right, that's how time went by, then I went to study at the university in Arequipa and from there, I could not come anymore [...]" (Marta, Juliaca, our translation).

It should be noted that, after high school, there was a "break" with the commercial arrangements. In this context, Marta attended higher education in the city of Arequipa. This rupture has been familiar, since Marta was the only daughter who maintained a relationship with the market, because Marta's mother did not like her children to come to the market, as she points out:

[...] in the case of my mother, she has never brought her children, I have come to help her, she came early and arranged the things in her stall, and I went to study, then I returned bringing her lunch; in the afternoon, I returned to help her close her stall, she did not like that we were playing or running around (Marta, Juliaca, our translation).

In this case, Marta's mother is making the first breaks with the commercial universe. The commercial provisions are being mobilized. When Marta concludes her secondary studies, she moves to the city of Arequipa to study two professional careers: social service and psychology; however, Marta would continue with her mother's business years later. When we asked Marta what the reason was for not pursuing her profession and continuing in her mother's business. She states that it is for two reasons: emotional and economic ties to continue her mother's business. It should be noted that Marta had a sporadic relationship with the market, i.e., she did not establish herself as her mother did.

Most of Marta's children are involved in the professional world. Although she receives support from her children for Christmas and New Year's Eve sales, none of her children are directly involved in the business or sales. When asked if any of her children were involved in the business. She clearly denies her children's involvement in the business as she highlights as follows:

With a commerce? No, no. They have their profession and they work there. Now, that they come to help me is another thing, for example, for Christmas I bring turkeys and one of them comes and helps me. My daughter comes sometimes; my son is leaving at two o'clock in the afternoon and my daughter is arriving at six o'clock in the afternoon, so they organize themselves [...]
(Marta, Juliaca, our translation).

The mother clearly states the break with commercial arrangements. The relationship of the children is supportive. Thus, of all her children, it is Juan who maintains a closer relationship with his mother than his other siblings.

Juan is the oldest of the brothers and works in the city of Juliaca. His work is related to the sale of books for a publishing house. He also trains teachers of basic education in the educational sector, specifically in the use of educational platforms, and at the same time he works in the artistic world. The universes through which she moves are artistic, professional and entrepreneurial. In the first period of his life (childhood), Juan was related to the artistic environment. In this context, the musical disposition begins to form. This is rooted in his family environment and deeply influences Juan as he expresses it in the following lines:

Since I was very young, I was always inclined to the musical world. In my house there was always music, let's say that my family, on my father's side was very musical: every birthday, every party was accompanied by a guitar and everyone sang; from there my musical vein was born and starts, my mother and my grandfather also played, and also in Juliaca where I was born and grew up until I was five years old. Music was part of every day of my life, so that's where my inclination for music was born and, obviously, I reinforced it by playing instruments, playing at school [...] (Juan, Juliaca, our translation).

The father plays a central role as an agent of socialization in musical dispositions: “[...] My father's family here in Arequipa, let's say it this way, is very Creole, and in every birthday and party that there were situations that they got together, there were always guitars and they would sing and everything, no” (Juan, Juliaca, our translation).

The musical context is part of the family, mainly, it is the father who contributes to Juan's musical education. This is complemented by the musical education he would receive in two music schools throughout his life. The musical education was encouraged by the father as Juan highlights: “[...] my father supports me in my [musical] inclinations and puts me to study at the *Federación Bancaria* [childhood] and, later, when I am in Juliaca, I start studying music and I do it at the *Escuela Musical de Puno* [youth]” (Juan, Juliaca). Musical education within the family is incorporated by his father, with his paternal grandfather joining him as a second agent of socialization in the musical universe, as he points out.

My paternal grandfather [...] told me many stories of the countryside, where he grew up -Putina. He played his guitar and his mandolin and they went, well, to serenades, to girls and parties. And, all of that, no. In his youth, obviously; He ends up retiring as a school principal, and obviously, he always liked art; when I begin to develop my love for music, "really the one who supports me in music" was my paternal grandfather, in fact, my first most valuable instrument was given to me by him at the age of 7 years old - he gave me a

melodica - and, later, at the age of 12, a *charango*¹⁷ in Bolivia. Then at the age of 18, a *bandurria*¹⁸, then, because of his quality of being, let's say, he encouraged me to acquire experience in that kind of things, no [...] (Juan, Juliaca).

The socialization of music is incorporated by Juan through his father and paternal grandfather. The latter gives him three musical instruments in each of the periods of his life: in his childhood he gives him a melodica, in his adolescence a charango and, finally, in his youth a bandurria. Therefore, the paternal grandfather and the father constitute agents of socialization of the musical habit. In the second socialization, the musical dispositions are confirmed as the interviewee states: "[...] at school, when I was older, I formed groups and we participated in events and we did very well. That's when I started my musical career [...]" (Juan, Juliaca). Childhood and adolescence seem to consolidate the transfer of the musical habit. This even appears in Juan's youth, when he begins university studies, as he indicates:

[...] I am the founder of the University Tuna of the National University Néstor Cáceres Velázquez (UANCV), I am the first tuno of the UANCV. Then I am the first charro of the city of Juliaca. In Juliaca, there were no mariachis and the first ranchera singer in Juliaca was me: I was the first charro in the city of Juliaca [...] (Juan, Juliaca).

In college, Juan founded two musical groups and started singing, specifically ranchera music. The musical career was consolidating in his youth, but would take a new direction: Juan decided to apply for a career in administration. According to him, this change is related to a vocational test:

[...] when I was going to apply to university, like all young people, I was very lost. I thought I was going to be a systems engineer, but at the academy in Arequipa they convinced me to apply for medicine, and in the end, I didn't get into any of them. And, I went to Juliaca, when I was at the Andean university [private university], they took a vocational test. In that vocational test I had two options: business administrator and, the other, as a professional musician. At that time the university only offered the career of business administration; I even entered the university in the first place in administration and, from then on, I made a living in that field [...]. (Juan, Juliaca, our translation).

Juan's management studies are not only related to the vocational test, but were formed since his childhood. This inclination is also related to the influence of his father.

¹⁷ The charango is a stringed instrument of Peruvian-Bolivian origin.

¹⁸ The bandurria is a stringed instrument of the lute family.

[...] I consider myself an assiduous reader and in mathematics, too, yes I am very good at it, that is why I was very much inclined to the subject of administration. My father was manager for 17 years of the SURGE¹⁹ industry, he managed around 17 companies in the region [Arequipa] which were the famous SURGE kitchens, not only managed nationally, but also exported, even to Bolivia, Ecuador, my father was manager of all that was Surge in Arequipa and, well, I spent my life seeing what he worked. This perhaps guided me in the direction I was going to take [...] (Juan, Juliaca).

Juan's father, besides being related to the art world, also managed a company that operated at a national level. These entrepreneurial dispositions would later appear in Juan.

The break with commercial practices

Juan and his mother move away from the commercial universe. Juan's mother, as we have described, has studied two professions: social service and psychology. When Juan is asked if he ever thought about selling fish like his mother, he mentions that it is not coherent as expressed below:

The truth is that -I help my mother-, perhaps of all my siblings -as my mother may have told you- since I am more with her, for example, in the campaigns she has for the end of the year in her business, at some point, it crossed my mind to dedicate myself to this, too. The detail is something very fundamental, and it is that my father - may he rest in peace - always instilled in us something important: "you have the obligation as a son to be more than your father", so, let's say: your mother has not stayed in a market to sell fish so that her son continues in that market selling fish and... I don't know if you have noticed, but maintaining a business, like my mother's, is very hard work! Not only because of the travel, but also because she has to open her business at five in the morning, get ice and, therefore, it is "a very tiring job", "very exhausting" and, to tell the truth, I have grown up with this, I have no idea of making a living from it because being a fish trader is a daily anguish [...] (Juan, Juliaca, our translation).

The reasons, according to Juan, are related to the fact that his mother's activity is very sacrificial, a high level of losses and stress, that is, a space of uncertainty: the amount of products that will be sold and what part will be lost. Therefore, the children who know the mother's sacrificial activity make a break with the universe of commerce. Likewise, the mother has reinforced the rupture with commercial arrangements since her children were children, not allowing them to remain in the market with her. The discontinuity in the sale of fish is still

¹⁹ SURGE Industry is a Peruvian company engaged in the manufacture of household appliances, such as stoves, refrigerators and other household appliances.

profound, as it would be related to a family principle that they have inherited generationally in their family.

In sum, the two families are characterized by heterogeneous family configurations. This is due to the transit through different social universes between the heads of household and the children. Likewise, the context of rupture in relation to the commercial universe is differentiated. In the case of family A, the break occurs in the second socialization of the youngest daughter, mobilizing the social trajectory of the family. In the case of family B, the break with the commercial universe occurs during the first socialization of the eldest son.

Conclusions

Our study has dealt with the mobilization of dispositions within the family. The main evidence shows that the reproduction of the dispositions of female heads of household is not reproduced by their children. This is reflected, first, in the plurality of dispositions established in the families studied: rural, commercial, musical, entrepreneurial and professional, which have been formed in the different contexts of the social actors. Likewise, discontinuity is related to the dispositional breaks that the children make in their social trajectory. In the case of family A (Marta and Juan) the context of dissociation with the commercial universe occurs in the first socialization. In the case of family B (Eva and Judit), the break takes place in the second socialization. These biographical ruptures generate the mobilization of commercial dispositions (typical of female heads of household) in the direction of professional dispositions.

Second, social non-reproduction is related to the socialization matrix of the dispositions that influence the social actors. In this case they are differentiated in both families. In the case of family A, the matrix of formation of professional dispositions is produced by the educational institution where Judit studies. In family B, the professional dispositions are mobilized by the mother from the first socialization of Juan. Other socialization agents also intervene and complement the professional dispositions: the grandfather and the father, both of whom influence Juan's musical and entrepreneurial dispositions. Therefore, the plurality of dispositions is related to the socialization matrix and the contexts through which the actors have passed in their social trajectory. This leads us to affirm that both families acquire heterogeneous family configurations.

The study of informality in female heads of household who work in the food market opens a new perspective to understand informal work. This is based on the transfer of

dispositions to the children within the family. In this case, it has been oriented from the perspective of the plural actor, which has made it possible to delve into the variations of dispositions both internally and externally within individuals. In turn, the evidence shows that informality is in a stage of mobilization, that is, the first generation of social actors (parents) whose work matrix was related to informal work, mobilizing towards the middle class. It is hasty to affirm a homogeneous mobilization of the informal sector towards the middle class. For this reason, we recommend that the study be extended to a larger number of family groups in order to approach the process of social mobility and the new meanings of informality.

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