

# **Intergenerational social mobility in Morocco**

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## **Presentation**

Since its Independence, Morocco has experienced significant economic, social, political and institutional changes, the economic and social structure was profoundly modified which improved the living conditions of population. By the 1990s, Morocco has passed from a predominantly rural society to a society increasingly urbanized. Today, 58.3% of Moroccans live in cities against 29.2% fifty years ago.

Economically, Morocco passed from a traditional economy dominated by agriculture to an economy that is modernizing and becoming more open to the outside environment. Thus, the weight of employment in agriculture declined from 69% in 1960 to 39% in 2012 and that of the employed population increased from 25% to 43%.

On the social level, these changes have resulted in a significant improvement in living conditions in general, access to education, training and the reduction of social deficits. Thus, consumption per capita was 2.6 times greater in 2007 than in 1960, the poverty rate has fallen by over 50% to less than 10%, the electrification rate rose from less than 20 % to 96% and the illiteracy rate fell by 50 percentage points, from 87% to 37%.

These changes have certainly significant impacts on the level of real dynamism of society not only on its socio-professional structure but also on the social mobility of certain categories of individuals who saw their situation improve, while others stagnate or regress.

The aim is not only to measure the effect of these changes and to identify the factors promoting social mobility between generations, but also to analyze the inequalities of opportunity in this ascent. However, it must be emphasized that any research of this magnitude requires the availability of information over a long period (longitudinal data) and stable and consistent classifications of occupations and skills (diplomas).

The availability of current economic studies and / or sociological that assess the gain or loss of social each other on the basis of objective indicators (income, education level, etc ...) and subjective indicators (social prestige index) is still lacking in Morocco. To this end, to remedy

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this failure and understand these changes and mutations, the High Commission for Planning (HCP) conducted in 2011, a national survey on intergenerational social mobility. This study, the first of its kind in Morocco, has allowed us to sit a database over several generations to measure intergenerational social mobility and evaluate factors. This work inaugurates a series of works which light the changes made for decades in Morocco.

The analysis of this phenomenon, called intergenerational social mobility is to determine the size and shape of the relationship between social background and social destiny and to measure the degree of openness of society. Indeed, Moroccan society is characterized by an unequal distribution of income (Gini = 0.48), is it also an unjust society under the social mobility criterion and equality of opportunity?

This is the context of this study, the first of its kind, which bases the measurement and analysis of intergenerational social mobility in Morocco on an integrated individual survey that employment data conducted by the Statistics Institute Morocco in 2011. This study is to provide a hierarchical structuring of Moroccan society in socio-professional categories for measuring intergenerational social mobility, analyze the transmission of social status between successive generation of computing the indices of the different forms of mobility and to identify factors associated with this social mobility.

Social positions are not randomly distributed; they are closely linked to the social background of people and events that mark their life cycle. Therefore, social status is not spread equally to all individuals and all social groups. In some groups, the descendants changed massively of category, due to individual or familial strategies or constraints related to social changes. For other groups, there is a reproduction (immobility) of status and social positions. The maintenance or change of position depends not only on individual factors such as the social context in which one is born and personal abilities and merits, but also other factors relating to equal opportunity in education-training and employability, individual skills and an entire socio-economic events process.

Thus, equating the social status to the professional category (CSP) of descendants and ascendants, the present study aims, firstly, to clarify the methodology of construction of the measurement indicator of social mobility and to proceed subsequently, to the empirical assessment of the mechanisms of transmission, from father to son, of the social status through the establishment of mobility tables of destinies and recruitments. These social mobility tables will allow the estimation of the indices of the various forms of mobility (absolute, structural and net). The study will also analyze the relative mobility in terms of odds ratios (odds ratios) and show the fundamental role of social origin in the transmission of the educations, training and for social and professional. In the end, the study will allow to analyze the factors promoting intergenerational social mobility in advanced demographic transition society with resulting implications of democratic and economic transition and of modernity.

### ❖ **Theoretical element for measuring intergenerational social mobility**

In the analysis of intergenerational social mobility, the transmission of the social status occurs in many forms, such as education through school or socioeconomic status through family and individual capital that it can mobilize. An indicator of this transmission is the result of distance between the social status of parents and children. The social status is identified by the socio-professional group which it belong to. In this approach, family contributes significantly to social reproduction and influences the fate and the destiny of individuals. The influence of social background on the destiny of individuals is done by many forms. The role of the family is manifested by the provision of a volume and a capital structure that are of three types: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. The family can contribute to promoting social development by improving the endowment on "capital" of their children. Thus, it strongly influences the social destiny of individuals manifested not only by inequalities in access to diplomas, but also in the case of equal diploma, employment inequalities can be found.

For his part, the school is another important factor in the analysis of social mobility. Two opposing currents treat its role in mobility. The first considers that the school is a selection and inequality factor. According to Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, particularly in the Heirs (1966) and Reproduction (1970), the role of the school system is by legitimating the inequality of social classes. It accepted each position as a result of his own merit and contains mechanisms of exclusion in schools. The second, that of R. Boudon, in "inequality of opportunity" (1973), believes that social phenomena can be understood by individual behaviors. He considers that the inequality of opportunities comes from the family and not from school because the family has rational behaviors whose aggregation creates unequal opportunities. The cost of academic achievement in disadvantaged areas, is estimated larger than the expected benefit. Therefore, little money in invested in the school, and therefore human capital is small.

Based on these two approaches, for the first time in Morocco, the study will allow to examine the role of these factors in the analysis of intergenerational social mobility.

### ❖ **How to measure intergenerational social mobility?**

To measure and analyze intergenerational social mobility, it is necessary to make a social differentiation which must refer to two elements:

- ✓ principle of classification: social categories Building;
- ✓ the boundaries between these categories should be surmountable otherwise there would be no social mobility. Population categories "social classes" change over time

due to changes in behaviors, in economic structures, in investment in education and the democratization of societies.

In modern societies, employment status of individuals determines, more than any other feature, the location and status occupied in the social hierarchy. As a result, the profession is one of the most accurate indicators of social mobility. Taking the profession of his parents as a reference, it is possible to establish to what extent an individual succeeds to move up the social ladder during its existence. It is in this case, to measure the difference in occupational status between the position held by the individual at the time of the survey and that of his parents at a given time in their lives.

#### ❖ **Construction of social mobility indicator: classification and prioritization of the population**

To measure and analyze intergenerational social mobility has held its definition; there are four types of personal information in the national survey of mobility and employment in 2011. This information's are generally used to start a structuring population in socio-professional categories (CSP) homogeneous in terms of social and economic behaviors. This information's relate to the main occupation, status in employment, branch of economic activity and the level of graduation of individuals. If the development of a social stratification is the first complex task to allow the measurement of social mobility, the second task is equally difficult. This is to make sense of the movement of individuals between the different levels of social stratification. However, based on the data in terms of living standards and human capital available in other investigations of living and household spending, we will enrich the representation of Moroccan social structure to allow prioritization and determine the sense of intergenerational trajectories.

Thus, at the top of the hierarchy, a distinction between managers and senior intellectual professions on the one hand and associate professionals (middle management) on the other hand is established. Also, down the social structure, to account for differences between categories of employees and workers, we will use the criterion of qualification to distinguish employees and skilled workers on the one hand and laborers and agricultural workers and non- agricultural without qualification on the other hand. For the independents, because of the heterogeneity in the standard of living and the degree of graduation of individuals in this category, we distinguish on the one hand corporate bosses and nonagricultural employers, farmers (large and small), the other non-agricultural independents.

#### ❖ **Data Sources**

To understand all of these aspects, reference will be done to the 2011 social mobility survey data that was annexed to the employment survey. This survey was conducted with a sample of

65 000 households with nearly 20,000 rural households. 155,736 individuals aged 20 and over were interviewed for this survey which 61.1% were in urban areas and 48% are men. They indicated their level of education, schooling period, the highest degree obtained, occupation, status and branch of economic activity. These data were obtained from current individuals or old active individuals who also reported the same information about their parents and their mothers.

However, for methodological considerations and by reference to the international experience in this field and the results of tests performed on the data from the survey on mobility in 2011, the study of social mobility in the case of Morocco will restrict to the population aged 30 and over, which is on the labor market or having passed a given time in their working life cycle.

#### ❖ **the results**

- ✓ The results of the global study showed that nationally, 68.1% of individuals aged 35 and over have a different socio-professional group than their fathers. These changes have benefited much more urban than rural and women than men. The gross mobility rate is 75.1% in urban areas against 59.2% in rural areas and 78.6% for women against 63.0% among men.
- ✓ The registered gross social mobility is mainly due to changes in the economic and social structures and promoted more rural areas and women. At the national level, the contribution of structural mobility to gross mobility is 61.2%. It was 75.8% in rural areas and 52.2% in urban areas. Among women, structural mobility contributes 70.1% and 55.7% for men.
- ✓ The observed social mobility is upward (social mobility) in 35.1% of cases nationally. It benefits much more urban than rural, and men than women. The upward mobility rate is 51.1% in urban context and 14.8% in rural context. It is more important among men (43.7%) than among women (17.9%). Conversely, rural and women's, despite their gross mobility, the downward mobility is more common among women's (60.7%) and rural (44.4%) compared to men (24.1%) and the urban (19.3%);
- ✓ Whatever the form of mobility (upward or downward), the movements of individuals in the social scale are realized between social categories close. This shows that Morocco is a not fluid society. The proportion of cases of upward mobility by one or two social positions just above of their father is 83%. In parallel, 82.5% of cases of downward mobility regress by one position compared to the father.