

Intergenerational Social Mobility in Morocco

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▪ Abstract

The analysis of intergenerational social mobility, the main component of mobility, is an important component element to realize the degree of integration and social cohesion in a society. In essence, it is a measure of social equity and assesses the extent to which a society translates into reality the principles of equal opportunities. Its study consists in comparing the social position of the son (or daughter) to that of his father (or mother) and is based on a classification of social space represented by hierarchical social categories.

Based on a survey data, the first of its kind in Morocco, this paper presents the methodology used and the resulting tables of intergenerational social mobility. It also presents the measure of its various forms and the examination of the transmission factors in the social status of fathers to their son, highlighting the role of education, training and social origin in the transmission of social status.

French text: L'analyse de la mobilité sociale intergénérationnelle, principale volet de la mobilité, constitue un axe important pour se rendre compte du degré d'intégration et de cohésion sociale dans une société. Par essence, elle constitue une mesure de l'équité sociale et évalue la mesure dans laquelle une société traduit dans la réalité les principes d'égalité des chances. Son étude consiste à comparer la position sociale du fils (ou de la fille) par rapport à celle de son père (ou de sa mère) et se fonde sur une classification de l'espace social représenté par des catégories sociales hiérarchisées.

Sur la base des données d'une enquête, la première du genre au Maroc, le présent travail présente la méthodologie utilisée et les tables de mobilité sociale intergénérationnelle qui en découle. Il présente aussi la mesure de ses différentes formes et l'examen des facteurs de la transmission du statut social des pères à leurs fils en montrant le rôle de l'éducation-formation et de l'origine sociale dans cette transmission du statut social.

▪ Presentation

During the past 50 years, the Kingdom of Morocco, has undergone substantial economic, social, political and institutional changes that has profoundly transformed its industrial structure and social fabric and has improved the living standards, has shifted during 1990's, from a predominantly rural society to an increasingly urbanized one. Nowadays, nearly 60% of Moroccans live in cities against 29% fifty years ago.

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On the economic front, Morocco has evolved from a traditional economy dominated by agriculture to a modern one more open to its external environment. The employment rate in agriculture decreased from 69% in 1960 to 39% in 2012 and the share of formal employment increased from 25% to 43% during the same time span.

The social change has generated a significant improvement of overall living conditions, enhanced access to education and training and the reduction of social deficit. Subsequently, the consumption per capita was 2.6 times greater in 2007 than in 1960, the poverty rate has fallen by more than 50% to a value lower than 10%, the share of access to electric power increased from less than 20 % to 96% and the illiteracy rate declined by 50 percentage points - from 87% to 37%.

These changes have significant impact on the level of the actual social dynamics - not only on the socio-occupational structure but also on the social mobility of certain categories of individuals whose conditions have improved , while that of others have stagnated or regressed.

The aim of this study is not only to measure the effect of these changes and to identify factors promoting social mobility between generations, but also to analyze the resulting opportunities' disparities. However, it should be noted that any research of this magnitude requires the availability of information over a long term (longitudinal data) as well as stable and consistent classifications of occupations and skills (diplomas).

Recent economic and/or sociological studies allowing an evaluation of the social profit or loss encountered by each group, on the basis of objective (income, education level, etc ...) and subjective indicators (index of social prestige) are not yet available for the case of Morocco.

In order to understand these above issues, the intergenerational social mobility allows us to know, from one generation to another, how individuals of different social groups - -evolve within different social categories in the social scale, in particular between the top and the bottom strata of this scale. It also withstand the significance of the relationship between the social origin and the social destination, the examination of factors underlying the social ascension, as it approaches a measure of social equity and assesses the extent to which a society translates in facts the principle of equal opportunities.

Indeed, as part of social framework, the social positions are not randomly distributed, but they are closely linked to the social background of people and to the events marking their life cycle, including the access to education, training and opportunities for professional integration. Therefore, the status is not uniformly transmitted to all individuals. In some groups, the majority of descendants changed their category, either because of individual or family strategies or mainly due to constraints related to social change. For other groups, a reproduction of social status is noticeable. Maintaining or changing the social position depends not only on individual factors - such as the environment in which one is born, the skills and personal qualities - but also on other factors related to equal opportunities.

Consequently this research developed within the aforesaid settings, while being the first of its kind in Morocco, defines the framework of measurement and analysis of intergenerational social mobility in Morocco based on a national survey data on intergenerational social mobility among a sample of 20-years and older, members of 60,000 households, conducted by the HCP in 2011. This survey allows assembling a database over several generations aiming to measure the intergenerational social mobility and to evaluate its factors. It inaugurates a series of works that bring highlights to the changes operated in Morocco during the last decades.

Tools for measuring intergenerational social mobility

In modern and developing societies, the employment situation, particularly the occupational category, of individuals, determines the position occupied and the status in the social hierarchy, more than any other feature. By equating social status to occupational category (CSP) of each individual and possibly of his father, this research aims to explain, firstly, the foundations and tools for measuring social mobility, and to proceed then to an estimation of these indices and to the assessment of mechanisms of transmission from father to son, of the social status and of the factors and determinants of upward social mobility.

In order to measure and analyze the intergenerational social mobility, it is necessary to operate a social differentiation, which consists on considering classes or social groups. In modern societies, the employment status of individuals determines, more than any other feature, the position and the status within the social hierarchy. Consequently, the profession is one of the most accurate indicators of intergenerational social mobility². Taking the parental occupation as a reference, it is possible to determine to what extent an individual manages to move up the social ladder during his lifetime. The traditional measure of intergenerational mobility is subject of cases, function of the country and the choices of surveys methodology. The elements identified by Jackson and Crockett (1964), Dominique Merllié (1994) demonstrate how the timing of origin was vague and eventually more difficult to identify.

Before establishing the mobility tables required for measurement of social mobility indices, a hierarchical representation of the social structure will be needed in order to determine the meaning of intergenerational trajectories³. Four types of individual information revealed by household surveys are needed to build this segmentation of population in socio-professional categories (SPC), homogeneous in terms of social and economic behavior. This information relates to professional specialty, employment status, education level and occupational classification of ascendants and descendants.

²(H. McRoberts, in Boyd et al, 1985, p 72; Merllié and Prévot, 1991, p 23;. Cuin 1993, p.113; Merllié 1994, pp. 55, 63.).

³Camille Peugny : « Éducation et mobilité sociale : la situation paradoxale des générations nées dans les années 1960 », *Economie et statistique* n° 410, 2007.

Classification and ranking of Moroccan population

The identification of the individual on the social scale was established in Morocco on the basis of occupational classification developed and used by the Haut Commissariat au Plan in its exploitation of demographic and socio-economic surveys. This nomenclature characterized by a multidimensional aspect, includes around 630 groups of basic professions, and has enabled the development of a classification of occupations into relatively homogeneous occupational groups. This choice is imposed by methodological considerations even if the task is difficult because of segmentation between formal employees and independent workers, but also within each of these categories. Indeed, if it is relatively easy to establish a hierarchy among the employed population - from managers to workers, the cleavage is more complex, in the case of independent workers, particularly in developing societies whose stratification should take account of certain peculiarities.

The developed classification (Table 1 below) was tested starting from defined variables observed by three major national surveys on consumption and household expenditure in 2001, on the Household Standard Living in 2007 and on the intergenerational social mobility in 2011. We were inspired by international experience and research work aiming to clarify the hierarchy in the social structure and as well as to define more homogeneous professional categories (CSP).

Table 1: Classification of the population in occupational categories

Occupational category
1. Non-agricultural employer, senior executives, Professional and scientists
2. Occupations of middle managers
3. Employee and skilled worker
4. Farmer
5. Merchant, artisan and non-agricultural independent worker
6. Workers and farm and non-agricultural workers

It should be noted, as any attempt of classification and prioritization of the population in socio-professional categories, that the choices made are likely questionable. However, taking account of the historical perspective and the fact that this is the first time we deal with intergenerational social mobility in Morocco, this classification provides a reasonable basis for this study. However, if the development of population classification is the first complex task to be accomplished in order to enable the measurement of social mobility, the second task is equally difficult. It consists of giving meaning to the drives of individuals between different levels of

classification and to prioritize them. An analysis in terms of human capital (average of years of schooling) and in terms of living standard has established a hierarchy of classification.

Table 2: Indices of human capital and living standards by professional category of the employed population 35 years and older.

Occupationnel catégorie	2001		2007		2011	
	DAMP	Ratio Wellens	DAMP	Ratio Wellens	Year son study	Year father studies
Non-agricultural employer, senior executives and Professional	33087	9.7	48027	12.5	15.5	4.2
Occupations of middle managers	20191	5.9	27925	7.3	13.1	2.4
Employée and skilled worker	9999	3.0	12257	3.2	6.0	0.8
Merchant, artisan and non-agricultural independent workers	8953	2.7	12026	3.2	4.1	0.5
Farmer	5834	1.9	8813	2.5	1.0	0.1
Worker without qualification	6116	1.9	8631	2.4	1.3	0.2
Total	8332	2.5	12148	3.3	3.9	0.6

Sources: HCP, ENCDM 200/01 ENVN 2007 Survey on Social Mobility 2011.

Note: DAMP: average annual expenditure per person en Dirham's (money unit of morocco).

Ratio of economic well-being: report of the expenditure per capita relative to the poverty line.

Data Sources: some characteristics of the study population

This research data come from the analysis of social mobility in 2011, annexed to the employment survey, which was conducted within a sample of 60,000 households with 20,000 households in rural areas. 155,736 individuals aged 20 and over were interviewed - 61.1% coming from urban areas and 48% being males. They indicated the duration of their schooling, degree levels, occupation, and status in their profession or industry. These data were cross-checked with active or former active individuals who have reported the same information about their parents.

The description of the reference population by activity status, occupational category (CSP), their professional situation and their level of training for different generations (father and son), allows to know the social and economic changes taking place in the society and to identify significant change from one generation to another.

All results were weighted by coefficients calculated at the level of sampled individuals.

The characteristics of the investigated population revealed the following:

- 98% of the sons are or have passed a point of the labor market in their life cycle against 96.7% of their fathers;

- Increasing wages in the economy (50.8% of active sons against 27.9% of their fathers' generation)⁴ due to the urbanization of society, increasing of the weight of the tertiary sector workforce and the decline of the independent category in agriculture;
- An increase in “employer” status (6% for sons against 2.2% for fathers);
- Development of the most qualified professional jobs and concerning freelance jobs and middle management positions (8.5% of active men against 1.7% of their fathers);
- A marked increase in specialist professional and skilled workers jobs related to the expansion of services in the economy;
- Significant progress in terms of education and training for generation of sons who show an average level or higher studies degree (11.4% have a higher or middle level) against a very limited proportion to their fathers' generation (0, 9%).

Intergenerational social mobility: Results

For methodological considerations and referring to international experience in studies of intergenerational social mobility, the occupations of individuals and that of their parents are observed at moments when they were already well advanced in their careers; therefore the study is focused mostly to relatively aged active persons (35 to 40 years at least) in order to have a relatively stable job situation⁵.

The extension of the above relevant tranche beyond 60 years is imposed by the fact that a significant proportion of the population of this group remains in economic activity as an independent. Thus, referring to the results of tests on survey data on mobility in 2011, the study of social mobility in the case of Morocco concerns the employed men aged 35 and over.

✓ Impact forms of social mobility

In 2011, the gross mobility rate of men is 63% at national level. The rate is 74.1% in urban areas against 44.1% in rural areas. Social immobility is estimated in general at 37%, i.e. 55.9% in rural areas against 25.9% in urban areas. Whatever place of residence, mobility is mainly attributed to structural changes in the economy and to changes in the society. The rate of structural mobility, nation wise, was 35.2%, ie 39.8% urban and 27.6% rural. Thus, 56% of gross mobility is of structural nature. With the decline of agriculture, this contribution is higher in rural areas (62.6%) than in urban areas (53.7%).

Furthermore, the net mobility, defined by the difference between the absolute mobility and structural mobility is 27.8% and it contributes with 44% to the value of gross mobility. This form of mobility is twice higher in urban areas (34.3%) than in rural areas (16.5%). However, the observed

⁴These proportions are higher in urban areas (men 63.3% active against 36.3% for the generation of fathers).

⁵ In France, the analysis of social mobility focuses on the working population aged 39-59 years in Canada-Quebec from 25 to 64 and Switzerland 30 years and 65 years.

mobility, whether in urban or rural areas, is ascending for some individuals and descending for others. At national level, the rate of upward social mobility for men is 43.7%. It is higher among urban (55.8%) than rural areas (23.2%). Conversely, downward social mobility relates to a proportion of 21% in rural areas.

Form of mobility for males by place of residence

Area	Rate in%					
	Gross mobility	immobility	upward mobility	downward mobility	structural mobility	net mobility
Urban	74.1	25.9	55.8	18.3	39.8	34.3
Rural	44.1	55.9	23.2	20.9	27.6	16.5
Total	63.0	37.0	43.7	19.3	35.2	27.8

Source: HCP Survey on Social Mobility 2011.

To summaries, the social mobility of men in Morocco, as measured according to a classification of the population in six occupational groups, concerned more the urban areas. It is also of structural nature and the geographical mobility occupies a more secondary role. Therefore the structural factors play the key role in defining the mobility. The decline in agricultural activities and the development of waged labor, the migration and the increasing trend of school enrollment caused by economic change, have played a leading role in this structural transformation.

✓ **Amplitude of mobility: the distance between CSP of the father and that of his descendants**

Whatever the form of social mobility (upward or downward), the movement of individuals on the social ladder is usually between close occupational groups (local mobility). In terms of upward mobility, 43% of the upward social mobility of men happen between neighboring CSP, while 40.6% moved by winning two positions and 16.4% for three positions and more. In terms of downward mobility, 82% of individuals fell by 1 position, 17,8% by 2 or 3 positions. Regressions over 4 levels are very rare (0.2%).

✓ **Transmission of social status, what social pathway for the sons of a CSP?**

Referring to the diagonal of the social pathway table for men, the proportion of descendants being found in the same occupational category as their father (reproduction) is important among socio-professional categories of “non-agricultural employers, executives and members of the scientific professions” (50.9%), “employees and qualified non-agricultural workers” (44.6%), “commercial and non-agricultural artisans and independent workers" (42.7%). It is, however, small among “farmers” (35.1%), “middle managers” (21.7%) and “unskilled workers and laborers” (28.3%).

In terms of regression, the descendants of “non-agricultural employers, executives and members of liberal professions” run the risk of becoming “workers or unskilled laborers” only at the rate of 2.0%. But, 11.8% of them will be downgraded to the categories of middle management and 17.7% as “employees and skilled non-agricultural workers’ occupations”.

Meanwhile, the sons of “workers and unskilled laborers” have very small chances to occupy the category of “non-agricultural employers, executives and members of the liberal professions” (2.1%), or “middle management” (4.2 %). Their chances for pathways are important only to the categories of “employees or skilled workers” (31.4%) and “traders, artisans and non-agricultural independent workers” (26.3%).

The sons of “middle managers” have 30.1% chance to climb the social ladder and occupy the occupational category of “non-agricultural employers, executives and members of the liberal professions,” 21.7% to stay in the same category, 25.4% to decline to the category of “non-agricultural employees and skilled workers” and less likely to go down to the categories of “farmers” (1.3%) and “manual workers and farm and not agriculture laborers” (5.1%).

The children of farmers have low chances to reach categories of “non-agricultural employers, executives and members of the freelance professions” (1.6%) and “middle management” (2.4%). On the contrary, they become “non-agricultural employees and skilled workers” in 22.8% of cases, “traders, artisans and non-agricultural self-employed” at a rate of 20.6% and “unskilled workers and laborers” in 17.5 % of cases.

✓ **Factors of social mobility**

The basics of social mobility display that, in addition to the determining effect of social origin generated by the CSP's father, the role of school is at the heart of social and economic transformation of societies. In order to analyze the effect of these factors, we will examine the relationship between social background and education, on the one hand, and the education and social pathways on the other hand.

✓ **Effect of social origin in the education and training of descendants**

The analysis of the relationship between the social origin, generated by the CSP's father and the degree achieved by an individual reveals a strong correlation. Indeed, the chances of access to higher education diplomas are important when a son is a descendant of the category of “non-agricultural employers, executives and members of the liberal professions and scientific” or “middle managers”. 49.3% of the descendants of the first category get an advanced degree and 15.7% have achieved a middle management degree.

The descendants of middle management, have access to medium or higher education in 68,1% of cases. The chances of descendants from other CSP (“Employee and skilled worker,

merchant, artisan or independent worker”), to achieve a higher education degree are very limited. They get access only to lower degrees and they usually stop their schooling at level of basic education.

Moreover, the probability of descendants of “farmers” to acquire an advanced degree is only 2.2% and under 2.9% to get a middle management degree. Concerning the category of fathers occupying “employed worker and maneuver” without qualification, opportunities for son to have an advanced degree is only 3.3% and those of middle managers is 6%.

Role of education and training in social mobility

The absolute mobility rates increased from 66.7% (out of which 69.5% is of upward kind) among male graduates from fundamental education to 78.2% among those with a "Baccalaureate diploma or middle management" (out of which 88, 7% is of upward kind) and 83.1% among those with a bachelor's faculties (90.8% of bottom kind). School and higher institutes graduates record the highest rate of absolute mobility (88.9%) of which 96.8% is ascending. These results confirm the role of education in social promotion.

Determinants of upward social mobility

In a context of equality of opportunity, belonging to a socio-professional group is not assigned at birth. Upward social mobility should depend on personal curriculum and not family background. This social mobility is also explained by family and social assets as well as by individual effort represented by the level of education and training and professional experience.

In 2011, nearly half of employed workers or former workers over 35 years occupy or occupied social positions superior to those of their parents .This social mobility is also explained well by family and social assets by individual effort represented by the level of education and training and professional experience.

The analysis, using a multinomial logit model, of the determinants of this ascent allows specifying the explanatory variables. The table in Annex 1 shows the effect of these variables on the probability that an employed achieves an upward mobility, or occupies the position of his father rather than suffer social regression.

Chi2 value associated with the log ratio (LR) shows that the explanatory variables used provide a significant amount of information on the variability of the dependent variable. The sign and significance of the explanatory variables are consistent with the theoretical considerations. They show the following conclusions.

The school and the beginning of working life are crucial in the social ladder.

An individual with basic education has 1.4 more chance than its counterpart ' without education' to occupy a higher or equal social position to that of his father rather than a lower position. This odds ratio rises with education level, 3 times for the level of secondary education to 11.9 times for the graduate level. In summary, one year increase in the number of years of schooling improves the chances of social mobility by 12.7%.

Approached by age, seniority in the labor market, index of professional experience improves, too, the chances of upward social mobility. Age has, in fact, a decreasing positive effect on social mobility (the coefficient is positive but that of its square is negative).Its rise by one year improves by 12% the probability of upward social mobility. This effect vanishes at around the age of 50, the threshold at which age starts to hamper the chances of upward social mobility.

Thus, the school followed by professional experience improves significantly the chances of social mobility. However, these remain dependent on family and social background.

Family and social benefits improve, too, the chances of upward social mobility.

The occupational status of the father, as well as the residence in a city, alongside with educational and professional background, are among the significant determinants of upward social mobility. On the one hand, the descendant of an 'Independent' has 2.6 times more chance than that of the descendant of an 'Employee' to belong to a higher socio-professional group to that of his father. The odds ratio is 2.2 times among the descendants of an employer. On the other hand, the father's education appears to have a statistically significant and strong effect. The descendant whose father has a graduate degree has 18 times more chances than that of a one whose father is without to experience a social advancement. This odds ratio is 5.5 times among the descendants of a father who has a high school degree and 2.2 times among those with fundamental levels.

Moreover, the employed who live in urban areas has 2.8 times more chances than rural to undergo an upward social mobility rather than social regression.

The socio-familial origin provides, in fact, an economic heritage, cultural capital and social capital, which combined together, make the success of individual strategies of social mobility⁶. The amount of capital inherited varies among individuals and even with the same education level, the son of an employee (or worker) is less valued in the labor market that the son of an independent or a employer. The role of the family is not only associated with the transmission of such capital / sources of inequality of opportunity. Some families, middle class and lower, play a decisive role in

⁶ Pierre Bourdieu uses systematic typology to show that transmits the family and what is the source of inequality, it is not only a wealth (economic capital or which relates to income), but also a capital cultural (knowledge, cultural references, habits, skills reading or writing) and a social Thane (social relationships and the ability to be able to intervene to enjoy various benefits). See P. Bourdieu and Passeron J.-C (1964): The heirs.

social mobility of their descendants. Convinced that it is the school, and the school only, which makes possible the social advancement of their children, they do everything so that their descendants succeed in their studies.

Conclusion

Overall, Morocco has experienced strong gross intergenerational social mobility which affects 63% of employed men. This level of gross mobility shows a social and economic dynamics of Moroccan society in which the structural factor is the main engine. 56% of the estimated gross mobility is due to structural changes and 69.4% is of ascending nature. Mobility occurs much more in favor of urban with amplitude often with short trips from a social position to another indicating a low fluidity of Moroccan society.

The school through education and training remains the safest way to ensure social mobility. The rate of upward mobility is 96% among graduates of schools and institutes of higher education against 36.7% among those without training. Moreover, inequalities of opportunity identified reflect the structural social inequalities and shows that the link between social origin and their descendants academic achievements on the one hand, and their social destinies, on the other hand, remains important despite the spread of education among the layers of the lower population. Therefore, the social environment remains a factor that determines the chances of academic success and access to a more rewarding social position. This applies also for urbanization and economic development by the decline of agriculture and the extension of wage labor in services which are all factors that contribute to upward social mobility.

However, this social mobility in Morocco remains strong and its impacts very significant, in particular, due to the triple phenomenon of advanced demographic transition, rapid urbanization and the increasing access to education and training system, and the emergence of women in the labor market. As the National Survey on Intergenerational Social Mobility sheds additional light on the deep changes that the society is required to undergo and the role that youth that is increasingly feminized and better trained should play. Moreover, the indices of different forms of social mobility calculated in this work are expected to change in the future with the inclusion of new generation (born between 1976 and 1990) who benefited most from the diffusion of education.

Appendix

Table 1: Parameters of the model fit (multinomial logit) the type of social mobility - education measured by grade level

Variable: Type of social mobility: upward mobility, downward mobility or immobility (modality omitted).

Base population: 44,747 employed persons aged 35 years and older.

Data source: HCP, National Employment Survey 2011.

Explanatory variables (*)	Coefficient (B)	Std.	Wald	Sig.	Exp (B)
Social immobility					
Constant	-7.011	0.628	124.659	0.0000	
Age	0.069	0.008	78.956	0.0000	1.071
Age squared	0.000	0.000	25.507	0.0000	1.000
Urban	-0.736	0.030	583.108	0.0000	0.479
Basic school level (Primary)	0.055	0.033	2.846	0.0916	1.057
Secondary school level	0.529	0.057	86.271	0.0000	1.698
Higher education	0.895	0.089	101.445	0.0000	2.448
Professional status of the father 'independent'	0.057	0.033	3.027	0.0819	1.058
Professional status of the father 'employer'	0.643	0.102	40.031	0.0000	1.903
Basic educational level of the father	0.138	0.059	5.377	0.0204	1.148
Secondary school level of father	0.827	0.141	34.207	0.0000	2.286
Higher educational level of father	0.621	0.190	10.731	0.0011	1.861
Upward social mobility					
Constant	-21.253	0.705	907.587	0.0000	
Age	0.123	0.008	230.177	0.0000	1.1
Age squared	-0.001	0.000	142.305	0.0000	1.0
Urban	1.028	0.032	1047.98	0.0000	2.8
Basic school level	0.307	0.033	85.874	0.0000	1.4
Secondary school level	1.094	0.054	402.881	0.0000	3.0
Higher grade	2.478	0.082	902.098	0.0000	11.9
Professional status of the father 'independent'	0.965	0.033	845.793	0.0000	2.6
Professional status of the father 'employer'	0.769	0.103	56.049	0.0000	2.2
Basic educational level of the father	0.797	0.061	168.564	0.0000	2.2
Secondary school level of father	1.697	0.141	143.908	0.0000	5.5
Higher educational level of father	2.890	0.244	140.117	0.0000	18.0
Note (*): The variables omitted are the 'Rural' to the place of residence 'urban', 'No school level' to level 'Fundamental', 'secondary' and 'Superior' and 'Employee' for professional statutes 'independent' and 'Employer'.					
Quality Adjustment					
	Chi-square	degrees of freedom	Sig.		
Pearson	3328.768	1648	0.000		
Deviance	3429.553	1648	0.000		

Information about the model fit				
Model	Criteria for model fit		Likelihood ratio tests	
	-2 Log likelihood	Chi-square	degrees of freedom	Sig.
Constant only	15571.358			
Final	6968.436	8602.921	18	0.000
Pseudo R-squared				
Cox and Snell	0.25			
Nagelkerke	0.26			
McFadden	0.12			

Table 2: Table of destinies of men aged 35 years and over

CSP father	CSP For the son						total
	Non-agricultural employer, senior executives and professionals	Occupations of middle managers	Administrative staff and non-agricultural skilled workers	Merchant, Artisan and non-agricultural Independent	Farmer	Worker and maneuver without qualification	
Non-agricultural employer, senior executives and professionals	50.9	11.8	7.17	15.7	1.8	2.0	100.0
Occupation of middle managers	30.1	21.7	25.4	16.4	1.3	5.1	100.0
Employee and skilled workers	6.2	9.9	44.6	22.8	4.1	12.4	100.0
Merchant, Artisan and non-agricultural Independent	7.0	6.9	28.7	42.7	3.5	11.2	100.0
Farmer	1.6	2.4	22.8	20.6	35.1	17.5	100.0
Worker and maneuver without qualification	2.1	4.2	31.4	26.3	7.7	28.3	100.0
Total	3.8	4.7	28.0	24.8	22.0	16.6	100.0

Source: HCP National Survey on Mobility 2011.

Table 3: Distribution of men by level of degree attainment and occupational status of the father

Occupational status of the father	Diplôme of men					Total
	Without a diploma	Fondamental studies diplôme	Diplôme middle management	Graduate faculty, school and higher institute	Vocationnel training	
Non-agricultural employer, senior executives and professionals	10.4	22.0	15.7	49.3	2.6	100.0
Occupation of middle managers	6.5	20.4	28.2	39.9	5.0	100.0
Employee and skilled workers	42.9	26.7	13.1	9.5	7.8	100.0
Merchant, Artisan and non-agricultural Independent	51.5	25.9	9.3	9.3	4.1	100.0
Farmer	81.8	10.2	2.9	2.2	2.9	100.0
Worker and maneuver without qualification	67.2	19.6	6.0	3.3	3.8	100.0
Total	68.2	16.4	6.2	5.2	3.9	100.0

Source: HCP National Survey on Mobility 2011.

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