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# Intragenerational Class Mobility and Career Fluidity in France Over Birth Cohorts and Across Age

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# Literature review

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- Intragenerational class mobility: a relatively under-studied phenomenon in France
- More attention has been given to job mobility
- However, there is a continuing debate:
  - about the nature of decreasing job security in France, seen as universal (Givord and Maurin, 2004) or as socially selective in its character (Amossé, 2002; Ramaux, 2005; 2006), and
  - with respect to the objective (Chauvel, 2016; Peugny, 2007) *vs* subjective (Maurin, 2009) nature of the (rising) importance of the social demotion phenomenon

# Literature review

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- Previous studies of career mobility in France present several limits:
  - trends of intragenerational class mobility have not been analyzed over a long period of time, and they were even less so in the most recent period
  - (relative) career fluidity was not distinguished from (absolute) career mobility
  - the counter-mobility phenomenon (Girod, 1971) was often overlooked
  - the contribution of career mobility change to changes in intergenerational mobility has not been investigated so far
- The present study seeks to address some of these limits

# Research questions

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- We will address the following research questions:
  1. What trends and structure can be identified in the variation (if any) of intragenerational class mobility across different cohorts in France?
  2. To what extent does intragenerational mobility correspond to “true” social mobility? Conversely, which part of the intragenerational mobility corresponds to “counter-mobility”?
  3. Finally, does the overall level of career fluidity vary across cohorts and with age, or is it rather constant in time?

# Data and study sample

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- Data: *Formation et Qualification Professionnelle* surveys (Insee, 1970, 1977, 1985, 1993, 2003 and 2014-2015)
  - Information about social origin, position held five years before the time of the survey and position at the time of the survey are used
- Study sample: men and women living in metropolitan France, aged **30** to **59**, active (employed and unemployed) or inactive at the time of the survey (n=121,096/67,846 men and 53,250 women)
  - Some analysis and models are estimated only for the employed part of respondents (n=90,099/59,668 men and 30,431 women)

# EGP class scheme (for employed respondents)

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- All surveys are coded using the EGP class schema

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	<b>Upper service class:</b>
I	Professions libérales et intellectuelles, cadres administratifs, techniques et commerciaux (niveau supérieur) ; directeurs et administrateurs d'entreprise, gros indépendants
	<b>Lower service class:</b>
II	Professions libérales et intellectuelles, cadres administratifs, techniques et commerciaux (niveau inférieur) ; techniciens de niveau supérieur ; contremaîtres dirigeant des employés
IIIa	<b>Routine non-manual employees (higher grade):</b> Employés de niveau supérieur (dans l'administration et les affaires)
IVab	<b>Petty bourgeoisie:</b> Petits indépendants, artisans, etc., avec ou sans salarié(s)
IVc	<b>Farmers:</b> Agriculteurs exploitants ; autres travailleurs indépendants du secteur primaire
V + VI	<b>Skilled workers:</b> Techniciens de niveau inférieur ; contremaîtres dirigeant des ouvriers ; ouvriers qualifiés
VIIab + IIIb	<b>Semi- and unskilled workers and routine non-manual employees (lower grade):</b> Ouvriers semi-qualifiés et non qualifiés (en dehors de l'agriculture) ; ouvriers de l'agriculture et du secteur primaire ; employés de niveau inférieur (dans le commerce et les services)

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# EGP class scheme

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- Social **immobility**: I – I; II – II; IIIa – IIIa; IVc – IVc; IVab – IVab; V + VI – V + VI; VIIab + IIIb – VIIab + IIIb
  
- Hierarchical levels defining **vertical** (upward/downward) and **non-vertical** (horizontal or employment status) **mobility**:
  1. Upper service class (**I**)
  
  2. Lower service class (**II**)
  
  3. Higher-grade employees and qualified workers (**IIIa** and **V + VI**)
  
  4. Semi- and unskilled workers and lower grade employees (**VIIab + IIIb**)
  - + Self-employed and farmers (**IVab** and **IVc**)
  
  - + Unemployment/inactivity episodes

# Research design – cohort approach

- 7 cohorts, 6 surveys and 5 age groups (with age groups on the diagonals)

*Table 1. Cohort-Survey table*

Survey	<b>1970</b>	<b>1977</b>	<b>1985</b>	<b>1993</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2014-2015</b>
Cohort						
<b>1911-1924</b>	46-59	<b>53-59</b>	*	*	*	*
<b>1925-1934</b>	<b>36-45</b>	43-52	<b>51-59</b>	59	*	*
<b>1935-1944</b>	30-35	<b>33-42</b>	41-50	<b>49-58</b>	59	*
<b>1945-1954</b>	*	30-32	<b>31-40</b>	39-48	<b>49-58</b>	*
<b>1955-1964</b>	*	*	30	<b>30-38</b>	39-48	<b>50-59</b>
<b>1965-1974</b>	*	*	*	*	<b>30-38</b>	40-49
<b>1975-1984</b>	*	*	*	*	*	<b>30-39</b>



# Research design – cohort approach

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*Table 2.* Cohort-Survey table for men

Cohort	Year						<i>Total</i>
	1970	1977	1985	1993	2003	2014-2015	
<b>1911-1924</b>	5,246	2,390	*	*	*	*	7,636
<b>1925-1934</b>	5,480	4,576	3,153	143	*	*	13,352
<b>1935-1944</b>	3,008	4,566	3,955	1,570	290	*	13,389
<b>1945-1954</b>	*	2,084	6,120	2,221	3,985	*	14,410
<b>1955-1964</b>	*	*	656	1,896	4,134	3,000	9,686
<b>1965-1974</b>	*	*	*	*	3,734	3,080	6,814
<b>1975-1984</b>	*	*	*	*	*	2,559	2,559
<i>Total</i>	13,734	13,616	13,884	5,830	12,143	8,639	67,846

# Research design – cohort approach

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*Table 3.* Cohort-Survey table for women

Cohort	Year						<i>Total</i>
	<b>1970</b>	<b>1977</b>	<b>1985</b>	<b>1993</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2014-2015</b>	
<b>1911-1924</b>	2,724	1,482	*	*	*	*	4,206
<b>1925-1934</b>	2,546	2,765	2,110	178	*	*	7,599
<b>1935-1944</b>	1,351	2,766	2,584	1,610	331	*	8,642
<b>1945-1954</b>	*	1,250	4,200	2,288	4,327	*	12,065
<b>1955-1964</b>	*	*	483	1,946	4,598	3,249	10,276
<b>1965-1974</b>	*	*	*	*	4,363	3,214	7,577
<b>1975-1984</b>	*	*	*	*	*	2,885	2,885
<i>Total</i>	6,621	8,263	9,377	6,022	13,619	9,348	53,250

- A very brief presentation of the empirical context over the analyzed period, implying:
  - Educational expansion
  - Tertiarization of the French economy, and
  - Increasing feminization of the workforce

## Distribution of levels of education by cohort

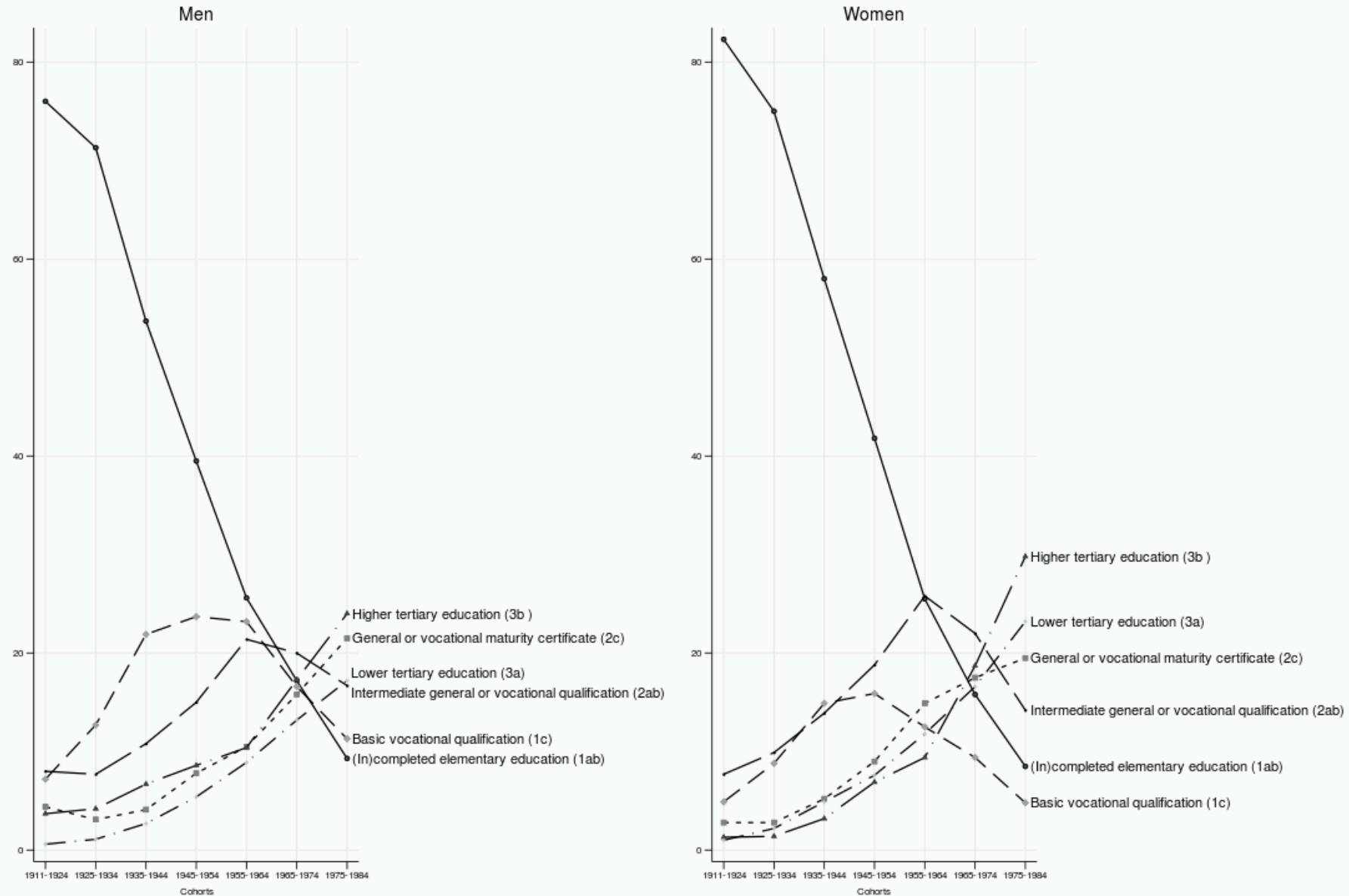


Figure 1. Distribution of respondents' levels of education by cohort

## The socio-occupational distribution of men

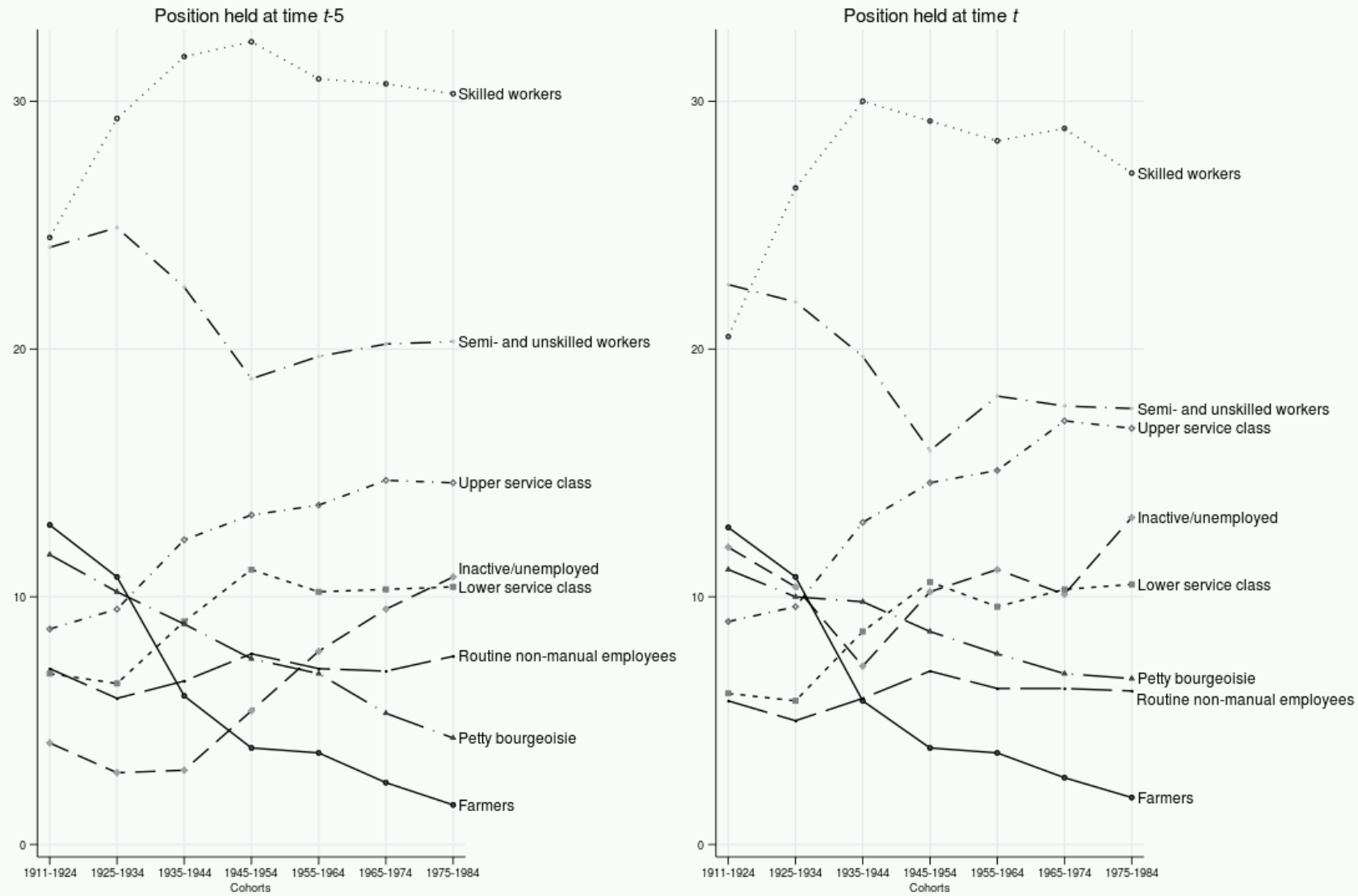


Figure 2. The socio-occupational distribution of men

### The socio-occupational distribution of women

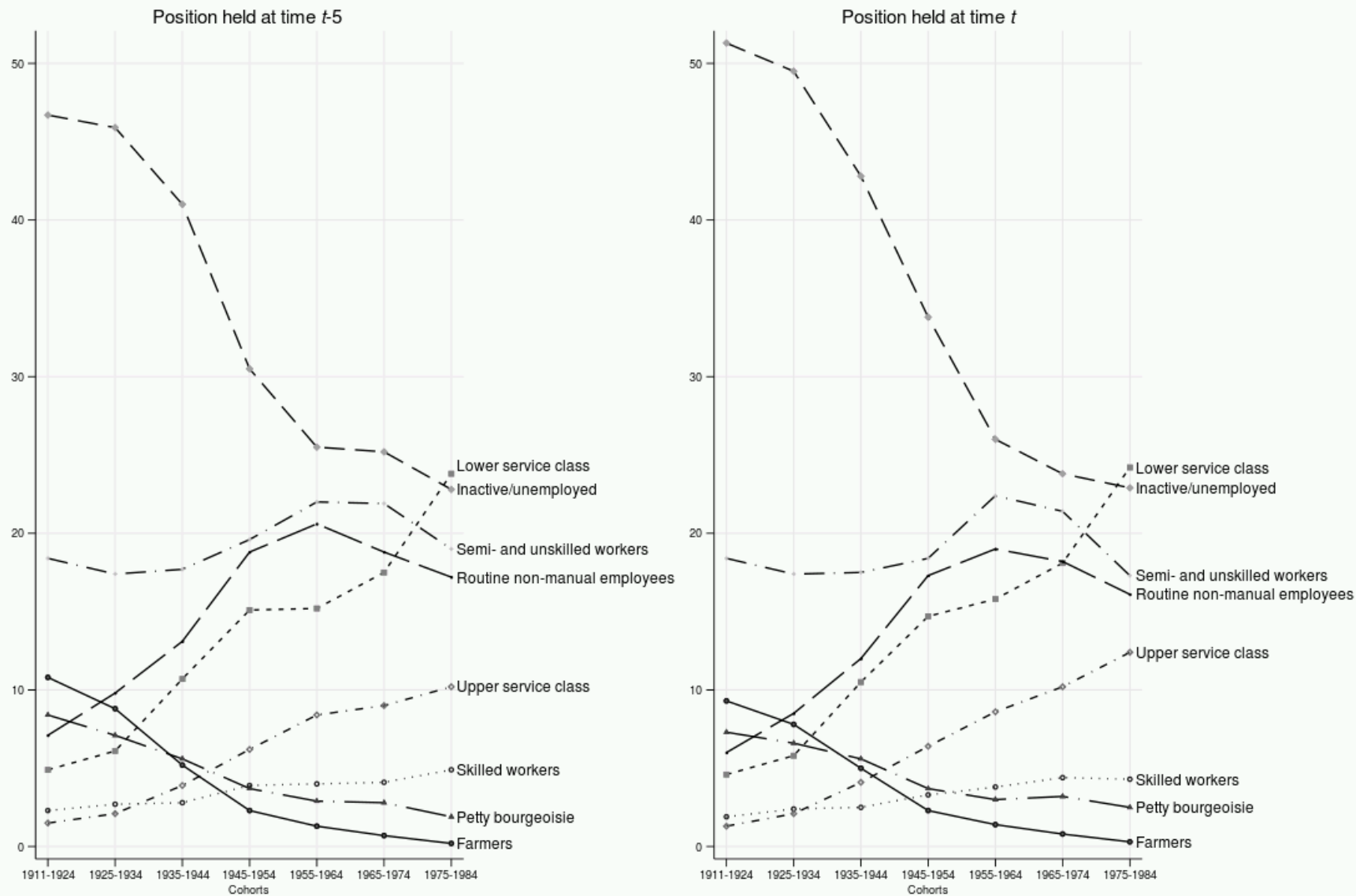


Figure 3. The socio-occupational distribution of women

# 1. Time trends in intragenerational mobility

*Table 4.* Decomposition of mobility rates for men

Men – 30-59	1911-1924	1925-1934	1935-1944	1945-1954	1955-1964	1965-1974	1975-1984
<b>Inactivity/Unemployment episodes (%)</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>
Activity → Inactivity/unemployment	8	8	5	7	7	6	9
Inactivity/Unemployment → Activity	0	0	1	2	4	5	7
<b>Inactivity immobility (%)</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Work-life mobility (%)</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>13</b>
Upward mobility	3	4	6	7	6	9	8
Downward mobility	3	2	3	3	4	4	4
Horizontal mobility	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Employment status mobility (%)</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Wage-earners → Self-employed	1	2	3	3	2	3	4
Self-employed → Wage-earners	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
<b>Overall work-life immobility (%)</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>63</b>
<i>Vertical mobility/ horizontal mobility</i>	<i>10.8</i>	<i>14.3</i>	<i>16.2</i>	<i>11.8</i>	<i>12.1</i>	<i>18.6</i>	<i>14.6</i>
<i>Upward mobility/ downward mobility</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>1.6</i>	<i>2.2</i>	<i>2.2</i>	<i>1.8</i>	<i>2.2</i>	<i>1.9</i>
<b>N (total)</b>	7,636	13,352	13,389	14,410	9,686	6,814	2,559

# 1. Time trends in intragenerational mobility

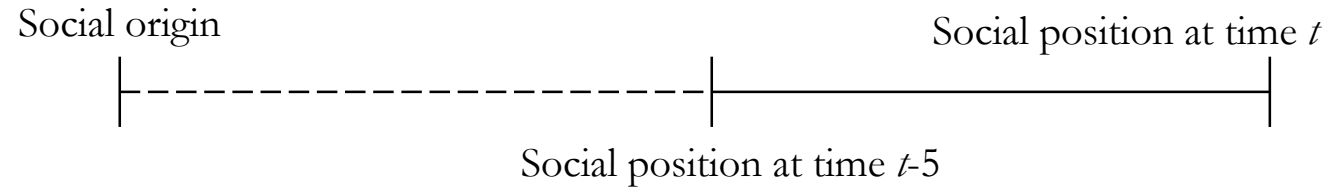
Table 5. Decomposition of mobility rates for women

Women – 30-59	1911-1924	1925-1934	1935-1944	1945-1954	1955-1964	1965-1974	1975-1984
<b>Inactivity/Unemployment episodes (%)</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>20</b>
Activity-->Inactivity/unemployment	9	9	9	10	9	10	10
Inactivity/Unemployment-->Activity	5	5	7	7	8	11	10
<b>Inactivity immobility (%)</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Work-life mobility (%)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>
Upward mobility	1	2	2	4	5	6	7
Downward mobility	1	1	1	2	3	3	4
Horizontal mobility	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Employment status mobility (%)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Wage-earners-->Self-employed	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
Self-employed--> Wage-earners	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Overall work-life immobility (%)</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>55</b>
<i>Vertical mobility/ horizontal mobility</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>10.5</i>	<i>16.5</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>23.8</i>	<i>35.7</i>
<i>Upward mobility/ downward mobility</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1.9</i>	<i>1.8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1.8</i>
<b>N (total)</b>	4,206	7,599	8,642	12,065	10,276	7,577	2,885



## 2. The role of the counter-mobility movements

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- Counter-mobility implies *intra*- but not *inter*generational mobility (at least in the long run)
- Work-life *social* mobility = intragenerational mobility – counter mobility

## Work-life (social) mobility

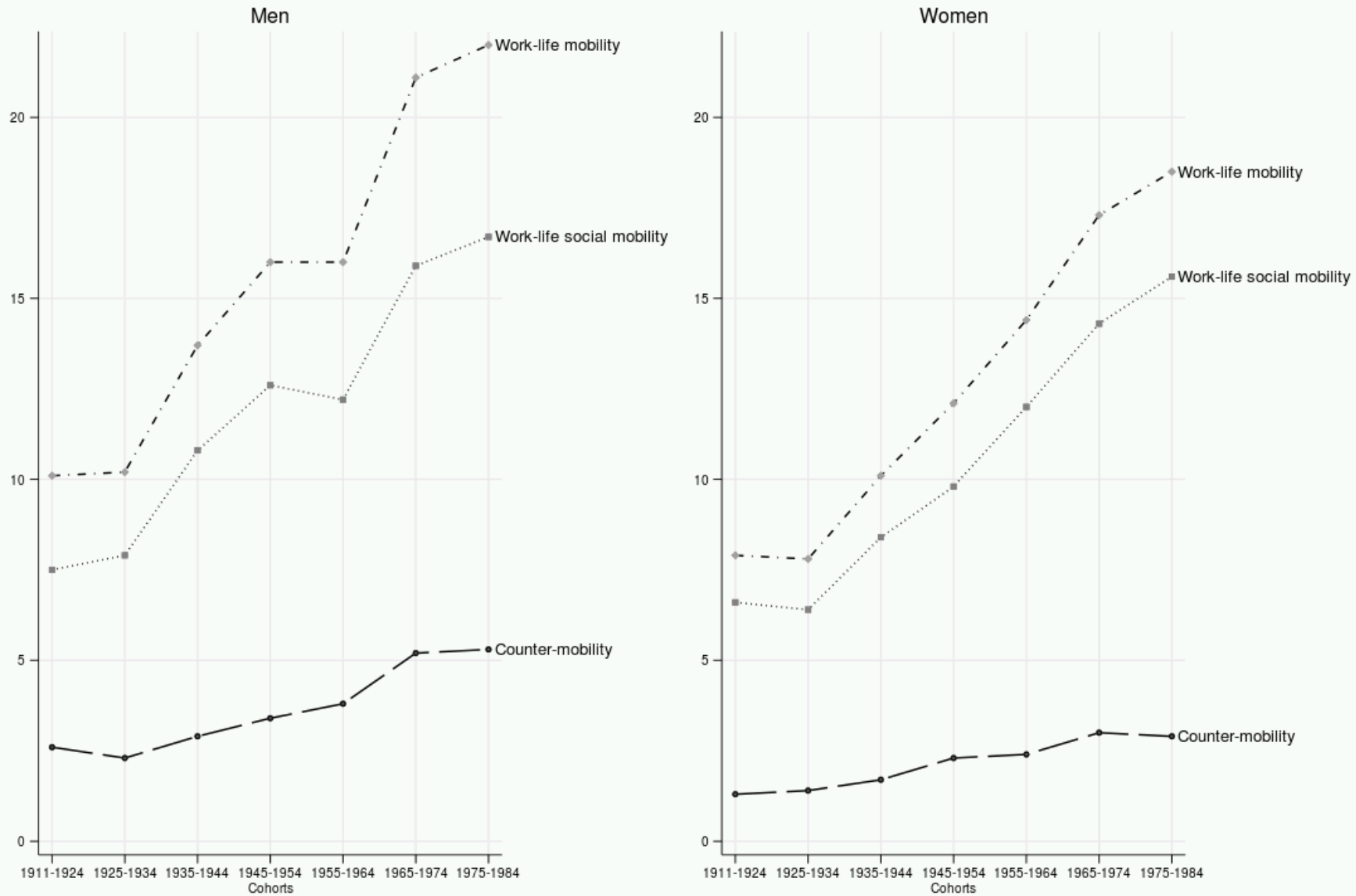


Figure 4. Work-life mobility and counter-mobility (inactive/unemployed population excluded)

### 3. Career fluidity over time and across age

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- **Model 1** – constant association between  $D_{t-5}$  and  $D$

$$\{\text{CPD}_{t-5} \quad \text{CPD} \quad D_{t-5}D\}$$

Implying that  $\text{Log}(\text{od}_{cp}) = \lambda_{ij}^{Dt-5D} + \lambda_{i'j'}^{Dt-5D} - \lambda_{ij}^{Dt-5D} - \lambda_{i'j'}^{Dt-5D}$

- **Model 2** – uniform variation across cohorts

$$\{\text{CPD}_{t-5} \quad \text{CPD} \quad \beta_c D_{t-5}D\}$$

Implying that  $\text{Log}(\text{od}_{cp}) = \beta_c(\lambda_{ij}^{Dt-5D} + \lambda_{i'j'}^{Dt-5D} - \lambda_{ij}^{Dt-5D} - \lambda_{i'j'}^{Dt-5D})$

- **Model 3** – Unidiff cohort and age additive effect model

$$\{\text{CPD}_{t-5} \quad \text{CPD} \quad \beta_c \beta_a D_{t-5}D\}$$

Implying that  $\text{Log}(\text{od}_{cp}) = (1 + \beta_c + \beta_a)(\lambda_{ij}^{Dt-5D} + \lambda_{i'j'}^{Dt-5D} - \lambda_{ij}^{Dt-5D} - \lambda_{i'j'}^{Dt-5D})$

- **Model 4** – Unidiff cohort and age multiplicative effect model

$$\{\text{CPD}_{t-5} \quad \text{CPD} \quad \beta_{ca} D_{t-5}D\}$$

Implying that  $\text{Log}(\text{od}_{cp}) = \beta_{ca}(\lambda_{ij}^{Dt-5D} + \lambda_{i'j'}^{Dt-5D} - \lambda_{ij}^{Dt-5D} - \lambda_{i'j'}^{Dt-5D})$

### 3. Career fluidity over time and across age

Table 6. Unidiff change in the gross  $D_{t-5}D$  association (men), n=67,846

Model	$G^2$	df	p	DI (%)	Bic
1. $CPD_{t-5}$ $CPD$ $D_{t-5}D$	3262.5	1029	0.0000	5.24	-8185.10
2. $CPD_{t-5}$ $CPD$ $\beta_c D_{t-5}D$	2571.2	1023	0.0000	4.41	-8809.66
<i>Difference 1-2</i>	691.3	6	0.0000		
3. $CPD_{t-5}$ $CPD$ $\beta_c \beta_a D_{t-5}D$	2271.5	1019	0.0000	3.86	-9064.82
<i>Difference 2-3</i>	299.7	4	0.0000		
4. $CPD_{t-5}$ $CPD$ $\beta_{ca} D_{t-5}D$	2124.2	1008	0.0074	3.46	-9089.81
<i>Difference 3-4</i>	147.4	11	0.0000		

### 3. Career fluidity over time and across age

Table 7. Unidiff change in the gross  $D_{t-5}D$  association (**women**), n=53,251

Model	$G^2$	df	p	DI (%)	Bic
<b>1. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>D_{t-5}D</math></b>	2525.1	1008	0.0000	6.1	-8444.70
<b>2. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>\beta_c D_{t-5}D</math></b>	1703.4	1002	0.0000	4.22	-9201.12
<i>Difference 1-2</i>	821.7	6	0.0000		
<b>3. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>\beta_c \beta_a D_{t-5}D</math></b>	1506.2	998	0.0000	3.62	-9354.85
<i>Difference 2-3</i>	197.3	4	0.0000		
<b>4. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>\beta_{ca} D_{t-5}D</math></b>	1423.3	987	0.0000	3.28	-9318.04
<i>Difference 3-4</i>	82.9	11	0.0000		

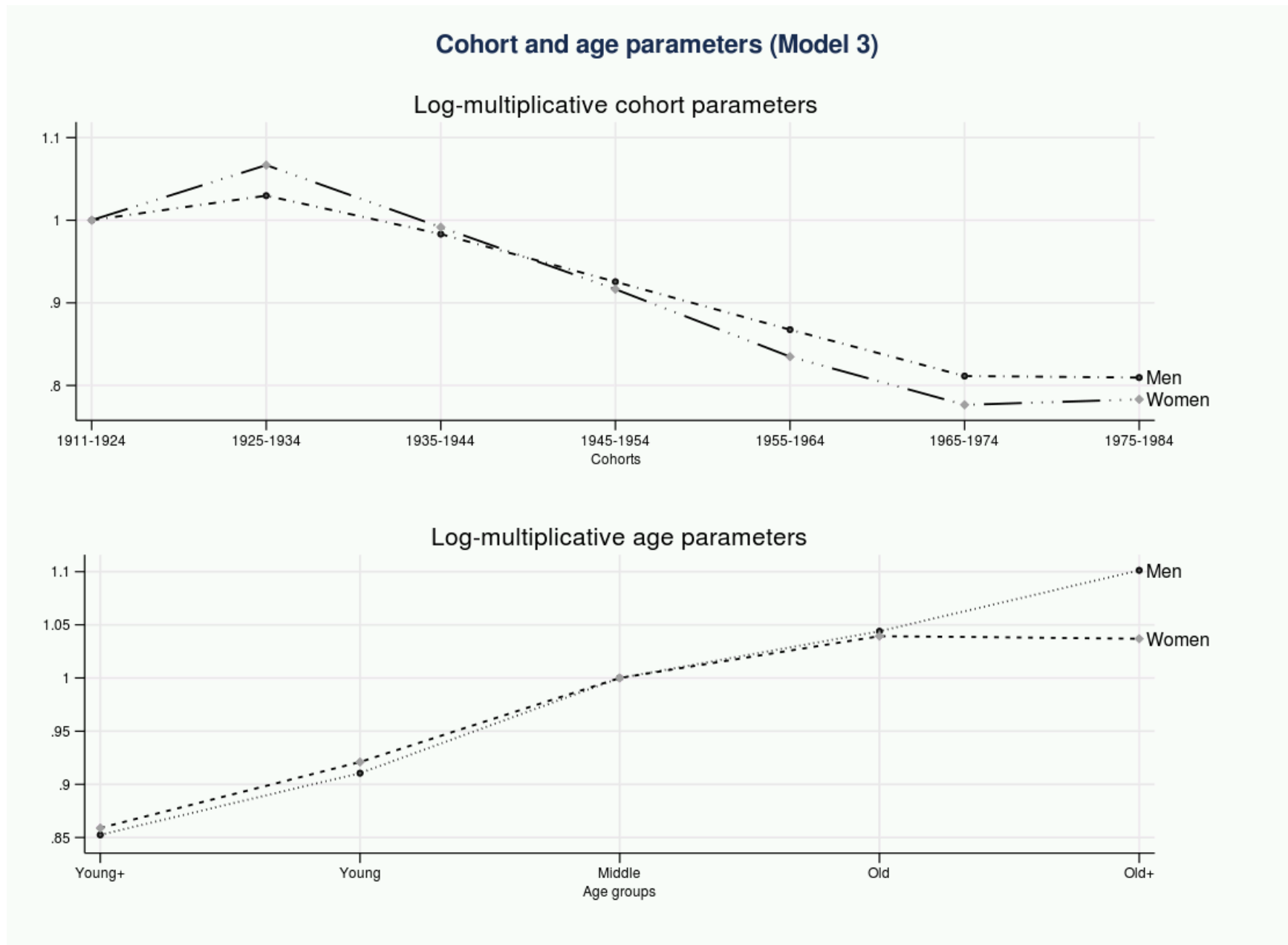


Figure 5. Log-multiplicative parameters measuring the  $DD_{t-5}$  association

### Cohort-Period table parameters (Model 3)

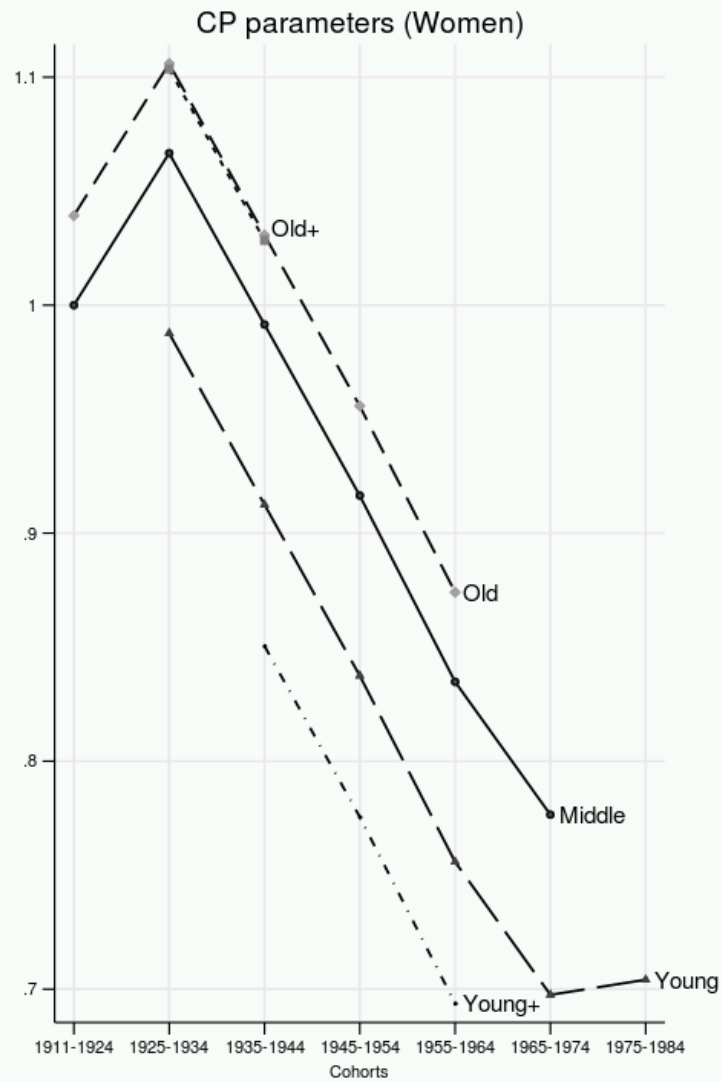
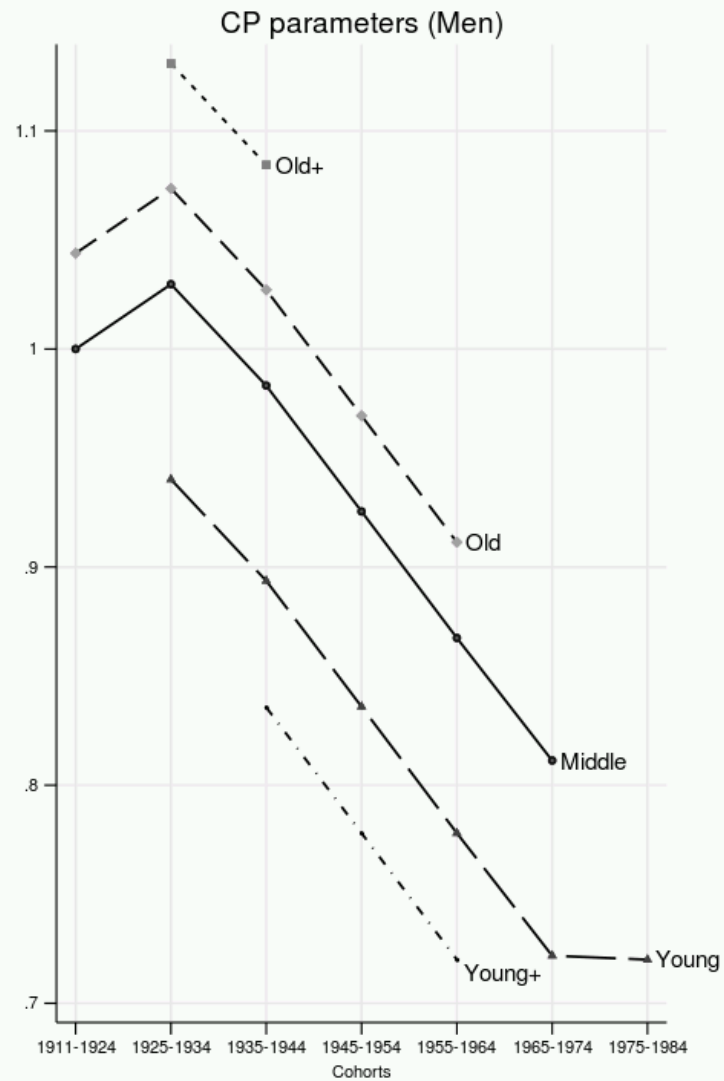


Figure 6. Log-multiplicative CP table parameters

### Cohort-Period table parameters (Men)

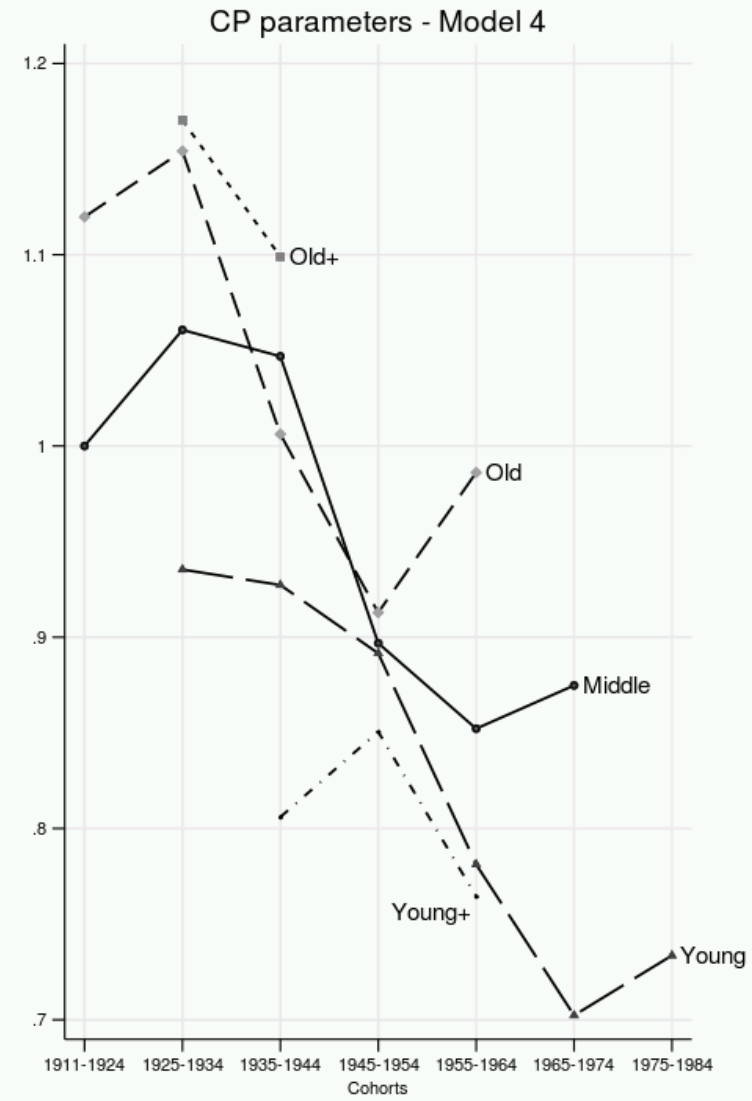
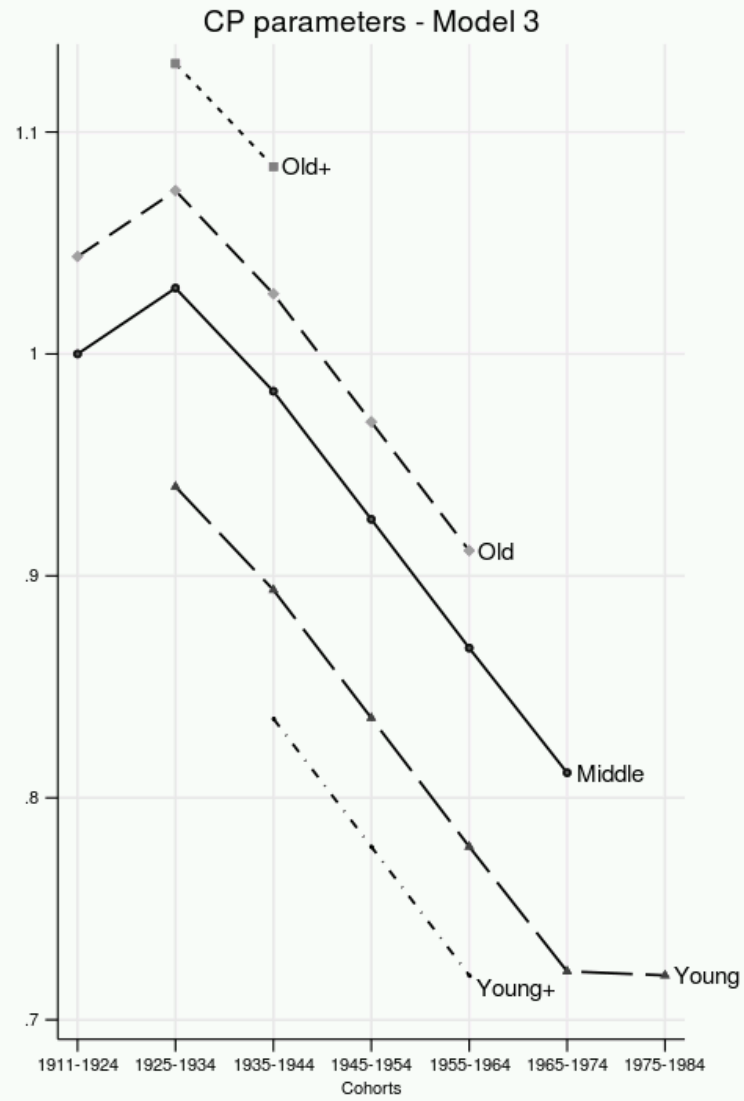


Figure 7. Log-multiplicative CP table parameters for men (Model 3 and Model 4)



Table 8. Parameters measuring the  $D_{t-5}$  and D association (**men**)

<b>Propensity for career immobility</b>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
Upper service class	4.5421	4.4675
Lower service class	3.7018	3.6283
Routine non-manual employees	3.4123	3.3482
Petty bourgeoisie	3.4026	3.3282
Farmers	7.1874	7.0555
Skilled workers	3.2623	3.2123
Semi- and unskilled workers	3.0055	2.9608

Table 9. Parameters measuring the  $D_{t-5}$  and D association (**women**)

<b>Propensity for career immobility</b>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
Upper service class	5.0537	5.0453
Lower service class	3.9042	3.9032
Routine non-manual employees	3.4418	3.4384
Petty bourgeoisie	3.8376	3.8129
Farmers	7.0595	7.0525
Skilled workers	4.0782	4.0919
Semi- and unskilled workers	3.2558	3.2474

## Conclusion – summary of key findings

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- Intragenerational class mobility in France has increased across cohorts; at the same time, recent cohorts are also more exposed to unemployment/inactivity episodes than the older ones were.
- These conclusions remain valid even when the counter-mobility movements are accounted for; however, the absence of consideration of individuals' social origins in intragenerational mobility studies implies a systematic overestimation of its magnitude.
- Career fluidity in France increases across cohorts, but it decreases with age (*i.e.* along the occupational career), being the least pronounced for farmers, on the one hand, and at the top of the social structure, on the other.

## Further research . . .

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- Estimation of models allowing pattern differences in the change of career fluidity for different social classes – Goodman-Hout model (1998) or the structural model of the mobility table (Hauser, 1978)
- Exploration of the mechanisms that may explain the increase of career fluidity over cohorts, implying a detailed analysis of the career fluidity by respondent's class of origin and level of education

*Additional slides*

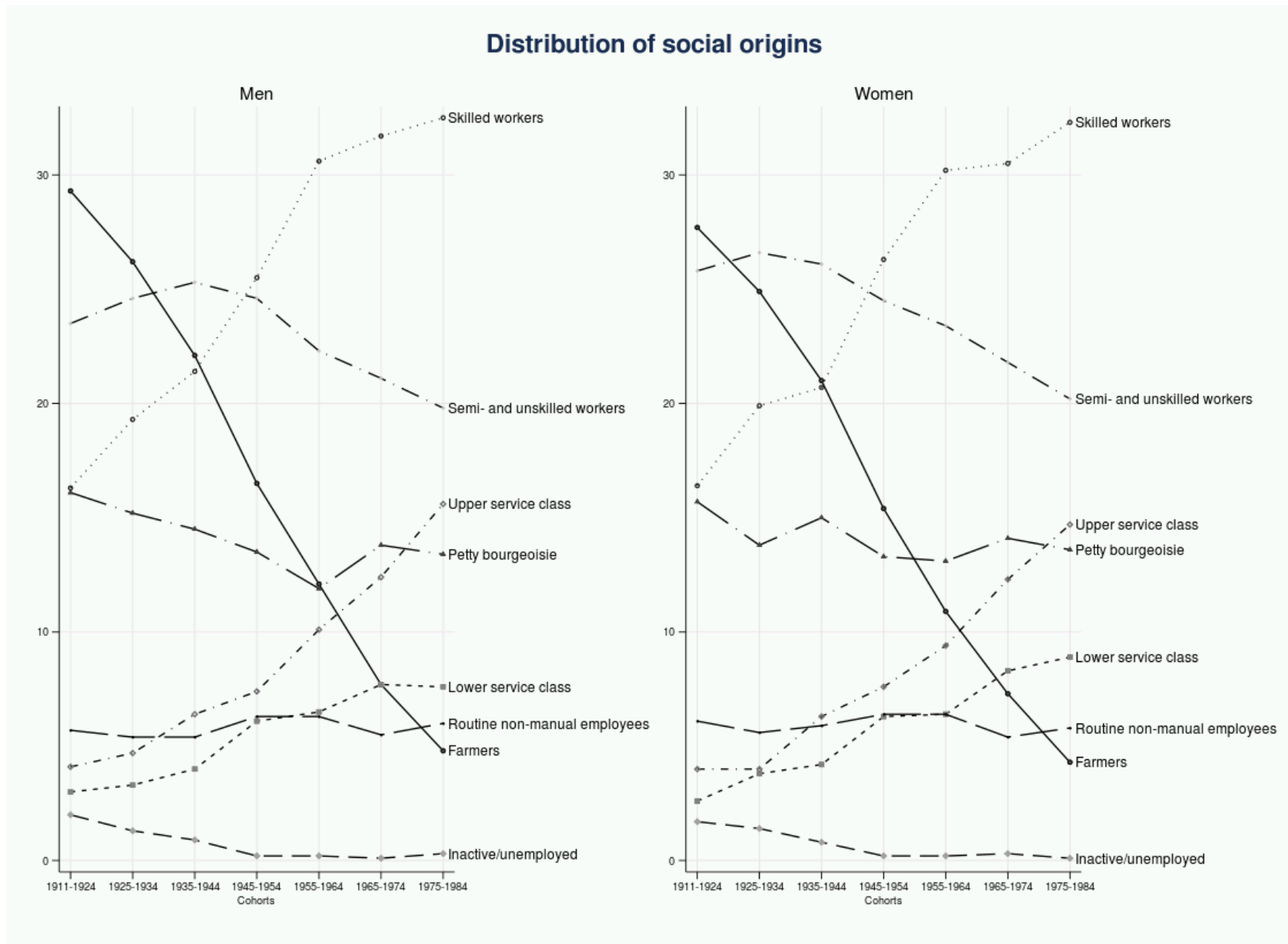


Figure A1. Distribution of respondents' social origins

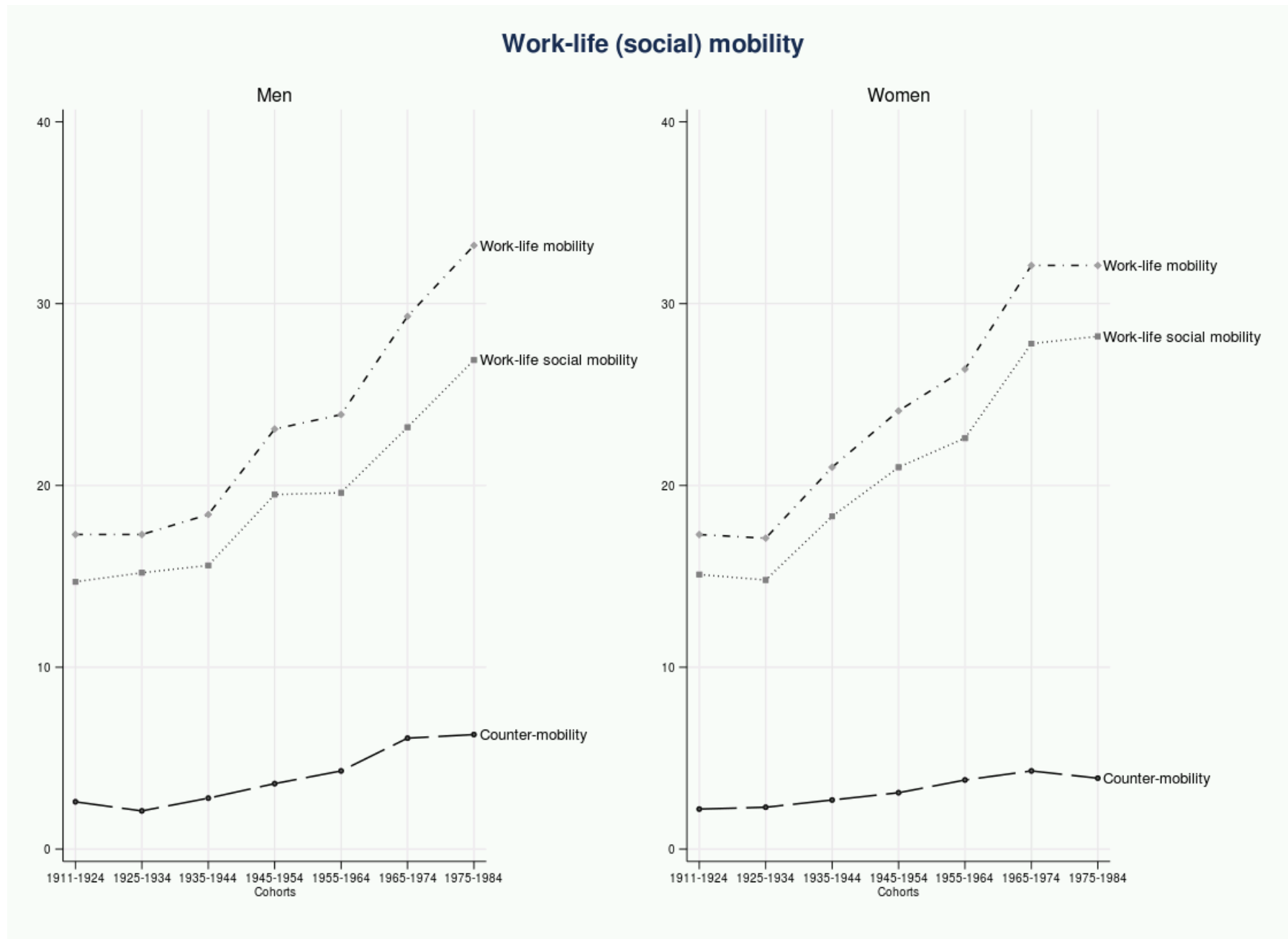


Figure B1. Work-life mobility and counter-mobility (inactive/unemployed population included)

Table A1. Unidiff change in the gross  $D_{t-5}D$  association (**men**), n=59,668

Model	$G^2$	df	p	DI (%)	Bic
<b>1. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>D_{t-5}D</math></b>	2040.8	756	0.0000	4.08	-6272.55
<b>2. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>\beta_c D_{t-5}D</math></b>	1645.1	750	0.0000	3.59	-6602.29
<i>Difference 1-2</i>	395.7	6	0.0000		
<b>3. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>\beta_c \beta_a D_{t-5}D</math></b>	1324.8	746	0.0000	2.8	-6878.65
<i>Difference 2-3</i>	320.3	4	0.0000		
<b>4. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>\beta_{ca} D_{t-5}D</math></b>	1223.6	735	0.0000	2.47	-6858.87
<i>Difference 3-4</i>	101.2	11	0.0000		

\*inactive/unemployed population excluded

Table A2. Unidiff change in the gross  $D_{t-5} D$  association (**women**), n=30,431

Model	$G^2$	df	p	DI (%)	Bic
<b>1. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>D_{t-5}D</math></b>	1194.0	735	0.0000	3.76	-6393.56
<b>2. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>\beta_c D_{t-5}D</math></b>	962.5	729	0.0000	3.06	-6563.18
<i>Difference 1-2</i>	231.6	6			
<b>3. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>\beta_c \beta_a D_{t-5}D</math></b>	875.4	725	0.0000	2.67	-6608.98
<i>Difference 2-3</i>	87.1	4			
<b>4. CPD<sub>t-5</sub> CPD <math>\beta_{ca} D_{t-5}D</math></b>	836.9	714	0.0000	2.43	-6533.87
<i>Difference 3-4</i>	38.4	11	0.0001		

\*inactive/unemployed population excluded



### Cohort and age parameters (Model 3)

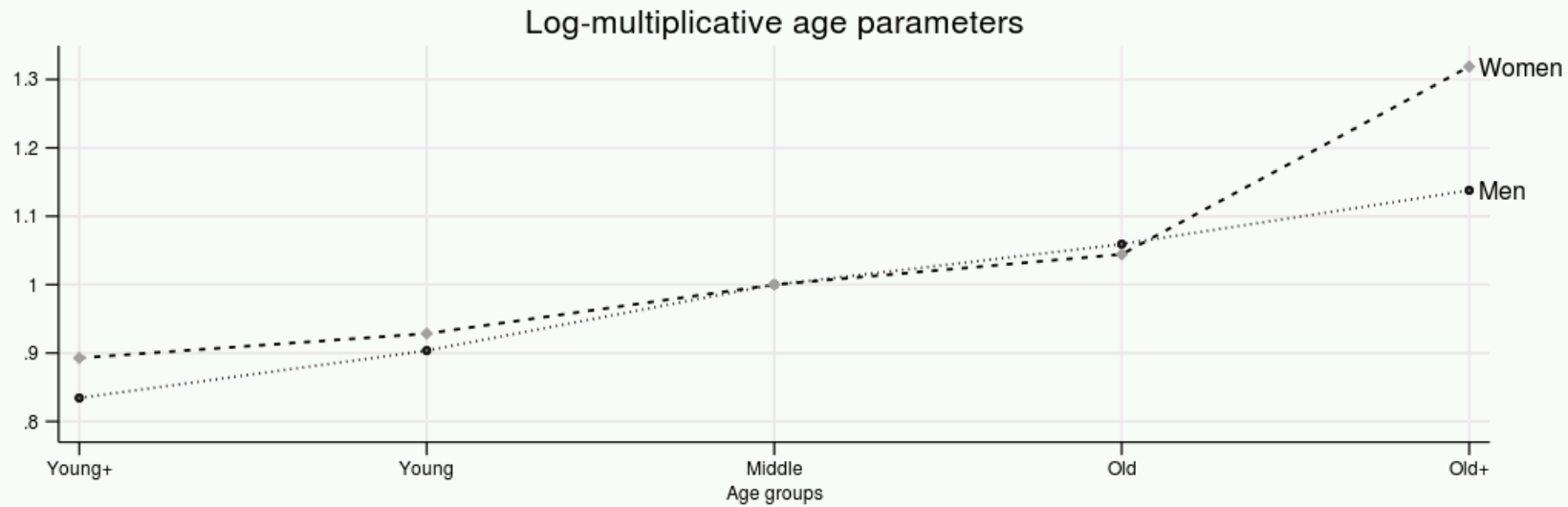
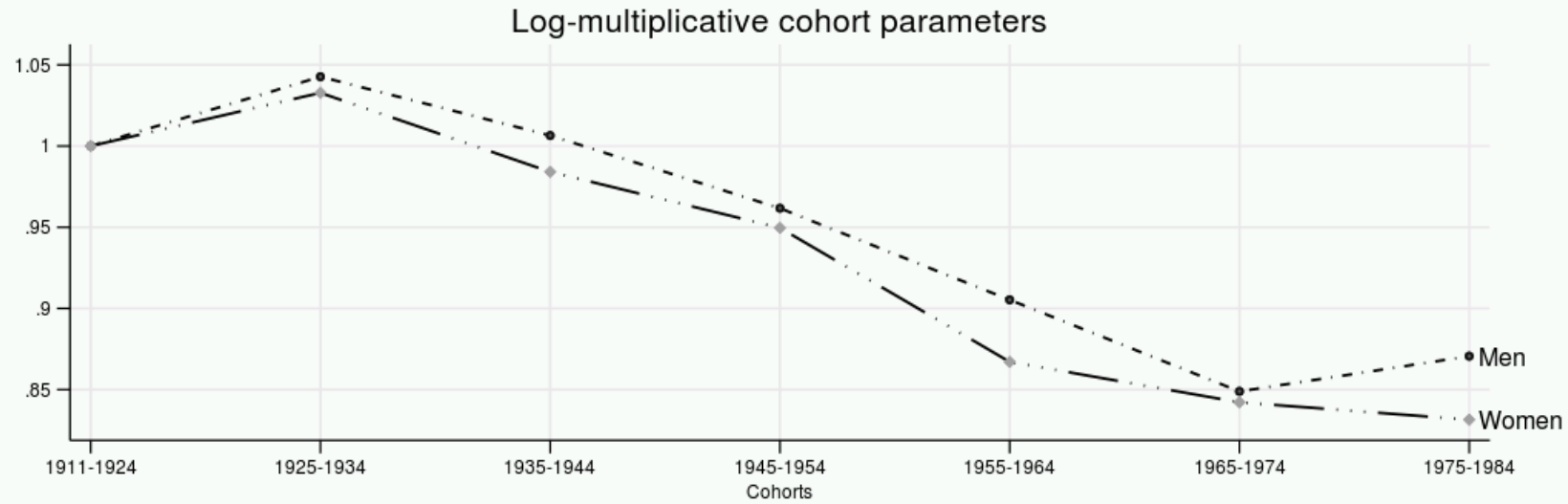


Figure C1. Log-multiplicative parameters measuring the  $D D_{t-5}$  association

Table B1. Parameters measuring the  $D_{t-5}$  and D association (**men**)

<b>Propensity for career immobility</b>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
Upper service class	1.0321	0.991
Lower service class	1.1839	1.1409
Routine non-manual employees	1.3298	1.2686
Petty bourgeoisie	1.2281	1.1716
Farmers	1.108	0.9689
Skilled workers	0.9239	0.8961
Semi- and unskilled workers	1.0114	0.9727

\*inactive/unemployed population excluded

Table B2. Parameters measuring the  $D_{t-5}$  and D association (**women**)

<b>Propensity for career immobility</b>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
Upper service class	1.1202	1.0791
Lower service class	1.0177	0.9922
Routine non-manual employees	0.9925	0.9684
Petty bourgeoisie	1.2495	1.1539
Farmers	1.0482	0.9341
Skilled workers	1.4323	1.3349
Semi- and unskilled workers	0.8949	0.8783

\*inactive/unemployed population excluded

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