

Training & Employment

Generation 98: The first seven years on the labour market From school-to-work transition to embarking on a career

One might imagine that after seven years on the labour market, young people have finished with school-to-work transition and started forging a career, taking advantage of the opportunities for advancement available at their firms or gaining promotion by moving from one employer to another. However, the passage between school-to-work transition and starting a career can follow many different patterns. At one end of the scale, young people with no diplomas are highly exposed to economic downturns and many of them are still looking for steady jobs after seven years on the labour market. At the other end, higher educational graduates settle down more quickly into permanent employment, as well as achieving more favourable situations in terms of their positions and wage levels.

In France, school-to-work transition is far from being immediately achieved by all, even when the economic situation is favourable. In the case of the G98 cohort ("Generation 98", see the inset on page 7), i.e., the cohort of young people who left the French educational system in 1998, the first turning point seems to have been reached after the first three years on the labour market. Beyond this point, the numbers of those in employment hardly increased: after increasing from 74% to 83% between the first and third years on the labour market, this figure plateaued at around 85% during the following four years. This trend was confirmed in terms of the time spent in employment. After the first year on the labour market, only 44% of the G98 cohort had been working continuously for the previous twelve months, whereas this proportion increased to 75% by the end of the fourth year and continued to rise by only 4 per cent after that point.

Does this mean that this cohort's transition process was completed within three years? Did these youths move straight on from the transition phase to a career advancement phase? The data collected seven years after they completed their studies help to answer this question: 34% of them declared at that time that their main priority was "career advancement" and 25% that they were mainly focusing on finding a balance between their work and their personal lives, whereas 41% said that their main priority was still finding or keeping a steady job. Many of the members of this cohort therefore still had persistent concerns about settling into permanent employment well beyond what people usually think of as the school-to-work transition period.

After three years on the labour market, employment rates begin to level off but the path to permanent employment is not yet at an end

The types of employment contracts obtained show that the process of stabilisation does indeed continue beyond the first three years of active life. The numbers of youths in permanent employment in this cohort – including those with permanent contracts in the private sector, civil servants and the self-employed – increased steadily from 37% during the first year to 57% during the third year, reaching 74% at the end of the seventh year on the labour market. Fixed-term contracts and temporary work decreased accordingly. After reaching a peak at the beginning of the second year on the labour market, when they accounted for 11%, State-subsidized contracts showed a gradual decrease thereafter. Although "qualification contracts" occurred mostly during the first three years, the members of this cohort frequently obtained the "Emploi-Jeune" jobs introduced in 1998 to boost youth employment, and these jobs often lasted for anything up to five years. This access to employment phase was therefore followed by a period of job status consolidation. However, this overall pattern masks the great diversity of individual trajectories, which depended in particular on the level of education and vocational training achieved (see the table on page 5).

More than half of the G98 cohort were in permanent employment by the end of their third year of working life and managed to maintain their employment status thereafter. In the case of 15% of the cohort, however, stabilisation occurred only much later. Some

Steady employment •

Employment in the framework of a permanent work contract as an employee, as a civil servant or self-employment.

Short term employment •

Employment in the framework of a short term work contract, temporary work, or under a subsidized contract signed in the framework of public schemes, or seasonal employment, for example.

Rate of exit from employment to unemployment •

Ratio between the number of moves from employment to unemployment and the average number of young people in employment during a given year.

of the trajectories recorded show that people could find themselves out of work after an initial period of permanent employment. In addition, a fifth of the cohort had rarely held permanent jobs during the first seven years in their working lives. Some had been recurrently or persistently unemployed, or had withdrawn from the labour market; the remainder, who formed the majority, managed to stay in employment by accepting fixed-term contracts. This was typically the case of those recruited in the public sector on fixed-term contracts, for whom the transition to permanent employment can be particularly lengthy. It was also sometimes the case of those on public employment schemes. For others, however, a series of fixed-term contracts led to a long-term, possibly irreversible drift towards segments of the labour market where unstable conditions of employment, low wages and poor prospects tend to accumulate.

Those without diplomas are the most highly exposed to economic ups and downs

The considerable differences observed between the trajectories of these labour market entrants are partly due to their heterogeneity, and they also reflect the existence of many different types of labour management practices. The ease and speed with which G98 youths settled down into stable employment depended to a large extent on their diploma levels. Almost 90% of those who had gained third cycle diplomas (corresponding to at least 5 years' study after the baccalauréat) acquired permanent jobs either immediately or a little later, and kept them; whereas only 29% of those with no diplomas followed this pattern. The trajectories of most of the other labour market entrants without diplomas were interspersed with long periods of

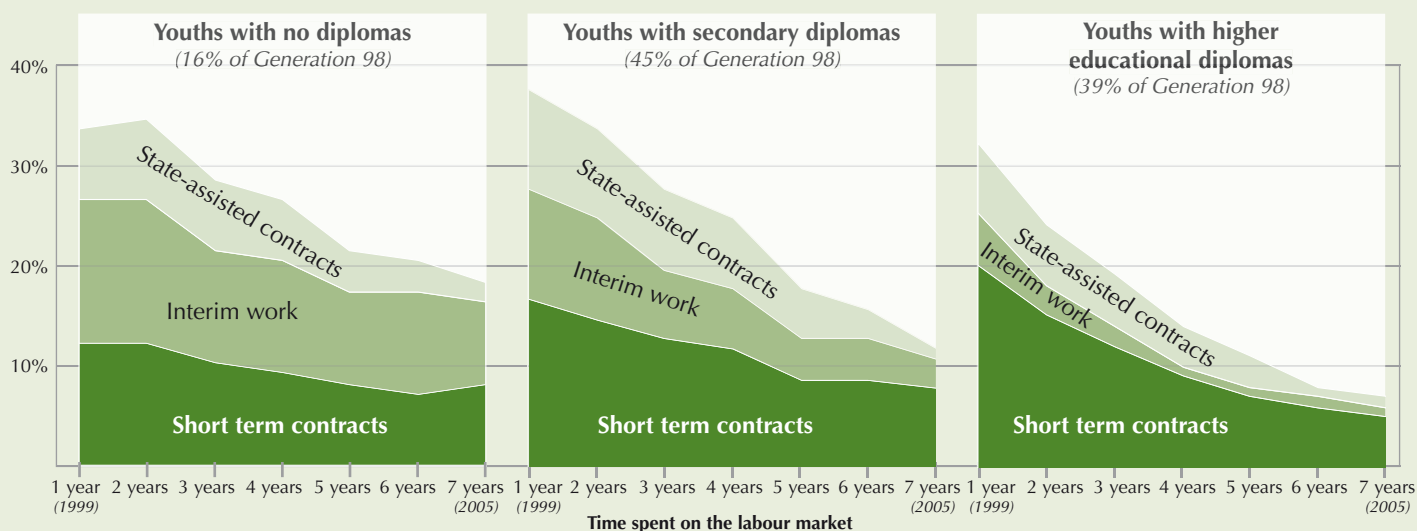
unemployment or inactivity, and if they did find jobs, they were rarely employed in permanent jobs in the end.

Those with no diplomas were also highly exposed to economic ups and downs. The numbers of those without diplomas who fell into unemployment increased significantly, for example, after the economic downturn of 2001, three years after they had entered the labour market, and these figures remained quite high during the following two years; whereas the numbers of those with diplomas who fell into unemployment decreased steadily during the first four years of active life and stabilised thereafter. The main concern of most young people with no diplomas, whether they were employed or not in 2005, was still finding or keeping a permanent job. Those with the highest diplomas focused more strongly on either developing their career or how to achieve a balance between work and their personal lives.

In addition to the differences between those with and without diplomas, gender-related differences were found to exist. Women with similar diploma levels to men were much more frequently unemployed and settled down less frequently into permanent jobs. Staying out of the labour market for lengthy periods of time was also more common among women, especially those without qualifications. Whatever their qualification level, women were more often involuntarily exposed for long periods to part-time employment: five years after entering the labour market, 10% of them were still working on a part-time basis although they were looking for full-time jobs; however, two years later, this proportion had dropped to 6%. Women also went through periods of part-time employment when they started to have children. This explains why 11% of the women

Short term employment

Numbers of young people with short term contracts



Scope: all young people leaving the French educational system in 1998

Source: Céreq's "Generation 98" survey conducted in 2005, Céreq

with children were out of the labour market and 24% had only part-time jobs seven years after leaving the educational system. Mothers with higher educational diplomas were no exception here, since 26% of them were in part-time employment at that stage.

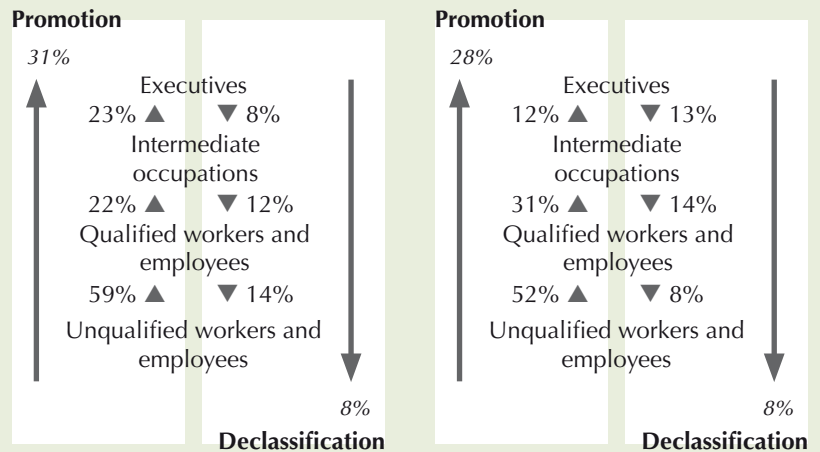
Wage increases and moving up the employment ladder depend on having diplomas

Other developments tend to occur during the first few years on the labour market. G98 youths gradually moved up the employment ladder as time went by, and their wages improved accordingly. Between the first job and that held after seven years out of school, the numbers of those with unskilled jobs dropped from 31 to 18% and the rates of those with executive positions increased from 12 to 18% (see the graphs opposite and below). At the same time, the median salary increased by 48%.

This rate of progression is quite impressive in comparison with the situation of the rest of the active population. In the case of G98 youths, a sharper upward curve occurred during the first three years of active life than subsequently, possibly due to the economic downturn which put a damper on developments from 2001 onwards. It seems likely, however, that many young people started by accepting quite modest conditions of employment before making the most of their diplomas on the labour market. This pattern applied particularly to higher educational graduates. During the first three years on the labour market, their median salary increased by 10% per year, which is far more than the increase obtained by the other G98 cohort members during the same time; after

Promotion and declassification

Percentages of young people whose level of employment changed during the first seven years of active life

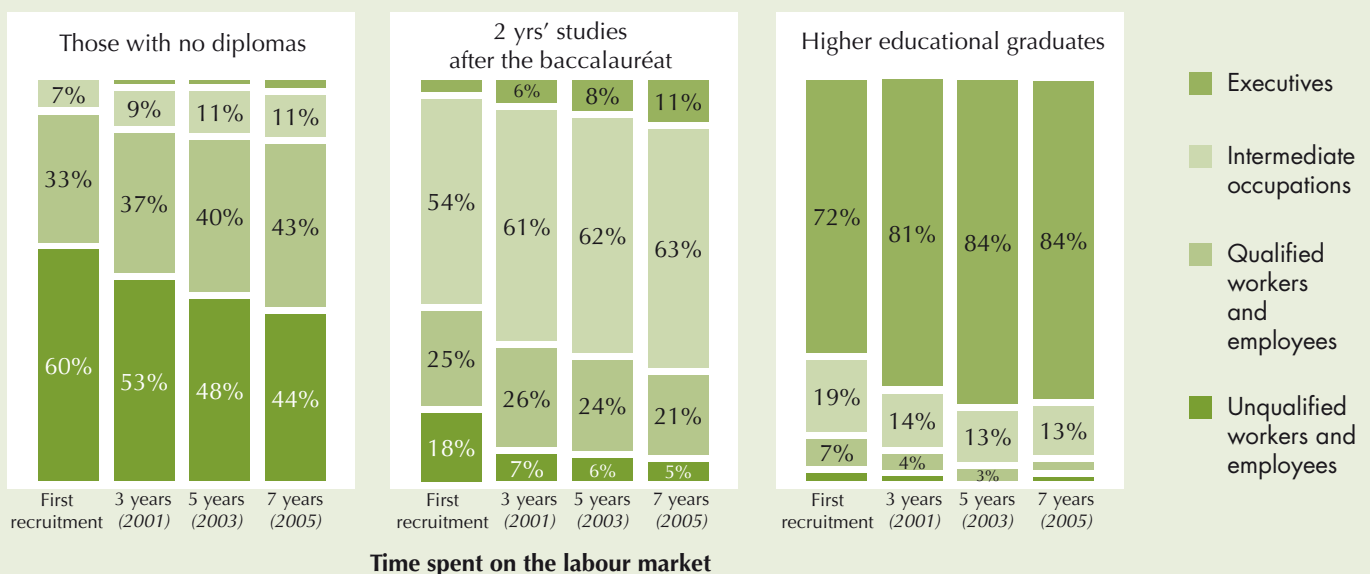


Scope: all young people leaving the French educational system in 1998 who were in employment at the end of their 3rd, 5th and 7th year of active life
Source: Céreq's "Generation 98" survey (interviews conducted in 2005)

that point, this figure dropped to 5%, which no longer differed from the rest of the cohort. Quite a large proportion of the higher educational graduates started off in a lower position than that to which their educational qualifications could have entitled them, but their levels of employment improved during the first three years, as if the healthy economic situation pertaining at the end of the 1990s enabled them to make their way up the corporate ladder or to leave the early "stand-by" positions for better jobs in other companies. 70% of those who had completed two years of studies after the baccalauréat and started off as unskilled workers or clerks had achieved higher positions by their third year of working life.

Changes in occupational status with time

Patterns of distribution depending on young people's job status



Scope: all young people leaving the French educational system in 1998 who were in employment at the end of their 3rd, 5th and 7th year of active life
Source: Céreq's "Generation 98" survey (interviews conducted in 2005)

However, G98 individuals did not all benefit to the same extent from this upward trend. Those without diplomas, who were disadvantaged from the start, made their way upwards only very gradually. 60% of this group started off with unskilled jobs, 53% were still in this situation after three years on the labour market, and 44% had not achieved skilled positions four years later. Although those with CAP or BEP diplomas more frequently started off in more highly skilled positions, they did not advance much faster. The upgrading of those who had reached only baccalauréat level was much more noticeable, although this process was relatively concentrated during the first three years of active life and the wages did not increase as fast as those of higher educational graduates.

Diplomas therefore contribute importantly to promotion patterns. However, social origins and gender also play a non-negligible role. For example, those who had completed two years in higher education and started off with intermediate occupations (as technicians) had better chances of becoming executives when their parents were executives themselves (15%) than when they were from working-class families (7%).

Promotion pathways differ between men and women

As observed in the “Generation 92” survey (see the inset on page 7), the female members of the G98 cohort progressed more slowly than their male counterparts up the employment and wage ladders, although they had higher diplomas on the whole: their median salary increased by 45% during the first seven years of active life, as against 51% in the case of men. The wage differential between men and women increased most strongly after the fourth year on the labour market, partly because the women frequently took part-time jobs when they had children. However, even among those who remained in full-time employment, the average annual wage increase was approximately one per cent higher among males than females throughout the seven-year period following their entry into the labour market.

Women were promoted less frequently than men, apart from those who started off as skilled clerks or workers. Only 12% of the women who obtained their first job in one of the “intermediate occupations” became executives, as against 23% in the case of their male counterparts. This difference can be partly explained by the types of jobs they had: women became teachers or health and social workers more often than men, and there is relatively little scope for promotion in these fields.

How should school-to-work transition be approached?

At the individual level, school-to-work transition denotes a time-dependent process whereby an individual moves from an initial state to a “final”, presumably desirable state, possibly via a number of transitory intermediate states. A cohort can be taken to have completed the school-to-work transition process when most of its members have reached the final state, or at least are no longer evolving towards it. The school-to-work transition period can also be said to be the time taken by a cohort to achieve the level reached by an older, more experienced population. In the table opposite, the control population therefore consisted of individuals aged 35 to 45 years.

Over the years, school-to-work transition has been defined by various authors in many different ways, depending on the approach adopted. These multiple definitions reflect the multidimensional nature of this concept and suggest that it should be studied using more than one approach. The table opposite illustrates five definitions of school-to-work transition, each of which is associated with specific indicators.

- According to the first definition, the final state simply consists of having entered the labour market. In fact, the inactive G98 cohort members decreased by half between the first and third year after these people left the educational system.
- The final state can also be taken to consist of gaining access to employment. From this point of view, unemployment is taken to be an involuntary intermediate state, which actually had an abnormally high rate of occurrence in the G98 cohort in comparison with the control individuals aged 35 to 45 years.
- According to the third approach, the end of the school-to-work transition period corresponds not just to gaining access to employment, but also to staying there: in this case, individuals have reached a “stabilised position in the employment system”. In the table opposite, this approach is illustrated by the proportion of G98 cohort members who worked for twelve consecutive months, and below these figures, by the rates of exit from employment to unemployment.
- the final state can be defined more closely, however, in terms of steady employment, defined as an occupational situation compatible with financial independence, which is not liable to suddenly deteriorate. In this approach, the type of employment contract is often used as an indicator and fixed-term forms of employment are taken to be associated with transitory intermediate phases.
- according to the last definition of school-to-work transition, which is a more subjective one, the final state is the permanent job status (as opposed to “standby” job status), i.e., it involves having jobs which individuals feel they can keep, which come up to their expectations and which they feel could not be improved in the short term. In the table, this situation is described in negative terms by the proportion of G98 members in employment who declared that they were looking for other jobs.

Generally speaking, in occupational spheres where strong gender differences still occur, the promotion pathways of men and women are quite different. From their first recruitment up to their seventh year of active life, men seem to follow fairly linear paths (see the diagram on page 6). Shifts between various categories of employment show the existence of strong promotion paths in industrial spheres. There also exist promotion paths leading to executive positions in the administrative sector, as well as in the crafts, where workers sometimes end up by becoming self-employed.

Promotion paths for women are less straightforward. One series of promotions occurred in administrative and commercial spheres, where many women rose from being clerks to intermediate occupations, which often meant that they moved from sales to administrative work. Women also tended to move from the private to public sectors: a number of those with administrative or commercial jobs with firms became civil servants.

These differences between men's and women's promotion pathways do not suffice, however, to explain the differences in terms of promotion which exist between the sexes, even within similar categories of employment. Among the young people who first started to work in administrative or commercial intermediate

occupations, only 19% of the women had become executives by the end of their seventh year on the labour market, versus 35% of the men: this is an almost two-fold difference.

On the other hand, during the first seven years of active life, occupational moves were not always in the upward direction, and this can be said of both men and women. Although 30% of the G98 youths were promoted between their first job and the position they held seven years after their labour market entry, 8% dropped to lower positions. In addition to these vertical shifts up and down the employment scale, horizontal moves also occurred when young people made a change of occupational field. In fact, 30% of the G98 youths did not perceive their professional trajectory as being linear and declared that they had made a change of direction, and 12% said that they had done so several times. Multiple changes of direction were particularly frequent among young people with no qualifications, who repeatedly tried to make their way upwards despite all the obstacles they encountered on the labour market.

Moving from one employer to another as a means of catching up

The main reason why the G98 cohort's occupational situations changed so much at

Unemployment rate • The proportion of the active population in unemployment.

Median salary • Net mean salary including bonuses (expressed in euros) above which half of the young people under consideration are paid, regardless of their working hours.

Promotion • Moving from one position to a higher position on the French occupational ladder.

Promotion rate • Ratio between the number of young people promoted and the mean number of young people in employment during a given year.

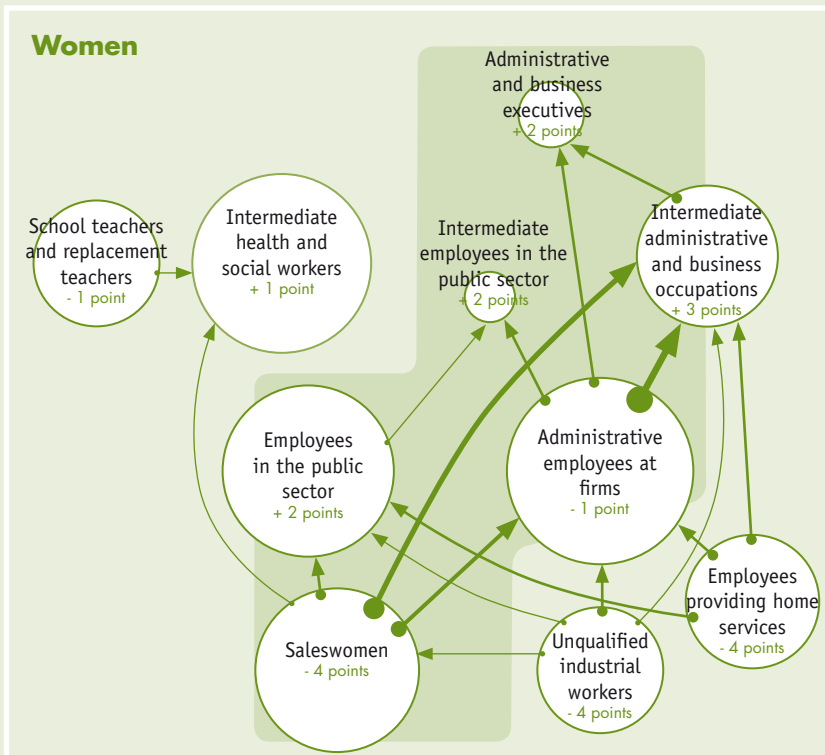
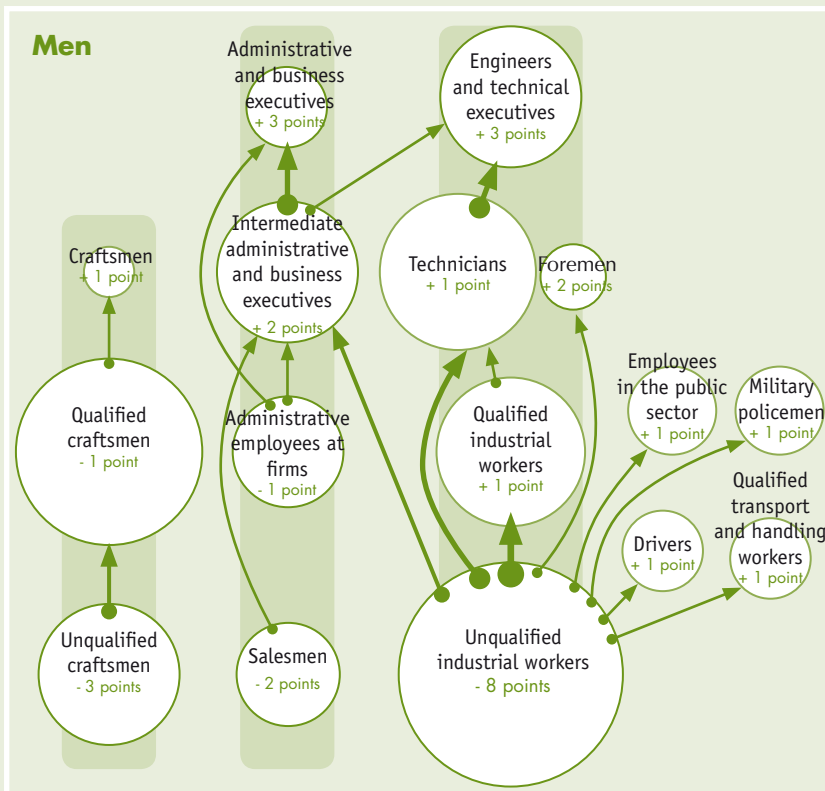
Downgrading • Moving from one position to a lower position on the French occupational ladder.

see the Table on page 9

■ Some indexes to the transition to work of the members of "Generation

■ Career paths

Main shifts between socio-professional levels observed among members of Generation 98 during the first seven years of active life



Socio-professional categories

(the circles are proportional to the numbers at first recruitment)

Changes in the relative weights of the various categories between the first recruitment and the end of the seventh year of active life

Total number of shifts between the first recruitment and the end of the seventh year of active life:

- ➔ More than 4 000 youths
- ➔ From 3 000 to 4 000 youths
- ➔ From 2 000 to 3 000 youths
- ➔ From 1 000 to 2 000 youths
- ➔ Less than 1 000 youths

Scope: all young people leaving the French educational system in 1998 who were in employment at the end of their 3rd, 5th and 7th year of active life
Source: Céreq's "Generation 98" survey (interviews conducted in 2005)

the beginning of their careers was that 74% of them moved at least once from one employer to another during their first seven years on the labour market. This pattern of mobility decreased, however, with time. During the first three years, 56% of the G98 cohort moved from one employer to another, which amounts to 19% per year. This annual rate dropped to 13% during the following two years and was down to 9% by the sixth year on the labour market. External mobility is not always synonymous with promotion, however, since it involves taking risks: young people who leave their employers are more highly exposed to being downgraded and ending up in a lower position. Transitory periods of unemployment also occurred quite frequently in these cases, especially after the third year on the labour market. Despite the risks involved, however, young people who moved from one employer to another certainly progressed more than the others on the whole. In terms of their wages, for example, mobile individuals started off with median wages amounting to 10% less than those of their sedentary counterparts, but this gap was reduced to 4% after three years of active life. The gap was also reduced more strongly among females than males.

Moving from one employer to another therefore usually provides a means of catching up or making even. Here again, however, it is necessary to take into account the many differences between these G98 youths and the conditions under which they forged their professional trajectories. The advantages of external mobility have mostly been analysed in the case of fairly highly qualified groups of young people, who are assumed to be able to choose between sedentary or nomadic careers. However, as we have seen here, the youths who moved most frequently from one employer to another were those with the lowest qualifications, who were often not being deliberately mobile at all.

Departures from firms are often not a matter of choice

This analysis of young people's first seven years on the labour market therefore confirms that mobility was often not a matter of free choice. In many cases, it occurred on already discontinuous employment pathways. Many of these young people left an employer after a temporary job or a fixed-term contract which came to an end, or were laid off or dismissed from their jobs. Reasons of this kind explained half of all exits from employment occurring in the G98 cohort during the first seven years in their working lives (see the graph on the opposite page). The rates at which involuntary mobility of this kind occurred in this population did not generally change much with time, although

young people leaving their employers after their first three years on the labour market were more often leaving permanent jobs rather than fixed-term contracts or temporary jobs. Depending on the reasons why young people left their firms, the outcome of mobility was quite different. The median wage of young people who gave up permanent jobs easily caught up with that of those who stayed put, whereas the wage gap which already penalized those young people who happened to be laid off or dismissed remained unchanged, or even deteriorated thereafter (see the graph on page 8).

External mobility can therefore have different outcomes, depending on the reasons for leaving the previous firm. These effects also differ, depending on whether or not the mobility involves a change of geographical location. Among the young people working as skilled clerks or skilled workers at the beginning of their sixth year on the labour market, for instance, 7% of those who stayed with the same employer were promoted during the following two years. This proportion rose to 17% among those who made a change of firm without leaving the previous employment area; and to 23% among those who moved not only to another employer but also to another area. Geographical mobility, which accounted for half of all cases of external mobility occurring in this population during their first years on the labour market, therefore seems to have reduced the risk of being downgraded to a lower position to which making a change of employer normally gives rise.

External mobility provides not only a means of catching up. It also provides a means of making a change of direction in a person's career: 88% of the young people who said they had made a change of direction had moved from one employer to another, as compared with 68% of those who said they had not made any changes of direction. In addition, external mobility facilitates the workforce reallocation required to meet the changing needs of companies: between the third and seventh year on the labour market, a shift occurred among G98 cohort members from industry and personal services to the transport and building industries, two sectors in which recruitment increased quite strongly as from 2001.

In conclusion, the present analysis of the first seven years in the active lives of a cohort of young people who entered the labour market the same year makes it necessary to re-visit some commonly held ideas about early occupational trajectories. The results obtained here show that the G98 youths' occupational status continued to be consolidated during a much longer period than that simply required to obtain steady employment. They therefore challenge the traditional idea that the school-

The "Generation 98" Survey

Since the late 1990s, Céreq has been carrying out large longitudinal surveys with a view to analysing the labour market paths of cohorts of young people who all left the initial vocational and educational system the same year at various qualification levels. Surveys of this kind have been carried out on "Generation 92", "Generation 98" and "Generation 2001", and it is now proposed to launch another survey focusing on "Generation 2004".

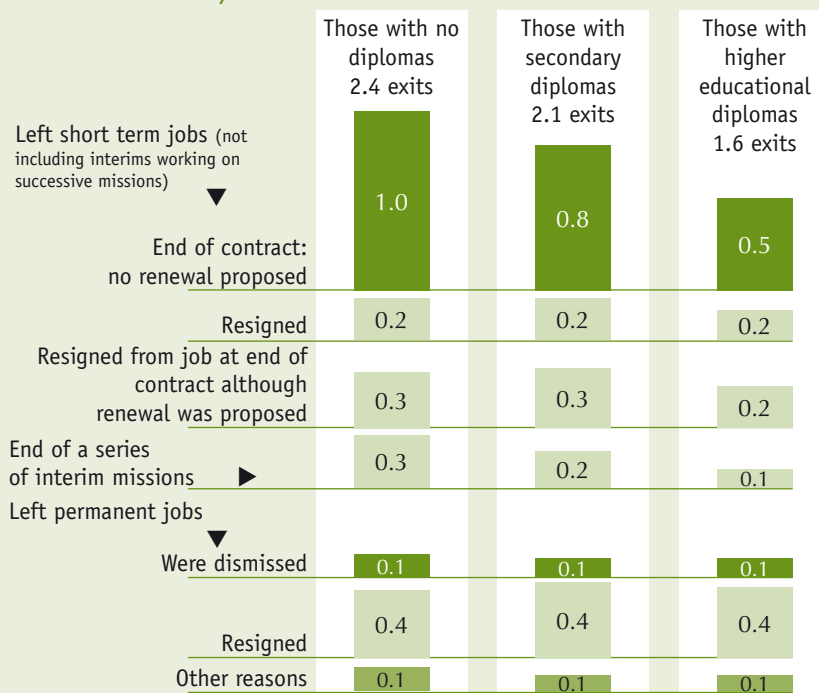
The results presented in this Newsletter were based on the "Generation 98" survey carried out on 742 000 young people who entered the labour market in 1998. A series of interviews were conducted on a sample of 16 000 individuals in Spring 2001 (after three years of active life), and again in Spring 2003 (after five years of active life) and in Autumn 2005 (at the end of the seventh year of active life). Each of these three interviews was based on a questionnaire administered by telephone and the responses were automatically recorded on-line.

The "Generation 98" survey focuses mainly on young people's occupational paths with a view to drawing a longitudinal picture of their school-to-work transition and early career experience. At each interview, an "occupational calendar" was used to collect details of the respondents' situation month by month: employment, unemployment, inactivity, etc. Further questions were then asked about the various periods of employment, about the employers and conditions of employment (work contract, salary, position, type of occupation, etc.) and the respondents' job satisfaction. The respondents were also questioned about their periods of unemployment, as to whether they had taken job-hunting steps, undergone vocational training, received unemployment benefits, etc. A second calendar focusing on the habitat and the family was used to record any changes in the personal lives of the young people interviewed.

to-work transition phase is immediately followed by a phase focusing on building a career. On the one hand, the trajectories of G98 youths with only lower secondary diplomas or no diplomas whatsoever do not fit this pattern at all well. Many of them continued to suffer from economic ups and downs and were still looking for steady employment after toiling for seven years on

■ Exits from employment

Mean number of times young people left their employers during their first seven years of active life



Scope: all young people leaving the French educational system in 1998 who obtained at least one job during their first seven years of active life
Source: Céreq's "Generation 98" survey (interviews conducted in 2005)

the labour market. Some of them may indeed never achieve permanent employment status and may never escape segments of the labour market which have only short-term jobs, low wages and poor career prospects to offer. On the other hand, three overlapping processes were found to be at work. In the case of higher educational graduates: the process of access to and stabilization in employment, which was much shorter than among the other G98 cohort members; a more gradual contract consolidation phase; and a corrective repositioning phase involving a move towards jobs where the occupational status and wages are more in line with the expectations to which young people with higher diplomas are entitled.

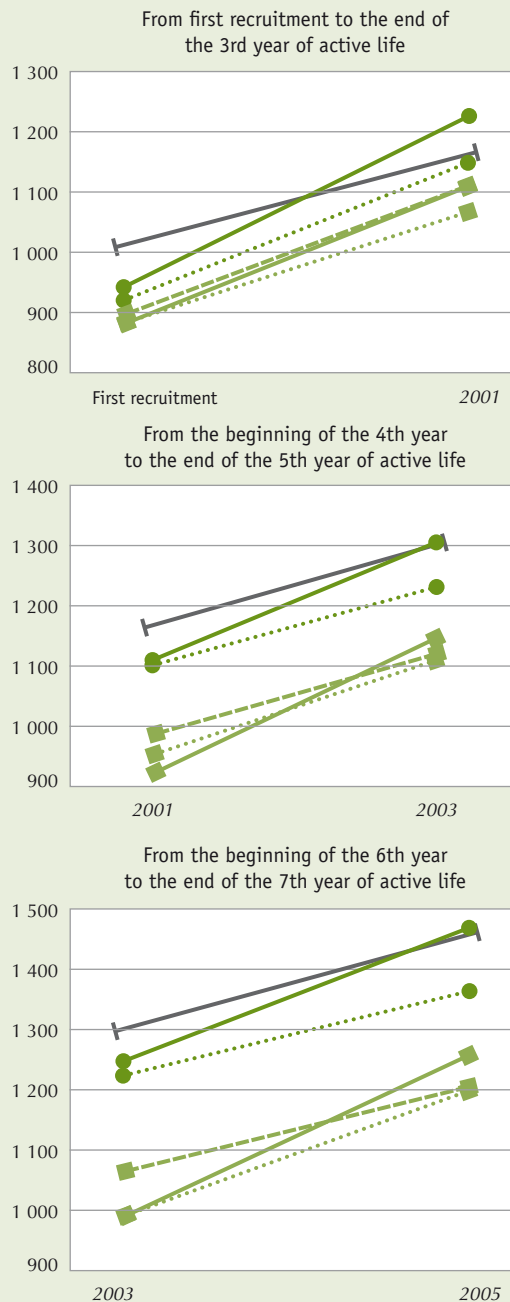
This analysis of the career paths taken by G98 youths also makes it necessary to revisit traditional ideas about the effects of moving from one employer to another at the beginning of one's career. Since external mobility is often involuntary rather than being freely chosen, it cannot be said to constitute an alternative to internal mobility as a path to promotion. Depending on the reasons for leaving a firm, several kinds of external mobility can occur, and the question as to what effects they may have on people's career paths is certainly worth investigating further. At an even more fundamental level, it would also be worth investigating the links between the various factors contributing to career development. The effects of extra-occupational factors, such as leaving the parental home and founding a family, will have to be taken into account to explain the reasons for the considerable differences observed here between the trajectories of the various members of this cohort.

It would also be certainly worth analysing some of the more subjective factors involved, especially when youths' feelings about their own situation seem to be in contradiction with their material situation. For example, despite the increase in the number of promotions and the improved working conditions from which people benefit, the satisfaction indexes do not always reflect these favourable trends. Between the third and seventh years of active life, the same proportion of the G98 cohort continued to feel that their abilities were not being used to the full or that they were underpaid. Increasingly large numbers of young employees also feel that they are not fulfilling themselves in their work. To understand young people's occupational paths more fully, it will be necessary to analyse these paradoxes in greater depth.

Thomas Couppié, Céline Gasquet and Alberto Lopez (Céreq)

External mobility and the resulting wage patterns

Median wage (in euros)



Young people who made a change of employer for the following reasons:

- resigned from permanent jobs
- ...● were dismissed from permanent jobs
- resigned from short term jobs
- ...■ left short term jobs although renewal of the contract was proposed
- ...■ left short term jobs and no renewal of contract was proposed
- |— young people who stayed with the same employer

Scope: all young people leaving the French educational system in 1998 who were in employment at the end of their 3rd, 5th and 7th year of active life

Source: Céreq's "Generation 98" survey (interviews conducted in 2005)

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

- "Quand l'école est finie... Premiers pas dans la vie active de la Génération 98" (What happens after leaving school? The first steps in the active lives of "Generation 98" youths), Céreq, 2002.

The results obtained in the first "Generation 98" interview (see the inset on page 7).

- "Quand la carrière commence" (What happens when starting a career?) The first seven years in the active lives of "Generation 98" youths, Céreq, in preparation.

This survey, which is due to be published in September 2007, gives an overall picture of the results obtained in the third "Generation 98" interview.

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■ Some indexes to the transition to work of the members of "Generation 98"

	"Generation 98"												Those in the 35- to 45- year old age (control) group							
	No diplomas				Secondary diplomas				Higher educational diplomas				Combined							
	After the				After the				After the				After the							
	1st	3rd	5th	7th	1st	3rd	5th	7th	1st	3rd	5th	7th	1st	3rd	5th	7th	No diplomas	Secondary diplomas	Higher educational diplomas	Combined
	1999	2001	2003	2005	1999	2001	2003	2005	1999	2001	2003	2005	1999	2001	2003	2005	2003	2003	2003	2003
	(percentages)																(percentages)			
In employment	60	66	68	72	73	82	84	85	80	92	92	93	74	83	85	86	70	85	88	81
<i>Permanent contracts</i>	25	36	44	52	33	52	63	71	47	72	80	85	37	57	68	74	63	81	85	76
<i>Fixed-term contracts</i>	12	10	9	8	17	13	10	8	20	12	7	5	18	12	8	7	4	3	3	3
<i>Interim work</i>	14	11	10	8	11	7	4	3	5	2	1	1	9	6	4	3	2	1	0	1
<i>Subsidized contracts¹</i>	7	7	4	2	10	8	5	1	7	5	3	1	8	7	4	1	1	0	0	1
<i>Other short-term employment</i>	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
In unemployment	22	22	23	20	13	9	10	9	9	5	5	5	13	10	10	9	12	7	6	8
Not in activity	18	12	9	8	14	9	6	6	11	3	3	2	13	7	5	5	18	8	6	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Unemployment rates	28	25	25	22	15	10	10	9	10	5	5	5	15	10	11	9	15	8	6	9
During the last 12 months,																				
Worked continuously	38	50	54	59	47	68	75	78	44	83	88	89	44	71	77	79	63	79	83	75
Rate of exit from employment to unemployment ²	25	26	28	21	19	14	12	11	15	8	6	5	18	13	12	9	11	7	4	7
Those with jobs looking for other jobs ³	nd	28	23	22	nd	26	18	17	nd	23	18	16	nd	25	19	17	13	10	9	11

1 – The only State-subsidized contracts counted here were those clearly identified by the respondents, namely "qualification contracts", apprenticeship, "Emplois jeunes" contracts, solidarity-employment contracts and consolidated employment contracts.

2 – Ratio between the number of exits from employment to unemployment and the average number of individuals in employment during the previous twelve months.

3 – This indicator deals only with individuals in employment. No data of this kind are available on the members of Generation 98 (marked *nd*) for 1999. In the case of the 35-45 year-old age-group (the control group), the data were based on these people's responses to the following question in the Labour Force 2004 survey: "Would you like to have another job, either in addition to the present one or instead of it?". In this survey, 17% of the young people who left the educational system in 1998 and had jobs at the time of the interview answered "yes", as compared with 11% of the 35-45 year-old age-group.

Sources: the interviews carried out in 2005 as part of Céreq's "Generation 1998" survey; and the Labour Force surveys carried out by Insee in 2003 and 2004, the indicators of which were processed by Céreq in 2006. The indicators used correspond in general to the situation of the respondents interviewed in October of the years in question.