Training & Employment

WHEN THE TRANSITION TO WORK PROCESS GRINDS TO A HALT

Although unemployment is endemic among those under 25 years of age, we still do not have a very clear picture of the young people who continue to haunt the fringes of the labour market after leaving the educational system. One tends to imagine that they have few if any diplomas and that they are mostly boys. In fact, those with the baccalauréat and those with no qualifications account for equal numbers, and the majority of this population are girls. These young people make an extremely difficult start in active life, since they acquire practically no occupational experience for several years. This does not necessarily mean, however, that they are subsequently barred from all hopes of access to the world of work.

The high rates of unemployment among young people, especially those who are just embarking on the labour market, have been a recurrent theme of public debate for the last 20 years. This problem is all the more worrying as it seems to focus on some young people in particular. Among those who completed their studies in 1998 (see the inset on page 4), 50 000, amounting to 6.5%, were hit by "chronic unemployment": by 2001, these youths were still unemployed, and they had worked for no more than six months since leaving the educational system three years previously. Three-quarters of them had not even worked at all or had done only odd jobs or very occasional work during the last three years.

However, these youths actually benefited from comparatively favourable labour market conditions from 1998 to 2000 in comparison with those who left the educational system back in 1992 in a much less favourable economic context, since as many as 8.7% of the latter group ended up in chronic unemployment.

Who exactly are the young people who spend long periods on the fringes of the labour market? Young people who do not feel like working? Young housewives with children to look after? Or youths who are disqualified and unable to join the labour market because they lack suitable training?

On the fringes of the labour market, but still active

In fact, two thirds of these youngsters did actually belong to the active population during these first three years on the labour market. Their situation closely resembled long-term unemployment. They declared quite clearly that they were looking for work, and listed the various steps they had taken on these lines: answering job adverts, attending interviews, etc.

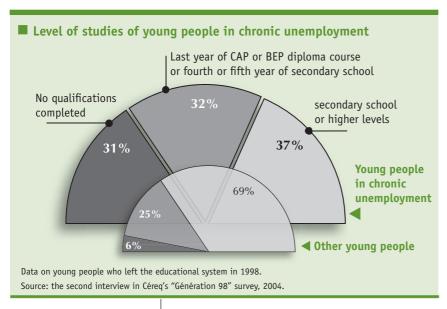
Three out of ten stated, however, that they had neither looked for work, undergone vocational training nor resumed their studies. Yet these declared periods of inactivity are somewhat contradictory with the facts: 85% of this sub-group had contacted the national unemployment agency (ANPE), 61% had responded to at least one job proposal, and 45% had attended at least one interview. It looks rather as if many of those who said they had been inactive were reluctant to admit that episodes when they attempted unsuccessfully to find work actually constituted periods of job-hunting.

It emerges in fact that less than one young person in chronic unemployment out of five seems to have actually withdrawn voluntarily from job-seeking. Half of this number are young women with children. These people therefore constitute only a small minority of all young people in chronic unemployment.

One third of chronically unemployed youths have reached at least baccalauréat level

Having cleared up the above misconceptions about the profiles of the young people involved, one might easily imagine that those who are involuntarily excluded from the labour market might lack vocational training. Now although it is true that these chronically unemployed youths were less well qualified than their generation as a whole, since one third of them held no qualifications, one third had reached CAP or BEP diploma level and the remaining third had reached at least baccalauréat level (see the graph on page 2). On the other hand, the most highly qualified members of this group





Young people in "chronic unemployment"

Young people who have spent less than six months in employment during their first three years on the labour market and are still unemployed, have not resumed their studies and are not doing their national service.

The present analysis is based on the paths of young people who left the French educational system in 1998 (see the inset on page 3).

do not seem to have been more "inactive" than the others, and there were no indications that they may have withdrawn from the labour market deliberately, whereas the less well qualified members of the group may have been excluded against their own will.

Among the chronically unemployed youths who reached at least baccalauréat level, some fields of speciality and some levels seem to have been particularly frequently associated with difficulty in gaining access to employment. The figures show that 16% of them had obtained a baccalauréat in tertiary specialities, 10% had left shool in their final year without obtaining the baccalauréat, 33% had pursued higher educational streams for one or two years without obtaining a diploma, and 14% had graduated with second cycle University degrees in the Arts, the Human Sciences or Management.

At the CAP and BEP diploma level, this cleavage between industrial and tertiary specialities is quite conspicuous. The risk of exclusion from the labour market was found to weigh most heavily on those who opted for the tertiary sector without obtaining diplomas, and then on those who did

obtain diplomas in this sector, followed by those who took industrial specialities without obtaining a diploma and those who left general secondary school streams in the fourth or fifth year. Those with industrial CAP and BEP diplomas seem to have been relatively safe from chronic unemployment during the first few years of active life.

The effects of some training specialities are particularly stigmatising in the case of the highly feminised tertiary paths, which are also those leading most frequently to unemployment, precarious working conditions and declassifying processes at recruitment. Now among the young people in a chronic state of unemployment, there are twice as many females as males (see the graph below).

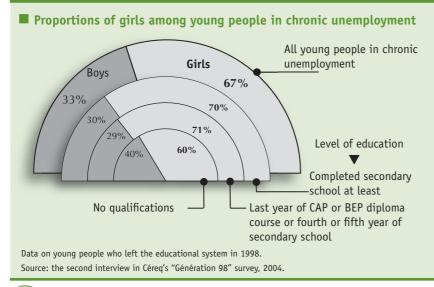
This strikingly high proportion of girls among the young people whose integration to work processes get off to a poor start is not simply due to the large numbers of females enrolling in some training streams with little labour market value. Up to training levels corresponding to 2 years after the baccalauréat, even women with training in the more traditionally masculine or mixed occupational fields are more frequently unemployed than the men who have taken the same training courses. This might be because social pressures as regards employment are exerted more strongly on males than on females: being chronically unemployed during the first three years of active life has less decisive effects on the personal lives of girls than boys: in the group of chronically unemployed youths, 40% of the girls were living with a partner, as against 47% of those with more successful transition to work pathways, whereas these percentages amounted to only 5% as against 26% in the case of boys.

Getting out of the rut is not an impossible task

The longer people remain unemployed, the less attractive they may appear to prospective employers, and the less "employable" they may therefore become. One might therefore naturally tend to take a rather pessimistic view of the future outlook for young people who have begun their active lives by knocking at the doors of the labour market for practically three years.

The situation does subsequently improve, however, for these young people. The proportion of those who find work gradually begin to increase. After five years on the labour market, 43% of the group had obtained jobs (see the graph on the opposite page). The unemployment rates decreased correspondingly from 62 to 35%, and the rates of those no longer in activity decreased from 25 to 17%.

To account for these tendencies, mathematicians would probably say that we are dealing with a Markovian system: each of these young people, however long ago they started looking for work, has a small chance of finding a job (and keeping



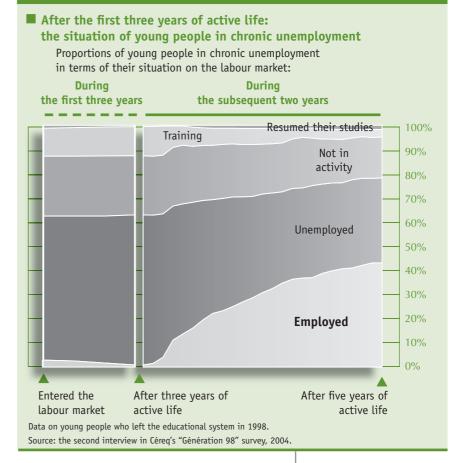
it). As time goes by, it is therefore quite natural that the likelihood of finding a job should become reality for some of the members of the group and then for some others, and so on. However, a purely probabilistic explanation of this kind does not completely account for the fact that some of these so-called "decreasingly employable" youngsters were eventually recruited, nor does it provide any economic cues to why this turn of events occurred.

Although it improved on the whole, the situation of these young people who experienced chronic unemployment during their first three years on the labour market still remained guite difficult if we compare them with their peers who found the transition to work process less problematic. After five years of active life, 85% of the latter group were employed, only 9% were unemployed and 3% were not in activity. However, the exposure of chronically unemployed youths to the world of work improved somewhat with time. Although half of this group were still on the fringes of employment five years after leaving the educational system, one third of its members had worked for at least twelve months during the two previous years. The persistent state of unemployment in which they were initially plunged seems to have gradually relaxed its hold, despite the degradation of the general economic context.

Employment figures improve with time, but the jobs obtained are often atypical

The jobs eventually secured during the fourth and fifth years by young people who were chronically unemployed during their first three years on the labour market involved work contracts of a rather different kind from those of the young people who obtained jobs more quickly (see the graph below). Among the chronically unemployed youths who subsequently found work, 14% obtained assisted contracts such as youth employment contracts, solidarity employment contracts (CES), consolidated employment contracts (CEC) and in a few cases, apprenticeship contracts. This proportion is three times higher than that recorded among the other members of this generation.

The effects of public policies are clearly visible here. Public policies were no doubt also



responsible for the fact that after three years of unemployment, the holders of CAP and BEP diplomas managed to do just as well as those who had reached the baccalauréat or higher levels, since policies reducing the social contributions of employers recruiting workers in the low salary brackets must have led to more jobs going to the least qualified youths. It is not possible, however, to determine how many chronically unemployed youths benefited indirectly from this scheme. In addition, although youths with even fewer qualifications who did not obtain BEP or CAP diplomas might have been expected to be the main beneficiaries of this scheme, this group actually remained way behind the others.

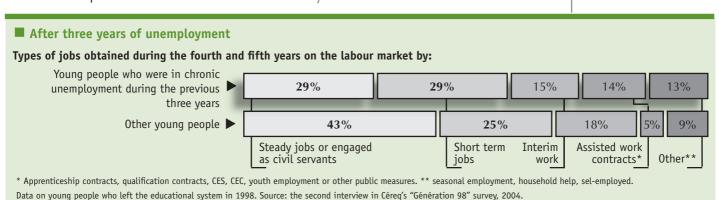
Despite the economic downturn which occurred in 2001 and the reluctance of employers to recruit staff under these unfavourable circumstances, the patterns of employment observed among the youths excluded between 1998 and 2001

• Youths not in activity

Young people who were not in paid employment, were not looking for employment, had not resumed their studies and were not undergoing vocational training or doing their National Service.

• Youths with no qualifications

Youths who left school at junior secondary level or before reaching the second year of the CAP or BEP diploma course.



from the labour market somehow continued to improve. However, the increase in the supply of short-term jobs (CDD) and part-time positions may well have contributed to this pattern, since jobs of this kind went more frequently to chronically unemployed youths. It is certainly possible that after three years on the fringes of employment, these young people may have ended up by agreeing more readily than others to work under rather unfavourable conditions, or at least to take jobs with very few prospects.

Part-time jobs, especially when they were taken "involuntarily" because the applicants would have preferred full-time jobs, tended to go much more frequently to those young people who had spent years waiting to join the labour market: 32% of their jobs were "involuntarily" part-time (the same was actually true of 38% of the steady jobs taken by members of this group), as compared with the other youths: in the latter group, only 14% of the jobs were "involuntarily" part-time (and 13% of the steady jobs). It is also worth noting that 29% of all the jobs taken by youths who had been chronically unemployed during their first four or five years on the labour market were short-term jobs, as compared with 25% in the case of those taken by other young people during that period.

The eventual uptake of young people who started off by being chronically unemployed might also be explained in terms of theories of the "job search" kind, in which people are taken to gradually lower their sights with time, given the constraints imposed by the labour market. Young people may make cost-effectiveness calculations by weighing up the advantages of continuing to look for employment and accepting a real job opportunity, and they may decide to shift from the one situation to the other if their calculations show that it is worth accepting the job. It so happens, however, that these 50 000 chronically unemployed youths received no unemployment benefits during their first three years on the labour market, since by definition, they had worked for a total period of less than six months during their first three years on the labour market. In addition, 80% were too young to be eligible for the minimum living allowance (RMI). Any cost-effectiveness calculations they may have made would therefore have incited them to accept whatever opportunities of working arose, even during the first three years consisting mostly of unemployment. It has also been suggested that these young people may take jobs because they are beginning to lack family support. In fact, 70% of those who were living with their parents three years after they left school were still doing so two years later. Explanations based on "job search" theories do not therefore account satisfactorily for the present findings.

Between opportunity and determination

Transition to work probably depends on a cross between greater job opportunities and greater determination on the part of these young people to find employment. After all, it is they

A picture of the first five years on the labour market

The studies presented in this issue of the Newsletter were based for the first time on data obtained in the second series of interviews carried out in the framework of the "Generation 98" survey. In 2001, Céreq interviewed 54 000 young people with various educational and vocational training backgrounds out of the 740 000 who left initial educational institutions in 1998. 22 000 of these youths were interviewed a second time in 2003.

The "Generation 98" survey describes the occupational paths of these young people month by month in terms of the following categories: In employment, Interim workers, Job-hunting, Resuming studies, Vocational training (apart from that for which provision is made in work contracts), National Service, and Other situations. The last category is generally synonymous with inactivity, although some young people in this situation mention that they have taken steps to look for jobs or even been interviewed by prospective employers.

The results of the "Generation 98" survey therefore make it possible to trace the paths taken by young people during their first five years on the labour market. In addition, it gives a picture of their situation in 2001 and 2003 in terms of where and how they live, whether they are living with partners, how many children they have, and what parts of the country they inhabit.

■ The main results of the first interview carried out in the framework of the "Generation 98" survey are available on the Céreq website: www.cereq.fr.

themselves who look for jobs, accept them, adapt to them, and keep them for a certain length of time. Among the youths who declared that they had experienced long periods of inactivity during their first three years on the labour market, 40% had joined the ranks of those in activity two years later: two thirds of this group were working and one third declared that they were looking for a job. Some of these youths may thus have succeeded in joining the world of work simply because they invested more strongly in searching for employment during the fourth and fifth years than they had done up to that point.

On the other hand, family events (leaving the parents' home, living with a partner, divorce or separation, the arrival of children, etc.) and/or geographical moves occurring between the third and fifth year of activity might have possibly contributed to obtaining a job. However, very few of these young people reported being involved in events of this kind.

All in all, several factors combined seem to have pulled at least some of these young people out of the doldrums and set them on the road to work several years after leaving the educational system: these factors depend not only on firms, the State and the local authorities, but also on the young people themselves. The convergent effects of all these factors constitute a delicate mechanism which cannot be elucidated by performing statistical analyses alone. One should not forget, moreover, that it may be inappropriate to design youth employment policies focusing expressly on youths with no qualifications, since as many as one third of the youths who remain on the fringes of employment have obtained at least the baccalauréat or higher levels of qualification. On the other hand, greater awareness of the fact that large numbers of women are involved in this population of beginners long excluded from transition to work might be an important step towards designing more appropriately targeted policies.

Virginie Mora (Céreq)

Further reading

- "Quand l'école est finie...
 Premiers pas dans la vie active
 de la Génération 98" (Once
 school is over. The first steps
 in the active lives of the
 Generation 98 school-leavers),
 Céreq, 2002 (available on CDRom or on the Céreq website,
 www.cereq.fr).
- "Les jeunes sans qualification.
 Un groupe hétérogène, des parcours d'insertion divers", (Youths with no qualifications.
 A heterogeneous group taking various transition-to-work paths) C. Gasquet, Bref, n° 202, November 2003.
- "Que sont les filles et les garçons devenus? Orientation scolaire atypique et entrée dans la vie active", (What has become of these boys and girls? Atypical educational paths and transition to active life) D. Epiphane, T. Couppié, Bref, n° 178, September 2001.

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Briefing

Updates

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- h March 2005, a symposium organised in Marseille by the Céreq department responsible for the production and use of vocational training was attended by research workers from several countries (Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden). This meeting focused on the theme of the relationships between life-long training and occupational paths. The aim was to enable participants to describe and compare each country's ideas about the links between initial and continuing training and the national labour market mechanisms. Prior to these sessions, a paper was presented on the application of the theory of transitional markets to life-long vocational training. This symposium was designed to stimulate thinking on the subject, since this department intends

to subsequently investigate the conditions associated with life-long vocational training in various national contexts. It is proposed in this project to determine the effects of vocational training on people's occupational activities and how the training opportunities and choices available affect their career paths, depending on the institutional, economic and occupational environment in which they carry out their work. The findings obtained should throw light on the results of European statistical surveys on continuing vocational training, to which Céreq has contributed by studying the significance and the implications of life-long vocational training, the results obtained on these lines and the links with labour market mechanisms.

■ For further information, contact: Annie Bouder (Céreq), tél. 04 91 13 28 28, e-mail : bouder@cereq.fr.

h March 2005, Céreq hosted a group of professionals working in the field of vocational training in various member countries of the European Union. This visit was part of the exchanges organised by the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP). Although several representatives from Céreq have participated in study visits to other countries, this was the first time Céreq has played the role of host to members from other countries. The programme of this visit focused on the implementation of the Validation of Acquired Experience (VAE) scheme in the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region. On this occasion, Frédéric Séchaud from Céreq presented the initial results of a regional survey in which it was proposed to determine the reasons for the upstream gaps in the demand for the Validation of Acquired Experience and the forms these gaps have taken. Françoise Kogut-Kubiak and Bernardine Rivoire, also from Céreq, then explained the difficulties encountered when there exist no proper competence standards on which to base VAE efforts. This paper was based on a study on access to engineering diplomas via VAE at technological universities. The ensuing discussions were extremely lively and the guests showed great interest in the specificities of VAE in France. This visit was completed by a series of meetings with institutional actors involved in VAE in the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region, especially Roland Kastler, the Technical Educational System (DAET) Delegate at the Aix-Marseille educational district Headquarters.

The transition to work of higher educational graduates in Central and Eastern European countries was the theme addressed at the symposium organised in Dijon in May 2005 by Iredu (the CNRS Institute for Education and Research on Educational Sociology and Economics) along with the Céreq's associated Burgundy centre. This meeting, which was attended by representatives from Russia, Kirghizistan, Estonia and Latvia, was the culmination of the REFLEX (Research into Employment and Professional Flexibility) project funded by the European Commission, which pursues the following goals: to develop comparative research on the relationships between higher education and the labour

market for young graduates, to determine

the effects of young graduates' competencies

on occupations and professional careers, to analyse the efficiency of higher educational establishments, and to assess inequality in terms of access to employment and social, national and gender discrimination. Iredu, with the support of the city of Dijon, will provide the countries involved with methodological and scientific assistance, in the framework of the ECO-NET programme. This project will be carried out in the regions of Riga (Latvia), Tallin (Estonia), Bishkek (Kirghizistan), Volgograd and Moscow (Russia). A symposium will be held in Volgograd, at which scientific reports will be presented outlining the role of each country's higher educational system and describing the specificities of the labour market for young people; the results of the surveys carried out in each country will also be reported.

- For further information, contact: Christine Guégnard (Céreq-Iredu), tél. 03 80 39 54 50, e-mail : cguegnar@u-bourgogne.fr
- For information about the REFLEX project, see the website: www. fdewb.unimaas.nl/roa/ reflex.



Updates

■ For further information, contact: Elsa Personnaz or Coralie Perez (Céreq), tél. 04 91 13 28 28, e-mail : personnaz@cereq.fr ou perez@cereq.fr.

See the websites:

- Reports on the survey on "Comparative and evaluative analysis of guidance and counselling services for out of work individuals and workers at risk in five European countries" www.fh-darmstadt.de/ guidance-in-europe.
 and the Leonardo da Vinci website: www. socrates-leonardo.fr.
- See the University of Bremen website: www.itb.uni-bremen. de, via the links "Publikationen", and "ITB-Arbeitspapiere".

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Career guidance for adult job-seekers and employees in five European countries. Céreq is carrying out a European survey on career guidance services. The main participants in this survey conducted in the framework of the European "Leonardo da Vinci" programme are Cereq's Aquitaine centre, the ICAS Institute in Spain, the University of Stirling in the United Kingdom, the University of Ljubjana in Slovenia and the Darmstadt Fachhochschule in Germany. The aim is to analyse career guidance and counselling services available to job-seekers and employees, especially those liable to lose their jobs and those in difficulty on the labour market. These services are defined in this project as "mediating activities intended to improve the employability and the mobility of unemployed workers, as well as to promote the creation of bridges between different situations on the

The French vocational baccalauréat created in 1985, which corresponds to a two-year course of vocational study, equips its holders to immediately join the world of work. At the beginning, it was intended not only to reflect the acquisition of competencies corresponding to the latest technological developments on the labour market, but also to improve the image of vocational training in France. Have these goals been achieved? Several studies focusing on this question tend to show that the goals defined above have in fact been achieved.

However, this does not necessarily mean that this diploma is properly recognised in the professional fields with which it deals. In addition, the use made of this diploma by firms does not exactly correspond to the objectives for which it was created. However, the results of a survey carried out in the Basse-Normandie

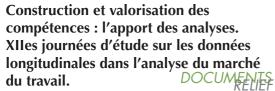
→ he Moroccan Secretary of State for vocational training has set up an inquiry into the prerequisites for setting up an information and documentation centre focusing on competence management. The delegation responsible for this project, entitled "The competence management approach", was headed by Allal Ouahab, assisted by Fatima Zahra El Hirech, who is in charge of the labour market aspects and the transparency of the project, and by Fatima Zahra Belyazid, is responsible for setting up the information and documentation centre in question. At the initiative of GIP-Inter, a public interest group responsible at the Ministry of Labour for the development of international technical assistance and cooperation, this delegation paid a visit to Céreq in June 2005. On this occasion, three speakers presented different

labour market". These services are therefore being assessed in cooperation with the pubic authorities responsible for employment and vocational training. The survey will consist of three phases. In the first phase, adult career guidance services will be assessed and compared. In the second phase, it will be attempted to draw up a qualitative picture of the processes underlying the production of career guidance services. All this information will be classified in a typology, which will be checked and revised in the third phase, which should be completed by the end of 2006. This survey will also provide an opportunity of analysing the various concepts of quality conveyed and mobilised by the actors in the field of adult career guidance. At the end of each phase, a comparative report will be drawn up and published on the internet site devoted to this survey.

region have shown that the holders of vocational baccalauréats manage the transition-to-work process without much difficulty and that they are glad they took this course. Might this new diploma have contributed to changing people's image of vocational training on the whole? Although young people's picture of vocational training may have changed, has a similar change also occurred among the actors directly involved in vocational training? In a report entitled "Social Representations of Vocational Education and Training in France through the French Vocational Baccalauréat Case-Study" published by the University of Bremen in Germany, Bénédicte Gendron (a University Professor working with the Matisse research group, as well as with the Cerfee Centre at the University of Montpellier 3), analyses how representations of the vocational baccalauréat have changed.

aspects of competence management and how it can be applied. Damien Brochier and Sylvie Monchatre from Céreq spoke about "Vocational training and competence management: what is at stake when the principles of competence management are applied" and "Competence management: a matter of company performances or individual careers?", respectively. Ewan Oiry (a senior lecturer at the University of Aix-Marseille II and a specialist in the economic and sociology of work), also contributed by addressing the question "Can competence standards ever be objective?". After these sessions, Marie Baudry de Vaux, the head of Céreg's Information and Documentation Department, presented the department for which she is responsible.

New Publications



[Setting up and recognising competencies: the contribution of path analyses. XIIth work session on the use of longitudinal data in labour market analyses]

> Edited by Jean-François Giret, Yvette Grelet, Maurice Ourtau, Patrick Werquin

RELIEF no. 8, April 2005

Path analysis, including the analysis of training paths, employment paths and people's past histories in general, is at the forefront of efforts towards setting up competencies and ensuring that they are duly recognised. For the users of longitudinal data, it therefore constitutes a whole new field of analysis which has been little explored so far. In particular, this approach involves viewing firms as places where individuals acquire some of the knowhow of which their overall competence consists, and as such, it can be studied by analysing the events occurring in this context and their effects on individuals' attitudes and choices. The theme of competence management, which has been approached via several disciplines, also lends itself to the use of qualitative methods of analysis such as those based on life histories and discourse analysis.

This volume, which contains all the papers presented at the twelfth work session on the use of longitudinal data in labour market analyses, gives an overall picture of the issues involved and the methods applied, and thus helps to define the meaning of this poorly understood approach and the uses to which it can be put.

Le partenariat social dans la formation professionnelle initiale en France

[Social partnerships in initial vocational training in France]

> Edited by Elyes Bentabet, Jean-Louis Kirsch and Sandra Stefani

RELIEF no. 9, June 2005, published by Céreq.

The proceedings of a symposium held in March 2004 by Céreq and the *European Training Foundation (ETF)* have been published under the title "Social partnerships in initial vocational training in France". This meeting was attended by the heads of monitoring centres in Newly Independent States (NIS - Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Moldava, the Russian Federation, Tadjikistan, Ukraine and

Uzbekistan) focusing on questions relating to employment, vocational training and education, which form a network with ETF. In these States, partnership models are still of the traditional form, especially as far as vocational training is concerned. However, a shortage of qualified labour has occurred in many occupational fields and the question of setting up proper initial and continuing vocational training policies is therefore of vital importance. The aim of this symposium was to present the experience acquired in France in the hope that it might be of some use in the context of the NIS. These proceedings cover a whole century of political, economic and social history, forming the background to the introduction of vocational training into the French educational system. The authors stress the important contribution made by the various professional branches. They also describe in detail how diplomas are set up in France under State supervision. The questions

Le partenariat social dans la formation professionnelle initiale en France

Éreq

Elyes Bentabet
Jean-Louis Kirsch
Sandra Stelani
(editeurs)

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discussed include the present expectations of the social partners towards the vocational training system, and how it is going to respond to current recruitment and mobility problems and the introduction of competence management procedures.

These publications are available at the Céreq bookstore or by mail order to Marie-Christine Antonucci, Céreq, 10, place de la Joliette, BP 21321, 13567
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E-mail: antonucci@cereq.fr.
Orders must be accompanied by payment (please include 4 € for postage and handling).

"Net.Doc"

The impact of CIFRE Programme into early careers of PhDs graduates in France

> Jean-François Giret (Céreq) and Isabelle Recotillet (Lest, Céreq's associated centre for the PACA and Corsica regions)

Net.Doc n° 9 November 2004

The queue for permanent research positions in the French academic sector has created a specific labour market for PhD graduates, which is characterised by the proliferation of post-doctoral programmes and short-term public contracts. At the same time, an increasingly large proportion of PhD graduates find work in the private sector within three years of graduating. In order to facilitate the transition of PhD graduates to the private sector, the French Ministry of Research has developed a specific program called CIFRE, in which universities and firms are both involved. The authors of this paper assess this program. For this purpose, they use a method based on a propensity score matching procedure to assess its impact on the wages earned by PhD graduates three years after graduating. After applying this method to the results of a longitudinal survey conducted by Céreq, they conclude that the CIFRE programme has yielded positive results.

This paper is available on the Céreq site: www.cereq.fr

Formation Emploi

no. 90 (April-June 2005)

De l'importance des collectifs dans la formation en ligne

[The importance of the group in on-line vocational training]

> Jean-Luc Metzger

On-line vocational training (or e-learning) has not really come up to the initial expectations. With a view to explaining some of the reasons for this situation, we focus here on what students' experience of these practices tells us about the relational and communicative aspects of this mode of training. Previous concepts (anonymity, networking, community) relating to the various kinds of social link are first discussed. Based on a series of empirical studies, dynamic processes of communication and mutual support can be seen to develop in the framework of e-learning, which can lead not only to the development of new micro-communities of learners, but also to the disintegration of pre-existing collective groups.

Entre travail salarié et indépendant : les formes de travail hybrides en Italie

[Mid-way between salaried employment and self-employment: a hybrid work status in Italy]

> Sonia Bertolini

Mid-way between salaried employment and selfemployment, some new hybrid types of status are developing at present in Italy. Here it is proposed to examine the status of "Coordinated, Continuous Coworker", to compare it with other forms of work, and to see how this practice has spread through various sectors. Based on an empirical study carried out in Turin (Italy), a number of situations and functional modes were identified on the labour market. Employers' motivations and the questions raised by the way these contracts are used in various sectors are discussed. This particular labour market is characterised on the supply side by the autonomy from which these workers benefit, and on the demand side, by the need expressed by employers for flexibility and loyalty.

Les ingénieurs du CNAM ou les limites d'une promotion sociale réussie

[Engineers trained at the CNAM: social promotion with some unexpected limitations]

> Sophie Divay

The statistics show that few of the engineers graduating from the «Conservatoire national des arts et métiers» (CNAM) reach manager status, but the reasons for this low success rate are not obvious. With a view to examining companies' executive staff enrolment and promotion policies,

we asked the heads of some human resource departments what they felt about engineers who trained at the CNAM and drew up one company monograph. The results presented here show what a huge gap exists between technical specialists and management: this gap shapes the whole structure of all French engineers' careers.

La formation, stratégie de survie de la boulangerie artisanale

[Vocational training: a strategy for survival in the master bakers' trade]

> Nathalie Scala-Riondet

Traditionally made bread still occupies a predominant place on the French bread market, but the competition is growing steadily. Master bakers are therefore attempting to consolidate their position by making efforts to stop the decrease in the numbers of local bakers' shops, for instance. In order to train future bakery managers, it is necessary to improve and develop vocational training schemes to attract young people to the profession, as well as people leaving other professional paths. The vocational training courses available come under three completely separate headings: initial vocational training (apprenticeship training) for workers and for potential future bakery managers, and continuing vocational training for present-day bakery managers.

La professionnalisation dans les services à domicile aux personnes âgées : l'enjeu du diplôme

[The professionalisation of homebased care services for the elderly: diplomas and the stakes involved]

> Cécile Clergeau and Annie Dussuet

Home-based care services are developing fast in France thanks to the support of public policies, although the employees in this sector, 99 % of whom are women, work under highly precarious conditions. Several patterns of employment can be identified, however, ranging from the flexible «domestic help» jobs to those of a more professional kind. Between these two extremes, there exists an intermediate form, known as «homebased care services». This is the only place where an attempt at professionalisation has been made, focusing on the relational aspects of these jobs. The authors stress the considerable mediating efforts made by work-contracting associations to orient home-based care services towards a process of qualification and promote less precarious forms of employment. It has therefore become vital for these organisations to make both public authorities and potential users aware of the need for vocational training and to make access to employment more dependent on having a diploma.



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