| AUTHOR | Grelet, Yvette; Mansuy, Michele; Thomas, Gwenaelle |
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#### Abstract

Data from longitudinal school leavers' surveys in France and Ireland were compared to determine types of transition pathways leading to unsuccessful conclusions. Focus was on outcomes of the transition process for school leavers unemployed five years after leaving and for employed young people whose earnings did not allow them to be financially self-sufficient. Early labor force history analysis showed both countries had pathways characterized by quick access to stable employment and others dominated by inactivity or unemployment. Differences were that French young men's transition process was affected by compulsory national service, return to education happened less often in France, unemployment was more frequent than in Ireland, and unemployed young Irish were more often than the French in long-term unemployment. Five years after leaving school, young women and the not qualified in both countries had a significantly higher probability to be jobless and were more at risk of being low-wage workers. The French education and training system provided stronger market signals, both to job access and to avoid of low wage positions. Family context affected joblessness in France. Working part-time or in a small firm increased significantly the risk of earning low wages. Occupational segment and social position were significant determinants of low wages in France. (A 23-item bibliography and data charts are appended.) (YLB)


# The Transition Process: <br> Towards Exclusion or Financial Sufficiency. <br> A French-Irish Comparison 

## Yvette Grelet, Michèle Mansuy, Gwenaëlle Thomas

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# The transition process: towards exclusion or financial sufficiency, 

 A French-Irish comparisonYvette Grelet, Michèle Mansuy, Gwenaëlle Thomas<br>Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Qualifications and INSEE, France ${ }^{1}$

## Introduction

During the last decades, quick access to a full-time, permanent, well-paid job has ceased to be the standard pattern for European school-leavers. School-to-work transition has been more and more often considered as a complex time process. National institutions, education and employment policies produce various school-to-work patterns. Even if the retrospective surveys show that their position on the labour market improves as time goes, labour market entrants are more likely to get only precarious part-time jobs, with low wages. Being jobless or low-wage workers, a considerable amount of youngsters have even not had the opportunity to reach financial independence after having spent five years on the labour market. The key issue is then to find out which are the types of transition pathways that lead to such an unsuccessful issue, and then to focus on their main determinant factors. It is the purpose of the present paper, where we use two longitudinal surveys to compare French and Irish transition patterns ${ }^{2}$.

## Long-term unemployment or inactivity: last step to exclusion

Previous studies modelling access to employment for young people showed that in France, the diploma is the main passport to find a job (see Elbaum, 1988). Age and situation the year before have significant effects as well. Besides, Elbaum was the first to underline the social and family effects on the probability of being employed. If the social group of father doesn't seem to have any significant impact, being a foreigner has a negative proper effect, and living in couple (married or common law) reinforces the chance of having a job.
Using a longitudinal survey on French unemployed, Herpin (1990) considers the probability of getting a job within the first six month of the follow-up. Once more, age and diploma are highly significant. A quick return to employment is easier for those who were unemployed for a short period (less than three month) and really difficult for long-term unemployed (more than one year). Family context is not neutral: living in couple is an advantage for men and a

[^0]handicap for women. Family and social networks don't seem to provide access to jobs for married or cohabitant women. The probability of having children is presumably the source of these specific difficulties, for middle-aged women have no specific handicap for living in couple. In the same paper, Herpin studied the probability for unemployed people of going out of the labour force within one year and a half. Lower level unemployed young people are more likely to withdraw from the labour market. The length of the initial unemployment spell increases the chance of being discouraged. Having children raises the probability of becoming out of the labour force, especially if they were born after the first employment spell observed. Even in the countries where leavers have difficulties to reach stable employment, youth inactivity has not the same pattern across countries. In France, youth inactivity remains seldom despite a high unemployment rate among youth. In the United Kingdom on the reverse, youth inactivity has known a sharp increase, albeit a greater opportunity of jobs for young people (see Ryan, 1999). Joblessness is then more relevant than unemployment to measure the magnitude of youth employment problems in a comparative way.

## Low level of earnings: a broader concept of exclusion

Besides this definition of exclusion based on the position out of the labour market, another precarious status must be examined which corresponds to a less obvious social exclusion: those who do not earn enough to be self sufficient. This leads to be interested in the factors that determine the range of earnings.
As wages are the result of a bargain between employees and employers, within the whole population, the range of earnings depend (besides institutional wage regulation) both on individual factors and on jobs and firms factors.

## Individual factors

According to the Human Capital theory, earnings raise as the level of education increases (as a return to human capital accumulation). Experience and seniority are expected to procure a higher level of earnings, as they are indexes of general and specific human capital accumulation. Influence of seniority and experience on wages is the subject of an abundant literature - see for an example Barth (1997) and for a survey see Cahuc, Zylberberg (1996), chapter 3.
Job classifications influence earnings too, being the sign of a qualification recognised (or not) by the firms.
Owing to screening effects during the hiring process and/or to the specific behaviour of the corresponding agents, other individual characteristics (such as social capital, gender, and ethnicity) may affect the wages.
Local context is likely to be a relevant factor too: regional singularities, on the individual side as well as on the firm side, have a probable effect on earnings.

## Working conditions

Earnings vary according to job conditions: shifted hours, weekends working hours, physically difficulty of jobs are often subjects of wage premiums. The theory of equalizing differences (see for instance Rosen, 1986) offers a formalisation of such effects.
Firm factors
Wage and bargaining policies of firms have also an effect on wages: in some firms, wage increases with inflation, in other with financial results or social climate. The position of the firm on its market is important too: a dominant position may correspond to a surplus income to be shared with the employees. All these factors are usually summarised by industry and size of the local unit. It is only a proxy, as it has been shown that heterogeneity within industry is rather high.

On French data, the following results are obtained (Bayet, 1996):

- Social position (French CS) and experience are the main individual sources of wage dispersion, followed by gender and education.
- Size of the local unit and above all industry are the main firm factors. Wage policy and work organisation are also significant.
Another study (Kaukewitsch and Rouault, 1998) presents a French-German comparison of the range of earnings. They found similar factors for both countries: age (as a proxy for experience), seniority, gender, social position, part time (versus full time), region, type of contract (fixed term versus unlimited duration), industry, size of the local unit.
Comparing more specifically the thirty-years-old wages during the 90 's to the same agecohort's wages in the 70 's, Baudelot and Gollac (1997) show out a generation effect: more educated, the thirty years old of today have also less experience. And their relative wage, compared to the whole population, is lower than in the 70's. Their models use almost the same set of explanatory variables than Bayet's or Kaukewitsch and Rouault: age, social position, industry, size of the local unit and nature of the employer (public versus private), area (urban versus rural).
Male-female wage gap is often analysed. In that case, it is not easy to differentiate the part due to women's education (see Brown and Corcoran, 1997) and behaviour characteristics, from the one due to employers' behaviour. More, the "mutatis mutandis" hypothesis is difficult to support, when coefficients for male and female are estimated together. It is worthwhile to try at least separate models for men and women.
A more recent paper (Bayet, Colin, 1998) reveals that although determinant factors of the range of earnings are well known, their evolution through time is much more difficult to forecast.


## Methodological approach

We shall use, for this empirical analysis, the longitudinal school leaver's survey carried out in two European countries - France and Ireland: these surveys are harmonised in a common data-set, built on the purpose of comparative studies, in the frame of the European CATEWE project. We shall then be able to compare both countries in relation to the relative share of each type of transitions (See appendix 1 for more details).

We shall proceed step-by-step. Firstly, we shall describe the transition process of these youngsters, during the initial period of labour market integration for both countries. Several types of transitions will be developed and we will use them to point out commonalties and singularities of the two countries. Secondly, we shall focus on the outcomes of the transition process and especially those amongst school-leavers, who are non employed five years after leaving: who are these youngsters without any earned income? In which ways was their entry into working life different from those who experienced a "successful" trajectory? ${ }^{3}$
We shall then ask the same questions regarding the young people who were employed at the time of survey, but whose earnings don't allow them to be financially self-sufficient: do their

[^1]initial characteristics (educational background, social origin, gender, etc.) differ consistently from the independent ones? Are we able to characterise the transition process leading to this outcome? Minimum wage regulation and the extensive youth employment policy in France produce a different context from the Irish one. This probably generates contrasted ways of reaching financial independence. In particular, as a result of minimum wages laws in France, most of the labour market entrants who haven't reached financial independence after five years on the labour market are part-time workers. This question will be introduced by a presentation of employment at time of survey.

## 1. Transition processes in France and Ireland.

Institutional Contexts and school leavers' profile. Education ${ }^{4}$

## General level of education

In both countries, compulsory minimum age for leaving school is 16 . Third level participation to education has recently known a dramatic raise. Consequently, the share of third level leavers among labour market entrants is one of the highest in Europe ( $38 \%$ of LM entrants in France and $37 \%$ in Ireland, against $26 \%$ in EU average, according to 1997 ECLFS estimates) ${ }^{5}$.

## Vocational Education and Training.

Vocational Education and Training is present in both countries, and there is a tendency to develop it. But its weight is much higher in France: at level ISCED 3, 39.1\% of French trainees attend vocational schools and $13.2 \%$ attend alternate training. The corresponding figures are respectively $17.6 \%$ and $7.1 \%$ in Ireland, where general education is more widespread.
We can notice that Irish vocational education and training is less concentrated on ISCED level 3 than in the French case. ${ }^{6}$
Apprenticeship is more developed in France.

## Standardisation

Both French and Irish systems are highly standardised.
Nevertheless, their standards are not directly comparable. Repeating classes and failing certificates is uncommon in Ireland. But employers use grades as a signal. On the contrary, grades don't differentiate applicants to jobs in France, but the failure rate to exams is fairly high (20 to 30\%).

## Differentiation

Education and Training Systems may first differentiate young people at the same stage (horizontal differentiation) by providing different tracks (academic/vocational). They may provide a range of occupationally specific courses. In a weaker sense, differentiation may

[^2]occur when young people attend different types of schools, with social segregation. Secondly, Education and Training Systems may differentiate people at different stages vertical differentiation): the higher is the level, the better are the prospects on the labour market. Lower secondary education is undifferentiated in both countries.
Upper secondary level is moderately (general tracks) to highly (vocational tracks) differentiated in France. There is a strong differentiation according to the track (academic, technical, vocational) and also to the main subject studied (among vocational courses, electronics is the most prestigious and valued on the labour market, administrative work is the less valued). There is also differentiation according to the place of training (vocational school trainees have a higher general level, but apprentices find more quickly a job). Horizontal differentiation is less pronounced in Ireland. Irish system can be described as a general comprehensive system, where curricular tracking has been only recently introduced, with the new Leaving Certificate Applied Programme and Leaving Certificate Vocational Programme. Vertical differentiation is high in Ireland, but the hierarchy is not a simple one: it depends on the stage and the level achieved, but also on grades. In France, the level effect is high, but there is also a strong differentiation according to the main subject.
The 'generation 92' survey shows that the subject effect may even override the level effect. Someone with a CAP or a BEP in manufacturing does better on the labour market than someone with a Bac in services sector.
Flexibility
Changing tracks within the system is possible in France, and seems to be more limited in Ireland.

## Labour Market Entry

## Unemployment

Unemployment risk for labour market entrants is more limited in Ireland. In both countries unemployment risk for labour market entrants reduces sharply when the level of education raises. Unemployment rate for ISCED 0-2 labour market entrants is twice higher than this of ISCED 3 entrants. That means that the lower level leavers are a group at risk on the labour market, in both countries.
Unemployed labour market entrants have a higher chance to leave unemployment within a year than their seniors do, in both countries. ${ }^{7}$

## State policy

Youth integration schemes are widespread in France, in order to avoid labour market exclusion, and to enhance skills. They are less developed in Ireland, where the public policy is more oriented towards older long-term unemployed. ${ }^{8}$
State regulation on the French labour market is higher than in the French case, where there is a minimum wage. However, schemes often introduce wage flexibility for those who hire young people (see appendix 1 for more details).

## Characteristics of secondary level leavers (longitudinal comparative database - see tables of

 appendix 2)Both samples were elaborated in a similar fashion. School leavers with at most Upper Secondary level of education are studied. The samples were selected to be representative of

[^3]these school leavers ${ }^{9}$. The results obtained reveal different national education and training systems, as well as social demographic differences.

## Nearly equally divided between males and females

The two samples are about the same for gender distribution, near equality with only a few more males: 51-49 per cent for Ireland, $54-46$ per cent for France. The higher percentage of females for France corresponds to their slightly higher enrolment in tertiary education nowadays.

## Parents' level of education: similar results

For fathers, the proportion of third level is similar for both countries. But Irish fathers are less qualified ( 85 per cent under second level compared with 65 per cent in France).
Mothers' education is similar in both countries, their level of education is below the fathers'. The difference between fathers and mothers is greater in France.

## Irish youngsters come from larger families

Ireland has the higher fertility rate in EU: 1.94 in 1998, against 1.45 in EU average. France comes second, but a large step behind, with 1.77. Our sample reflects then a more general reality: Irish families are larger than in France. Many more families have fewer than 3 children in France, than in Ireland. Conversely, we do have much larger families in Ireland. The average number of siblings is 2.4 in France, and 3.8 in Ireland (median is 2 in France - 3 in Ireland).

Ethnicity: the vast majority of these youngsters were born in the country where they live 96 per cent of the French sample was born in France and 94 per cent of the Irish sample was born in Ireland (in the latter case, some of those born abroad may be children of immigrants returning in Ireland).

## Age: French leavers are often older

Irish school leavers are younger: average age is 17.8 years old whereas it is 19.2 in France.
This wide difference is due to three factors. Firstly, repeating classes is most unusual in Ireland, and fairly common in France. Secondly, it is easier to change tracks or subjects in France, but it takes longer to do so. Thirdly, vocational tracks, common in France, are longer than academic ones. The age to sit a vocational Bac without repeating is 19 against 18 for a general Bac; vocational trainees often take supplementary modules after their main diploma to become more specialised.
So, much of the following information concerning individuals is linked to this age gap. But, at the same age, individual behaviour is also very different in the two countries. Young Irish stay longer with their parents than young French: according to ECLFS 1996, 60\% of young Irish aged $20-24$ and $34 \%$ aged $25-29$ are still living with their parents. The corresponding figures for France are 52 and 18. Young French have a higher tendency to live alone ( $15 \%$ of those aged 20-29, against 4\% in Ireland).
Age difference and national patterns explain a sharp contrast between the two samples. Youngsters still living with their parents are found in a higher proportion in the Irish sample

[^4]than in the French one. Only one out of three has left their parental home whereas they are more than 55 per cent in France.
The difference in marital situation is even larger: only 5 per cent are living in a couple whereas they are 47 per cent in France. This also shows a country difference. With a gender approach, this means that no males are living in a couple in Ireland, but the difference between the two countries is higher for Females ( 23 per cent more in France).

## More children for French leavers

We can notice that 20 per cent of the French sample have a child, in Ireland they are 15 per cent. General fertility rate is notably higher in Ireland, but the $15-24$ rate is comparable in the two countries. So the lower percentage of young Irish having children is related to their younger age.

## Level of education shows national differences

Less qualified youngsters ${ }^{10}$ are more numerous in Ireland at the time of leaving school, 10 per cent have no qualification, and they are 6 per cent in France. Then, 19 per cent of French leavers versus 5 per cent if Irish are leaving at "failed lower secondary level" and on the contrary the Irish are leaving more at "Passed lower second level". (In "failed lower secondary level", some French Youngsters who left at a "upper secondary level" but did not sit the BEPC).
For both countries, more than half of the youngsters is leaving with "passed upper second level".
We can notice that the Irish leavers often obtain diplomas after leaving school.

### 1.2. Labour force history and types of pathways in France

### 1.2.1. Cohort flow

As can be seen in Figure 1, almost three out of four leavers were employed ${ }^{11}$ in April 1997 (see also Table 1 below). This proportion was under 50 percent in October 1992, as the unemployment share was at its highest level, soon compensated by military obligations: a part of these unemployment or inactivity periods are certainly "waiting spells". After two years, the decline of unemployment rate is rather slow, and its fluctuation is above all marked by the seasonal movement of the labour market. From then on, returns to education or training remain stable until the end (4.7 percent).

This global pattern hides nevertheless important discrepancies between genders, social origins and levels of education.
There is a huge difference between male and female employment ( 14 percent, see Table 1). Young women are more subject to unemployment risks, or to withdrawal from the labour market, despite a higher educational attainment among females ( 84 per cent of females left at the upper second level, compared to 67 per cent of males). The higher the level of education of the youth, the better are indeed their employment prospects. Almost 80 percent of those

[^5]who passed the upper second level had found a job by April 1997, whereas this percentage barely exceeds 60 per cent among those who left school at the lower second level. As regards access to employment, vocational tracks are more successful than general education: only those who left with a full maturity certification are as likely to be employed in April 1997 as those who left from a vocational track (more than 75 per cent).
Social origin seems to play a more complex role, in that sense that a more favourable position influences at the same time access to employment and return to education. That is, although the unemployment rate follows the hierarchy of the social ladder, it is no longer true as regards the employment rate: children of the better educated father are less often found employed than the less educated ones. This is due to the remarkably high proportion of those who were studying or training ${ }^{12}$ five years after they left school for the first time ( 16 per cent versus 2 per cent on average). This non-linear link between social origin and employment rate, which we will keep in mind in the further steps, is also to be observed with the occupation of the father (or, to a lesser extent, of the mother).
In every cross table involving individual characteristics, the rate of youths being found out of the labour force follows the same trend as the unemployment rate. This is why the following analysis will aggregate inactivity with unemployment, even if sometimes we will keep the distinction between the two statuses.

Figure 1: Flow of the French cohort between January 1992 and April 1997
Comment: The monthly calendar begins in January 1992 ( $1^{\text {st }}$ month), although most of the youngsters left in June 1992. The calendar ends in April 1997


[^6]Table 1: Individual characteristics and situation in April 1997 (France)

| Initial Characteristics, French sample | Principal activity - April 1997 |  |  |  |  |  | ALL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Employed | Unemployed | Training | Education | National Service | Out of labour force |  |
| All | 73.6 | 16.7 | 2.6 | 2.1 | 0.8 | 4.2 | 100.0 |
| Gender |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 79.8 | 13.1 | 2.6 | 1.9 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 100.0 |
| Female | 66.1 | 21.0 | 2.6 | 2.3 | - | 7.9 | 100.0 |
| Initial education: Highest qual |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| No qualif | 44.7 | 38.6 | 5.4 | 1.9 | 1.4 | 8.1 | 100.0 |
| Failed lower 2d level | 62.7 | 25.6 | 3.0 | 1.9 | 1.3 | 5.5 | 100.0 |
| Passed lower 2d level | 61.0 | 20.4 | 4.6 | 3.5 | 1.1 | 9.4 | 100.0 |
| Failed upper 2d level | 72.8 | 15.2 | 3.2 | 3.7 | 0.8 | 4.4 | 100.0 |
| Passed upper 2d level | 80.3 | 12.2 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 0.6 | 3.1 | 100.0 |
| Level of Education, CASMIN Scale |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1ab-Compulsory | 53.9 | 32.4 | 4.4 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 6.4 | 100.0 |
| 1c-Basic voc | 77.7 | 15.6 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 3.5 | 100.0 |
| 2a-Adv voc | 76.9 | 15.3 | 2.4 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 3.4 | 100.0 |
| 2b-Acad 2nd interm | 61.3 | 22.2 | 3.4 | 3.2 | 1.5 | 8.5 | 100.0 |
| 2c-Full maturity | 79.4 | 11.5 | 2.3 | 3.1 | 0.4 | 3.3 | 100.0 |
| Fathers education |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| < upper 2nd | 72.7 | 17.9 | 2.5 | 1.8 | 0.6 | 4.5 | 100.0 |
| Upper 2nd | 76.7 | 14.4 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 1.1 | 3.5 | 100.0 |
| 3rd level | 67.6 | 14.7 | 5.7 | 6.1 | 0.8 | 5.1 | 100.0 |

Note: Casmin 1 ab is the minimum general level of education, 1 c is the same plus vocational qualification; Casmin 2 b is lower secondary general level, 2 a is the same plus vocational qualification, 2 c is upper secondary level, 3 is third level. For instance, in France CAP without lower secondary general level('troisième') is 1c, BEP is $2 \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{bac}$ is 2 c .

### 1.2.2. Types of pathways

A hierarchical classification of French leavers, drawn up on the basis of individual labour force histories ${ }^{13}$, leads to a partition into nine disjoint clusters, according to the pattern of the pathways, and the global vicinity to the labour market: labour force exclusion through inactivity or unemployment, precarious trajectories with unemployment spells cut by short jobs, delayed employment, and successful trajectories with immediate access to lasting job (see graphs appendix 3).

[^7]Cluster 1 : Inactivity ( 596 people, 3.6 per cent of the French sample)
Females make up a large majority in this group ( 80 per cent, versus 46 per cent on average). These youngsters who spent more than 73 per cent of their time out of the labour market are younger and less educated than average ( 52 per cent are under 19 compared to 33 per cent). For some of them, a period of inactivity is just a waiting spell before their first steps in the labour market. But for the majority of these youngsters, the transition process is reduced to a very short experience on the labour market, from which they exit very soon, if they ever tried to enter. These are more likely to live in a couple, and to have left the parental home.

## Cluster 2 : Withdrawal from the labour market (452 people, 5.1 per cent of the French sample)

Eight out of ten youngsters in this group are females. They have in common a withdrawal from the labour market after (or even for) a while. They spent 27 per cent of their time out of the labour market, maybe discouraged by difficulties in finding a job (nevertheless, they spent almost half of the time employed, mostly at the beginning of the transition process). Note that the share of unemployment is rather high in this group, where youngsters are less educated, and come from a low social class. More than 70 per cent of them are married (compared to 47 per cent on average).

## Cluster 3 : Return to education ( 833 people, 5.1 per cent of the French sample)

These youngsters spent 44 per cent of the time on education : they returned to school after having stayed a year or more on the labour market (condition to be included in the sample as a school-leaver). They have a higher level of education, and a higher social origin too. They are more likely to be single and still living with their parents.

## Cluster 4 : National service just after school ( 2414 people, 14.8 per cent of the French sample)

This group includes exclusively males, older than average (about French Military service, see appendix 1). Because they reached the enrolment age, or for other reasons, they do their military duty a short time after leaving school. They are better educated (in relation to age of leaving) and have more often a French origin. They found a job rather quickly at the end of their military period. Almost every of them is employed in April 1997.

Cluster 5 : National service after a while ( 987 people, 6 per cent of the French sample) The share of unemployment, before and after national service, is a bit higher in this group compared to the preceding: these males spent 19 per cent of the time ${ }^{14}$ unemployed, but nevertheless employment is the major activity ( 79 per cent of the time). They are younger than in the preceding group and less educated.

## Cluster 6: National service after two years ( 781 people, 4.8 per cent of the French sample)

Outside military service, these young males spent 75 per cent of the time employed. 45 per cent of them left school under the age of nineteen (compared to 33 per cent on average), at a rather low level. Due to their age, they mostly live with their parents at the time of survey.

[^8]
## Cluster 7: Alternating employment, unemployment and state training (2077 people, 12.7 per cent of the French sample)

Females are slightly over represented in this group of youngsters, who experienced the unstable pathway, with more than five different situations within the period of 55 months (compared to less than 3 on average). Seasonal effects are very important in this group, where employment rates go up every summer. Nevertheless, these young people managed to spend half of the time on the job, alternating with spells of unemployment or training ${ }^{15}$ (either at the beginning or at the end of the observed process). The rate of employment tends to grow as time goes on. In this group, youngsters are rather young, less educated and unmarried.

This cluster can been split into two groups, which are differentiated according to when the state training takes place.
The first group ( 1230 people), where state training -and, to a lower extent, national serviceoccurs at the beginning of the transition process, is marked by a dramatic employment growth (from 30 per cent in October 1992 to 70 per cent in April 1997): jobs progressively take over from training and military service -the level of unemployment rate remaining nevertheless at a rather high level during the whole period.
In the second group ( 847 people), training spells occur during the last two years: almost 40 per cent of youngsters are on state training in April 1997. The employment rate remains low throughout the period (around 40 per cent).

## Cluster 8 : Between employment and unemployment ( 3068 people, 18.8 per cent of the French sample)

The high rate of unemployment is not compensated by state training in this group, where youngsters shared their time between employment and unemployment. Women are over represented in this group ( 65 per cent compared to 46 per cent on average). They left school with a low level of education.
This large cluster can be split into three groups.
In the first one (1446 people), the unemployment rate stays at the same high level (around 65 percent) during the whole period.
In the second one (1188 youngsters), it drops from 60 to 30 percent, as employment rates go up.
In the third one ( 434 people), the number of these unemployed is limited to 20 percent at the end of the process, and the beginning of the process is marked by the high percentage of youngsters who postpone their entry on the labour market.

## Cluster 9 : Durably employed ( 5135 people, 31.4 per cent of the French sample)

In this very large group, youngsters have been employed more than 92 per cent of the time. Males are over represented in this group ( 62 per cent compared to 46 per cent on average). They are slightly older, and better educated. The rate of youngsters who left the parental home, and live in couple is higher in this group.

[^9]
### 1.3. Labour force history and types of pathways - Ireland

### 1.3.1. Cohort flow

Almost four out of five Irish youngsters were on the job in April 1997: this is a marked growth compared with the level in July 1992 ( 66 per cent), whereas the unemployment rate only decreased from 14.3 percent to 11.2 percent (see Figure 2 and Table 2 below). In the meantime, the share of state training declined dramatically, whereas return to education only decreased from 6 to 4 per cent. The proportion of those that withdrew or remained out of the labour market is stable during the whole period (around 4 per cent).
There are again considerable differences depending on individual characteristics.
Although there is no visible gender effect on the employment or unemployment rate, transition processes are gendered: females are much more likely to be absent from the labour market. Furthermore, state training seem to be more common among females, as more males return to education: this may be related to the difference of educational attainment, which is higher among female school leavers ( 72 per cent of females have left at the upper second level, but only 54 per cent of males).
The higher the level of education, the higher the employment rate: only 57 per cent of those having left without any qualification are employed at the time of survey, while this proportion grows to 86 per cent for those having passed the upper second level.
Like in the French case, social origin influences both access to employment and return to education: the likelihood of joblessness is higher at the bottom of the social ladder, as those with a better social origin are more prone to return to education.

Figure 2: Flow of the Irish cohort between January 1992 and April 1997
Comment: The monthly calendar begins in January 1992 ( $1^{\text {st }}$ month). The calendar ends in April 1997


Table 2: Individual characteristics and situation in April 1997 (Ireland)

| Initial Characteristics, Irish sample | Principal activity - April 1997 |  |  |  |  | ALL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Employed | Unemployed | State training | Educati- <br> on | Out of labour force |  |
| All | 79.3 | 11.4 | 1.7 | 4.5 | 3.2 | 100.0 |
| Gender |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 81.6 | 11.0 | 0.9 | 5.6 | 0.9 | 100.0 |
| Female | 76.9 | 11.8 | 2.5 | 3.3 | 5.6 | 100.0 |
| Initial ed: Highest qualif. |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| No qualif | 55.6 | 36.6 | 3.7 | . | 4.1 | 100.0 |
| Failed lower 2d level | 73.9 | 14.9 | . | 3.7 | 7.4 | 100.0 |
| Passed lower 2d level | 75.3 | 16.5 | 1.4 | 2.6 | 4.1 | 100.0 |
| Failed upper 2d level | 81.4 | 12.2 | . | 1.4 | 5.0 | 100.0 |
| Passed upper 2d level | 85.1 | 4.6 | 1.8 | 6.4 | 2.1 | 100.0 |
| Level of Education, CASMIN Scale |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1ab-Compulsory | 78.7 | 18.2 | 0.8 | . | 2.3 | 100.0 |
| 1c-Basic voc | 62.7 | 26.8 | 1.8 | 2.8 | 5.9 | 100.0 |
| 2a-Adv voc | 100.0 | . | . | . | - | 100.0 |
| 2c-Full maturity | 85.7 | 4.2 | 2.1 | 5.7 | 2.4 | 100.0 |
| 3a-lower level tert ed | 74.1 | 9.6 | - | 13.2 | 3.1 | 100.0 |
| 3b-higher level tert ed | 24.1 | . | - | 48.1 | 27.8 | 100.0 |
| Fathers education |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| < upper 2nd | 79.3 | 12.6 | 1.8 | 3.0 | 3.4 | 100.0 |
| Upper 2nd | 81.4 | 4.7 | - | 11.9 | 1.9 | 100.0 |
| 3rd level | 72.6 | 6.1 | 3.3 | 14.7 | 3.3 | 100.0 |

### 1.3.2. Types of pathways

A hierarchical classification of Irish leavers, performed on the basis of individual labour force histories, leads to identify the same global patterns of trajectories as in the French case, and to a partition into seven disjoint clusters (see graphs appendix 4).

## Cluster 1: Inactivity (46 people, 5.6 per cent of the Irish sample)

Nine out of ten youngsters in this group are females. They spent on average 58 per cent of the time out of the labour market. The proportion of married people is higher in this group.

## Cluster 2: Return to education ( 30 people, 3.7 per cent of the Irish sample)

In this group, youngsters spent two third of the time at school, where they returned after one, two or even three years on the labour market. They are older ( 73 per cent are over 17, compared to 61 per cent on average), with a higher level of education and social origin. They are more likely to have the left parental home. One out of two have left their parental home, but they haven't married more than in other groups.

Cluster 3: School followed by employment (31 people, 3.8 per cent of the Irish sample)
Females are more likely to belong to this group of youngsters who returned to education for one year (on average) and went back to a job again. They were already better educated -and older than others- as they left school for the first time. The number of different periods in the transition process is markedly above the mean ( 2.5 changes).

## Cluster 4 : State training followed by employment (76 people, 9.3 per cent of the Irish sample)

The proportion of time spent on the job is much higher in this group than in the previous one ( 71 per cent). Youngsters in this group benefit from state training ( 22 per cent of the total time) just after leaving school, and before entering a job. They have no distinctive characteristic.

## Cluster 5: Employment, state training, unemployment ( 32 people, 3.9 per cent of the Irish sample)

In this group, youngsters share their time equally between employment ( 44 per cent of the time) and state training ( 41 per cent), employment being more commonly at the beginning of the process. School-leavers belonging to this group are younger than average ( 48 per cent left before the age of eighteen, compared to only 39 per cent on average). The number of changes is at its highest level in this group (almost 3 changes on average). These youngsters have also experienced unemployment: the proportion of time spent out of work reaches 9 per cent.

## Cluster 6: Unemployment ( 95 people, 11.6 per cent of the Irish sample)

The share of unemployment is dramatically high in this group, where people spent more than 70 per cent of the time out of work, with only a slight improvement over time. They are rather young ( 46 per cent under eighteen), with a lower level of education and a lower social origin.

## Cluster 7: Continuous employment ( 508 people, 62.1 per cent of the Irish sample)

Men are a bit more likely to belong to this group of school-leavers who have been employed all the time. Due to its numerical importance, this group is close to the mean, and it is difficult to notice any significantly distinctive distribution of characteristics.

### 1.4. French-Irish comparison of labour force histories

Are there types of transition processes that are specific to one country? To what extend can we say that both countries share the same transition patterns? Comparing the cluster analysis results for both countries will help us to answer this question.

## The role of National service

It is clear that military obligations play an important role in French males' process ${ }^{16}$, and that there is no comparable type in Ireland.

## Return to education and training

If return to education and training is much less developed in France than in Ireland, this characterises one type of pathway in both countries (in Ireland, there is also a type determined

[^10]by a return to education within the first year after leaving school, which is not allowed by the sampling definition in the French survey).
As for state training, it is often associated, in France, with unstable trajectories where unemployment alternates with employment spells, with training either at the beginning or at the end of the observed process. In Ireland, we find the same patterns, but the proportion of unemployment in such trajectories is much lower.

## Continuous employment

The same type of trajectories is found in both countries, where access to employment is quick and durable.

## Long-term unemployment

In France as well as in Ireland, some lower level school-leavers experience serious difficulties on the labour market. The difference is that the proportion of such unsuccessful pathways is higher in France. Nevertheless, the gap between employment and unemployment seems to be somewhat more radical in Ireland than in France.

## Inactivity

In both countries, there are some youngsters who either delay their entry on the labour market, or withdraw after a while (married females being over represented in the last type). Rates of inactivity are very close in both countries (around 4 percent).

## 2. Exclusion from the labour force

After this overview of the entire labour force history we will focus on their outcome that is to say the position of the cohort in April 1997. Our main goal is to study the most unsuccessful ones, those who are excluded from the Labour Market.

We will define the idea of exclusion from the labour force using the notion of precariousness, based on the situation at the time of survey.
Youngsters employed at the time of survey will be put together and then the situations of "Unemployment" and "Out of the labour market" will be considered as precarious ${ }^{17}$. Our models intend to analyse which individual characteristics explain precarious situations.

To be able to compare both countries, we used the categories set out further, to create a dummy variable: whether the person was employed at time of survey or not. In this way, we are modelling the probability of being in a precarious situation.

[^11]Sample structure, by country

| Situation | Ireland | France | All |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Frequencies <br> Percentages |  |  |  |
| Employed | 647 <br> 79 per cent | 11836 <br> 72 per cent | 12483 |
| Precarious <br> (unemployed or out of <br> the labour force) | 121 <br> 15 per cent | 3610 <br> 22 per cent | 3731 |
| Others | 49 <br> 6 per cent | 897 <br> 6 per cent | 946 |
| All | $\mathbf{8 1 7}$ <br> $\mathbf{1 0 0}$ per cent | $\mathbf{1 6 3 4 3}$ <br> $\mathbf{1 0 0}$ per cent | $\mathbf{1 7 1 6 1}$ |

* This group will be excluded from further analysis.


## Global comparison

The best approach to compare both countries would be to make the comparison with the same model. But as the sizes of the samples are so different, we'll make two different ones (See appendix 5).
Also, we can notice that the country has a significant effect in this model. The probability of being in a precarious situation is higher in France. That gives another general argument but only based on the dichotomy Employment / Precariousness.

## Ireland

The first approach was to use the most complete set of variables describing individual characteristics.

No significant effect of Marital Situation, Country of birth of the youth, Place of residence.
Unlike in Elbaum or Herpin's models, this information is not significant in predicting the probability of being in a precarious situation.

Gender and level of education are significant factors
Gender effect is very strong. In Ireland, males have a higher probability to be employed than females.

Youngsters having no qualification are more likely to be in a precarious situation
The level of education is significant for Ireland; but from failed lower secondary level to passed upper secondary level, no significant differences can be seen. This is linked to the marked predominance of the employed youngsters, and only the lowest level leads to precariousness with a higher probability.

## France

## No marital effect

We obtain the same thing, in the complete model for both countries and in the one for France. But the marital situation is very closely linked to gender and to departure from the parental home. This relationship will be studied in a further paragraph.

## Level of education

In France, the level of the diploma influences highly the probability of being employed or out of the labour force.
The probability of being in a precarious situation decreases as the level of education gets higher. We can notice a big difference between no qualifications and Failed Lower Secondary level, and a second gap between Passed Lower and Failed Upper secondary level.

## Country of birth is significant

Being born in a foreign country leads to a higher probability of precariousness.

## Place of residence

If they live near Paris, French school leavers are more likely to be employed at the time of survey. Paris area concentrating the most dynamic activities, it is not a surprise. Herpin, for instance, found a similar effect.

## Gender effect ever significant

We find a strong gender effect in France. Young men experience precariousness less than women do. The probability of being in a precarious situation is multiplied by 1.75 , if the youngster is a female.

## Still in parental home or living alone and precariousness

We do not find the same probability of being in a precarious situation if a young person has already left his parental home as if he has not.
The probability of experiencing precariousness is higher for single youngsters. But this variable is very closely correlated to gender and marital situation.

## Comparative conclusion

More individual characteristics are determinant in France. Screening effect by education level seems to be stronger in France, and context variables play a greater part. As we have just seen, fewer variables determine the probability of being in a precarious situation in Ireland. Nevertheless, this may be linked to the sample size.
So these models show that the characteristics included in the Irish model (gender, level of education) are significant for both models.
As a conclusion, we can note that once the difference between the country rates of employment/unemployment have been studied, the same characteristics explain the probability of precariousness in both countries.

## 3. Paid employment: characterisation and financial dependence

After having considered the transition process leading to exclusion from the Labour force and their determination, we shall now focus ourselves on relatively low wages, which can be considered as another type of exclusion.
Youth employment schemes and minimum wage regulations shape this category. And a recent French study on low wages (Leminez, 1999) shows that low wage workers are concentrated in certain subpopulations: low-wage workers are $4,5 \%$ of the total, but $11 \%$ among part-time workers, $7 \%$ among women, $12 \%$ among those aged under $25,11 \%$ of the unskilled non manual workers. Given this data, we can see that school leavers are a population particularly at risk of being low-wage workers. That is why we focused on the financial dependence for labour market entrants.

In this study, we shall consider earned income, not only as financial resources for the youngsters, but also as cost for the employer. We shall therefore try to enlighten the link between the national labour market segmentation and the different types of pathways. According to Marsden's (1986) segmentation model, young people who don't earn their living after five years after they left school have been staying confined in a non-qualified and nonorganised segment of the labour market. They are not able to capitalise on their labour force experience, only constituted of several precarious spells of employment. We shall try to identify which firms hire these youngsters, and on which kind of jobs, and to show the commonalties and differences between the two countries.

In the following models, we consider the effect of individual characteristics on the level of wages by now. But we know that wage level doesn't depend only on individual characteristics of young people.

Our model applies to monthly wages, regardless of the number of worked hours. A low wage level may be the consequence of a low hourly wage rate, or of a part-time job. As young workers may have chosen part-time jobs, low income is not always the sign of a precarious job. This case is minor in the French context, where companies often use part-time jobs in order to adjust their employment costs. Young women leaving secondary education are very often unwilling part-time workers. It is also the case when young men are concerned.

Empirical studies for France (Bayet, 1996) show that for the total labour force, occupation and experience length are the two main individual factors explaining the level of wages, followed by education and gender. On the firm's side, industry and size of the local unit are highly significant. Of course these determinant are not independent.
Other firm effects are noticeable: wage policy and work organisation explain $20 \%$ of the wage dispersion. The market share of the firm has also a significant proper effect.

In this step, we focus on those who were employed in April 1997, and had declared their earnings. We again split this sub-sample in categories, depending on the level of their wages, compared to thresholds externally based on the wages distribution in the whole active population to be comparative. For France, we used the median wage for the active population in 1997. And we took the Irish value from the SWS- structure of wages survey, run by the European Community in 1994. In order to make it comparable we actualised it ${ }^{18}$.

[^12]
## Dependence for both Countries

The model of this section studies the dependence situation, for youngsters employed in April 1997. Analysis is based on levels of earnings, and youngsters are considered in a dependent situation, if they earn less than $60 \%$ of the median wage (monthly: 5300FF for France and $650 £$ for Ireland): with this definition, 30 per cent of workers are in a dependent situation in both Ireland and France (see appendix 6).

The individual characteristics included are the same as in the exclusion study: level of education, gender, marital status and ethnic origin. We add characteristics of the job at time of survey: social class (EGP class schema, see Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992), experience on the labour market (measured by proportion of time spent on employment); and about the firm: size, industry type. We weren't able to integrate directly working conditions, like in Rosen's formulation, but some of their effects are contained in social class and firm description.

We use a logistic model to estimate the probability of being in a dependent situation. We had to cut the sample, and to make a model by country, but the same method is used for both countries. At first, we took the complete set of variable, and then the model is selected while keeping the only significant effects.

## Results for Ireland

Limited significant effects for individual characteristics
The levels of education of the parents are not determining; and the individual characteristics such as country of birth, marital situation, having left the parental home or not, do not influence the probability of being dependent either.
The industrial segment is not kept, such as most of the job characteristics (social class, occupational segment).

This leads to the second model, in which only significant effects are kept.
Number of worked hours (full/part time) determines the level of earnings
Unsurprisingly, this characteristic has the most important effect, when trying to explain the probability of dependence. Having a part-time job increases the probability of being dependent.

## Firm characteristics are the most significant

The firm size is very determining: the probability of being dependent is significantly lower if the youngster is working in a big firm ( 500 people or more).

## Individual effects

## Gender effect

Like for the probability of being in a precarious situation, we can notice that females are more likely to be dependent (working but with a low earning).

Level of education only as a dummy effect
The level of education influences the probability of being dependent. But what matters is only to have a qualification: the probability of being dependent is higher for youngsters without qualification. There is no significant difference between the other degrees.

This modelling must be taken with care. Because of the small size of the sample, some determinant effect may not appear as significant because the youngsters concerned are not numerous enough.

## Results for France

## Social origin and family context are not significant

Fathers 'and mothers' levels of education are not influencing the probability of being dependent. Country of birth is not either. Even for French youngsters, having a child does not change significantly the probability of being dependent.
As the situation of living together is linked to gender and to departure of parental home, this characteristic does not appear to be significant.

Individual characteristics such as gender and level of education influence the probability of being dependent.
Level of education is also significant: as the level of education is growing, the probability of being dependent decreases. There is no significant difference between failed lower secondary level and passed lower secondary level.

The probability of being dependent is significantly higher for female. But we can notice that youngsters who have already left their parental home have lower probability of being dependent.

## Firm size is determinant

The probability of being dependent is the highest in small firm (under 10 people) and the lowest in big ones (more than 500 people).

## Job description

Occupational segment and social class are significant for French youngsters.
Partial time leads to a much higher probability of being dependent (of course the income of part-timers is lower).

## Financial dependence: conclusion

This leads to the same remark as in the first part: the main determinant effects are the same in both countries. The French model is only more precise.
In both cases, we tried to characterise the financial dependence with individual characteristics only or with job description (firm and working conditions) only. But using the whole set of variables leads to better results, even if we saw the same characteristics significant in the partial models.

## Conclusion

Early labour force history analysis show commonalties between the French and Irish cases: we find in both countries pathways characterised by quick access to stable employment, other dominated by inactivity or unemployment. But we notice differences: French young men transition process was affected by compulsory national service, return to education happens less often in France, unemployment is more frequent than in Ireland. But unemployed young Irish seem to be more often long-term unemployed.
Five years after having left school, the probability to be jobless is significantly higher for young women and not qualified in both countries. Having a job, women and not qualified are more at risk of being low-wage workers. In France ET system seems to provide stronger market signals, both to access to jobs and to avoid low wage positions. Family context affects the risk of being jobless in France, but not in Ireland. Being part-time worker or working in a small firm increases significantly the risk of earning low wages and so to be financially dependent worker in both countries.
Occupational segment and social position are significant determinants of low wages in France only. We found in the French case similar variables than Kaukewitsch and Rouault using Structure of Wages Surveys (SWS) for France and Germany.
Does it mean that segmentation is stronger in the latter two countries than in Ireland, or that Irish wages are more loosely linked to education level or job position, letting more room to other individual factors than education?

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## Appendix 1 : The longitudinal databases

## France

The French data are extracted from the "Generation 92 " survey conducted by Céreq to follow 27,000 young people entering the labour market in 1992, regardless of their training level: for the needs of the CATEWE project, it has been reduced to the 16,500 who left school at the secondary level of education. The survey determines their work situation (job status and wage) in 1997 and analyses their work itineraries, known through the monthly registration of their situation. Some of these situations are specific of the French institutional context and need some clarification: the French national service, and two important youth integration schemes, CQ and CES.

## The French National Service

National service was compulsory for young men born before 1980. A minority was exempted (27 per cent, according to the 'youth survey' 1992, from INSEE). The family background (supporting younger brothers and sisters, or his own children) or health conditions were the main reasons for exemption. An exemption is given less often to those who have a vocational or technical qualification.
National service in France was mainly military ( 97 per cent of all cases).
The modal duration was 10 month, but specific forms may last longer: 'long' military service (security, for example). Civil forms are the longest ( 24 months).
National service was not a total blank in a labour market trajectory: it may provide educational resources (see Herpin and Mansuy, 1995) :

- young men may get a vocational or technical qualification in army schools;
- those who choose national service outside the army are working;
- certain branches of the army train for high skill jobs during the national service : the air force, marines, and health service are in this case;
- The Army may teach how to manage a team, for those who become officers or non commissioned officers.

Other usable titles may be acquired during the national service: a driver's license, a lorry driver license may be very useful to find a job and 33 per cent pass one or the other during their military service.
Military service is not a second chance for a smoother transition for the lower level schoolleavers. But, the longitudinal surveys of Cereq show that military service may be a way to acquire work experience for those who have a first-level vocational qualification : this was the case for 20 per cent of young men having left vocational secondary education.
Globally, educational resources in national service were more often offered to those who are the best educated.
If we compare the job situation before and after national service, it was the same for 50 per cent. The situation improves for 40 per cent. For 10 per cent, the situation is worse after the national service.

## The two main forms of supported youth employment: 'Contrat de Qualification' and 'Contrat Emploi Solidarité'.

A 'Contrat de Qualification' -CQ- is a fixed term employment contract ( 6 to 24 months). Created in 1984, it concerns young people ( 16 to 25 year old) leaving school without qualification, or with an inappropriate one to find a job.
According to the contract, vocational training is offered for 25 per cent of the time, and ordinary work for 75 per cent. The corresponding minimum salary varies from 30 per cent to 75 per cent of the minimum wage, according to age and seniority. But in certain activities, young people hired under CQ may have higher wages. About 30 per cent of them stay on the same firm when their CQ ends.
After her or his training period, the young person sits a vocational exam. According to the follow-up surveys ${ }^{19}$, 62 per cent of the young people earn a vocational diploma or a vocational title. They acquire a qualification recognised by employers, or adapt the one they had before to the needs of the firm. One can find four training strategies offered by employers, from the most intensive investment in training to the lowest ${ }^{28}$. The first one consists in building new competencies to use them afterwards. In the second one, the firm, often a small one, uses costly competencies during the training process but doesn't hire the young trainee when her or his qualification is achieved. In a third model, the young person learns skills by doing, and the training period is a theoretical complement, but work experience is the decisive element. In a fourth model, CQ is used as cheap labour, and the connection between the training period and work experience within CQ is loose.
CQ is close to apprenticeship, but people entering CQ are more qualified: in 1997, 43 per cent of CQ entrants have a diploma lower than " baccalauréat" (A-levels), 37 per cent have a bac and 20 per cent already have a tertiary education. And even if only 30 per cent of them stay in the same firm when their CQ ends, most of them find a job.

Their situation on the labour market after the program is close to the situation of young people having had an apprenticeship or an ordinary job. It is very different from the situation after a 'Contrat Emploi Solidarité' - CES - which is a public sector contract without training: after a CES, the unemployment risk is notably higher. These contracts are targeted to young people with difficulties finding a job, and long-time job seekers. They aim at encouraging participation of young people in community life through accomplishment of a useful activity, and permitting access to a work experience. They are half-time limited-term contract (for 3 to 12 months, 24 months for the most disadvantaged publics and, exceptionally, 36 months), paid at the minimum hourly wage, without any variation according to age or qualification. Employer can be Regional or local communities, non-profit organisations, public institutions, social security bodies, work councils or housing project administrators.

## Ireland

The Irish data draws on a national survey of those who left school in the academic year 1991/2 but did not immediately enter third-level education. This group were first interviewed in May/June 1993 and re-interviewed in late 1998. The follow-up survey collected detailed information on the employment, unemployment, education and training histories of respondents along with information on experiences of migration and household formation.

[^13]Appendix 2: Characteristics of secondary level leavers

|  | Ireland |  | France |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Freq | \%col | Freq | 9 col |
| Gender |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 439 | 53.7 | 9209 | 56.3 |
| Female | 379 | 46.3 | 7134 | 43.7 |
| ALL | 818 | 100.0 | 16343 | 100.0 |
| Father's education |  |  |  |  |
| Unknown | 55 | 6.7 | 2556 | 15.6 |
| < upper 2nd | 641 | 78.4 | 8912 | 54.5 |
| Upper 2nd | 93 | 11.4 | 4196 | 25.7 |
| 3rd level | 29 | 3.5 | 679 | 4.2 |
| ALL | 818 | 100.0 | 16343 | 100.0 |
| Mother's education |  |  |  |  |
| Unknown | 52 | 6.4 | 2215 | 13.6 |
| < upper 2nd | 619 | 75.7 | 10614 | 64.9 |
| Upper 2nd | 124 | 15.2 | 3080 | 18.8 |
| 3rd level | 23 | 2.8 | 434 | 2.7 |
| ALL | 818 | 100.0 | 16343 | 100.0 |
| Number of siblings |  |  |  |  |
| Unknown | 21 | 2.6 | 109 | 0.7 |
| 0 | 15 | 1.8 | 1206 | 7.4 |
| 1 | 79 | 9.7 | 4886 | 29.9 |
| 2 | 147 | 18.0 | 4743 | 29.0 |
| 3 | 175 | 21.4 | 2372 | 14.5 |
| $>=4$ | 381 | 46.6 | 3027 | 18.5 |
| ALL | 818 | 100.0 | 16343 | 100.0 |


|  | Ireland |  | France |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Freq | \%col | Freq | \%COI |
| Young born in Ire/Fr? | 53 | 6.5 | 2 | 0.0 |
| Unknown |  |  |  |  |
| No | 45 | 5.5 | 568 | 3.5 |
| Yes | 720 | 88.0 | 15773 | 96.5 |
| ALL | 818 | 100.0 | 16343 | 100.0 |
| Living in IDF/Dub ? | 649 | 79.3 | 14804 | 90.6 |
| No |  |  |  |  |
| Yes | 169 | 20.7 | 1539 | 9.4 |
| ALL | 818 | 100.0 | 16343 | 100.0 |
| Age in 1992 |  |  | 32 | 0.2 |
| Unknown |  |  |  |  |
| $<=16$ | 107 | 13.1 | 431 | 2.6 |
| 17 | 199 | 24.3 | 764 | 4.7 |
| 18 | 318 | 38.9 | 3433 | 21.0 |
| 19 | 145 | 17.7 | 4494 | 27.5 |
| 20 | 30 | 3.7 | 3854 | 23.6 |
| 21 | 16 | 2.0 | 2205 | 13.5 |
| $>=22$ | 3 | 0.4 | 1130 | 6.9 |
| ALL | 818 | 100.0 | 16343 | 100.0 |
| Whether living with parents |  |  |  |  |
| Unknown | 169 | 20.7 | 77 | 0.5 |
| No | 444 | 54.3 | 6858 | 42.0 |
| Yes | 205 | 25.1 | 9408 | 57.6 |
| ALL | 818 | 100.0 | 16343 | 100.0 |


|  | Ireland |  | France |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Freq | \% COL | Freq | \%col |
| Marital status at time of survey | 35 | 4.3 | 92 | 0.6 |
| Unknown |  |  |  |  |
| No | 743 | 90.8 | 8350 | 51.1 |
| Yes | 40 | 4.9 | 7901 | 48.3 |
| ALL | 818 | 100.0 | 16343 | 100.0 |
| Initial education: Highest qual | 19 | 2.3 |  |  |
| Unknown |  |  |  |  |
| No qualif | 62 | 7.6 | 481 | 2.9 |
| Failed lower 2d level | 36 | 4.4 | 2916 | 17.8 |
| Passed lower 2d level | 167 | 20.4 | 509 | 3.1 |
| Failed upper 2d level | 70 | 8.6 | 1539 | 9.4 |
| Passed upper 2d level | 464 | 56.7 | 10898 | 66.7 |
| ALL | 818 | 100.0 | 16343 | 100.0 |
| Level of Education (CASMIN scale) | 14 | 1.7 | 5 | 0.0 |
| Unknown |  |  |  |  |
| 1ab-Compulsory | 141 | 17.2 | 1218 | 7.5 |
| 1c-Basic voc | 147 | 18.0 | 2123 | 13.0 |
| 2a-Adv voc | 8 | 1.0 | 6790 | 41.5 |
| 2b-Acad 2nd interm |  |  | 1170 | 7.2 |
| 2c-Full maturity | 475 | 58.1 | 5037 | 30.8 |
| 3a-lower level tert ed | 29 | 3.5 |  |  |
| 3b-higher level tert ed | 4 | 0.5 |  |  |
| ALL | 818 | 100.0 | 16343 | 100.0 |

Appendix 3: French Clusters

|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
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|  |  |
|  Unomeployment, staleItalning |  |
|  |  |

Appendix 4: Irish Clusters

| Itrintef, clurtor 1: : Inacilivily | FIbhLfh, Cluzior 2: Roturn lof ducation |
| :---: | :---: |
| Iflahlfh, cluster s: scoollollowed by employment |  |
| irishlif, cluators, employment, state iraining, Unomploymont | \|rintrH, Cluater b: Unemplormant |
|  |  |




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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ This paper takes place within the Comparative Analysis of Transitions from Education to Work in Europe -CATEWE- research project, funded by TSER, 1998-2001.
    For further information, see http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/catewe/
    ${ }^{2}$ See Appendix 1.

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ One important issue is to separate short and long duration joblessness. A same percentage of joblessness among the cohort of those who left secondary school five years earlier has not the same meaning, depending on the duration of the current spell. Very short duration spells of unemployment or inactivity may be the sign of matching processes on an active labour market. On the contrary, long-term joblessness even at an intermediate rate is a strong sign of employment problems. Due to the size of the Irish sample, we can not take the duration of spells into account for Ireland in our models. See (Grelet, Mansuy, Thomas, 2000b) for a French model of scale of exclusion from the Labour market.

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ See Catewe working papers, volume 1 'A Conceptual Framework' and vol. II 'Country Reports', ESRI, August 1999.
    ${ }^{5}$ See 'Key Data on Training' - vol. on Transition, EU, forthcoming, Spring 2001.
    ${ }^{6}$ See 'Key Data on Training' - vol. on Transition, EU, forthcoming, Spring 2001.

[^3]:    ${ }^{7}$ See 'Key Data on Training', forthcoming spring 2001.
    ${ }^{8}$ See Catewe working papers, volume II ‘Country reports', ESRI, August 1999.

[^4]:    ${ }^{9}$ In 1997, the share of second level leavers among labour market entrants was comparable in both countries ( $62 \%$ in France, $63 \%$ in Ireland -see 'Key Data on Training', but the two countries may differ as regards the proportion of these leavers who drop out at the third level (excluded from the sample). The French sample is representative of the second level school leavers who didn't attempt to go on in tertiary education, that is of $57 \%$ of all LM entrants.

[^5]:    ${ }^{10}$ Despite the Casmin scale(see Muller and Shavit, 1998) is more relevant for the French case, we used the VTLMT scale which is more adapted to the Irish case. So we have to read the French results carefully as regards level of education. The main problem with using VTLMT for France is that it is based on BEPC, which is considered as an equivalent of the Junior Certificate but which is not compulsory in France and therefore does not play the same role.
    ${ }^{11}$ In this section, Employment includes employment schemes with or without training, as well as apprenticeship.

[^6]:    ${ }^{12}$ In the French survey, it is difficult to make a clear difference between return into the Educational System (including apprenticeship), and other training periods.

[^7]:    ${ }^{13}$ Labour force histories are registered as the combination of six different monthly situations (employment, unemployment, state training, education, national service - concerning French males, inactivity -out of the labour force), over a 55-month period (from October 1992 to April 1997).

[^8]:    ${ }^{14}$ Proportion of time is computed on the basis of 55 months, time spent in military service deducted.

[^9]:    ${ }^{15}$ In the French survey, it is not always easy to make the distinction between long post-education training spells, and return to education.

[^10]:    ${ }^{16}$ For a clarification of this point, see appendix 1.

[^11]:    ${ }^{17}$ We follow then the remark of Ryan (1999): joblessness (unemployment + inactivity) is more comparable across countries, during the transition process, than just unemployment.

[^12]:    ${ }^{18}$ The 1997 median wage was estimated to $£ 1081$ for Ireland.

[^13]:    ${ }^{19}$ See C Charpail, S. Zilberman, 1998.
    ${ }^{20}$ See M.C. Combes, 2000.

