

# What do Young Employees Dream of? Quality of Work, Career Aspirations and Desire for Mobility Among the Under 30s

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**Abstract** – The career aspirations of young employees, recorded via the Defis system (*Dispositif d'enquêtes sur les formations et les itinéraires des salariés*, a set of surveys on training and employee trajectory), by no means fit one single model. On the one hand, they are guided by a career-trajectory plan or a plan to find a job that best suits their skills and training. On the other hand, however, they reflect a desire for looser professional constraints to provide a better work-life balance or a desire for a more relaxed relationship of subordination allowing employees to gain greater autonomy. Terms of employment remain a major factor in the aspirations of young employees, although they do not paint the whole picture. The plans formulated by young employees when entering working life are largely determined by their assessment of the quality of the work performed, both from the perspective of its actual performance and in terms of the links it gives to networks outside of work.

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Reminder: The opinions and analyses in this article are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect their institution's or Insee's views.

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The first few years of professional life have, for several decades, been seen as a period of transition. During this period, young people are thought to be looking for ways to progress towards the professional situation promised by their degree, where they have not achieved this upon entering the job market, a minority situation that often heralds later professional mobility. This normative view is, however, the subject of discussion. Maria Eugenia Longo emphasises that: “*The [...] risk is ‘ideological valuation’, i.e. normatively appraising transitions solely on the basis of criteria regarding salaried employment. With the new biographical timescales, careers are no longer characterised solely by the terms traditionally used to describe them: inclusion, exclusion, stabilisation, success, failure or advancement*” (Longo, 2011, p. 15). Leaving the education system with differing levels of qualification, young people have very contrasting journeys on the job market in terms of the time at which they access employment, the total time spent in unemployment, working time and pay, all of which are regularly identified by various studies on entry onto the job market (Céreq, 2017, 2018). These studies, which also examine developments at early career stages, show that young people are a lot more mobile than their elders. According to those studies, mobility at early career stages follows two trends: internal mobility, which specifically concerns the most academically qualified young people, who take development opportunities open to them within the companies that employ them; and external ability, which relates to the less academically qualified, who follow more tumultuous career paths (Dupray, 2005; Dupray & Recotillet, 2009).

Portela & Signoretto (2017) bring new elements to the debate by analysing the “voluntary” mobility of young people with permanent employment contracts who choose to resign. The data collected by the *Génération 98* survey over ten years show that young people are most likely to voluntarily leave a permanent job due to a desire for better pay, greater autonomy or more recognition of their work. At the heart of this approach, which is rich in useful lessons, lies the authors’ “*hypothesis that it is past characteristics of jobs, specifically career aspirations such as job satisfaction, that explain mobility-related choices*” (Portela & Signoretto, 2017, p. 252). They conclude that “*it is therefore prudent to extend this study to take into account the working conditions experienced by employees and the work organisation put in place by companies, alongside strict employment terms*” (p. 273).

By extending these studies, we are looking to highlight the aspirations of young people in connection with their own assessment of the quality of their work. We are interested in employees under the age of 30<sup>1</sup>, using the Defis survey system in 2015 (Box 1). The scope of the study brings together employees under the age of 30 from companies with ten or more employees in December 2013 and having been in employment for the 18 months that followed that date (N=2,885). In the first section, we characterise the jobs that these employees hold and give an overview of their assessments of their jobs and their aspirations. In the second section, we aim to relate these assessments to their career aspirations, so as to highlight the decisive nature of work quality. For the third section, we propose classifying the aspirations of young employees so as to identify five career plan models.

## 1. Some Descriptive Elements on Employment, Work and Aspirations of Young Employees

Before approaching the question of links between the quality of work of young people and their aspirations, which is at the core of our objective, we will briefly characterise our population in terms of educational attainment and socio-professional categories, job satisfaction and aspirations.

### 1.1. Education and Socio-Professional Job Categories

As a result of the democratisation of higher education, stimulated in 1985 in line with the objective of “80% Baccalaureate pass rate among any given generation”, a very large number of today’s young employees have qualifications at least equal to the Baccalaureate (Beaud, 2002). Among employees under the age of 30, 7% have no qualifications, 19% have a CAP or BEP (vocational qualifications), 23% have the Baccalaureate and 51% have a higher education degree (Table 1). The qualification profiles of young people are therefore very unequal in terms of the opportunities offered by the job market, as attested by the numerous studies conducted regarding employment of those entering into working life (Céreq, 2017, 2018).

1. The cut-off of 30 years of age was chosen in view of the recent studies carried out on professional integration that report a longer process (Céreq, 2018; Castera & Gougain, 2019). The term “employee” here refers to a person employed in the private sector.

**Box 1 – The Defis system**

Invited to explore the links between continuous training and career paths, Céreq, the French Centre for Studies and Research on Qualifications designed an original system, the *Dispositif d'enquêtes sur les formations et les itinéraires des salariés* (training and employee trajectory surveys, Defis). Initiated by the National Council for the Evaluation of Professional Training and financed by the Joint Fund for the Safeguarding of Career Paths (now *France compétences*), this system, designed by Céreq, establishes the link between the training activities followed by employees in the private sector and their career paths. 16,000 employees in the private sector responded to the first wave of the system in 2015 and were then interviewed annually over four years, until 2019.

The companies that employed these people in December 2013 were surveyed in 2015 in order to collect detailed information on the context in which the employees found themselves when they were first interviewed. 4,500 companies, representative of the private sector, were interviewed as part of this “companies” part of the system.

The “paired survey” system is formed of two parts, a “companies” part and a sample-based “employees” part

(five one-year waves). The samples are taken on the basis of a two-level sampling design. The sample of companies is taken from the SIRENE file and the sample of “employees” from the *Déclarations Annuelles de Données Sociales* (annual social data declarations, DADS).

The weighting of the first wave of the “employees” part of the Defis has three stages:

- a double inference, the aim of which is to take into account the probabilities that employees (secondary units) respond to the survey and are drawn in the sample ;
- the weighting of the companies who employ the employees who respond to the survey (primary units) ;
- a final calibration of the DADS data.

The sub-sample defined for our analysis consists of employees under the age of 30, who were employed in companies with ten or more employees in December 2013 and had been in employment for the 18 months that followed that date. The first wave includes 2,885 individuals (of a total of 16,000 employees who responded) representing, after weighting, 2,483,000 employees under the age of 30.

**Table 1 – Educational attainment and socio-professional categories of young employees**

	Workforce (in thousands)	Proportion (%)
Total	2,483	100
Basic education		
Unqualified	173	7
CAP/BEP	479	19
Baccalaureate	571	23
2 years of higher education	445	18
3 or 4 years of higher education	355	14
5 or more years of higher education	460	19
Socio-professional category		
Unskilled manual worker	239	10
Skilled manual worker	515	21
Unskilled white-collar employee*	458	18
Skilled white-collar employee	553	22
Technician/supervisor	432	17
Executive engineer	285	12

\* The “unskilled” white-collar employee category has been defined on the basis of Estrade (2008).

Reading note: 7% of individuals under the age of 30, who were in employment in December 2013, had no qualifications.

Sources and Coverage: Cnefp-Céreq, Defis 2015. Employees under the age of 30 from companies with ten or more employees in December 2013 who had been in employment for the 18 months that followed that date (N=2,885).

Access to the Baccalaureate for the majority of a generation and the democratisation of higher education were not achieved without problems. A number of studies talk of “down-grading”, which would be affecting today’s

young graduates (Maurin, 2010; Duru-Bellat, 2006; Giret, 2005). For example, only one young graduate in ten has an executive-level job. 17% are technicians or supervisors, 43% are skilled white-collar employees or manual

workers, and 28% are unskilled white-collar employees or manual workers. While anyone taking their first steps in employment must accept their little or even lack of professional experience, the plethora of graduates, particularly in some specialties, is also a cause of sometimes unsatisfactory work placements. An examination of the socio-professional categories of young employees as compared to their levels of educational attainment suggests that some career plans will reflect aspirations in line with the opportunities available on the basis of educational qualifications.

### 1.2. A Large Majority of Professional Situations Deemed to be “Generally Satisfactory” Despite the Difficulties Encountered

On the whole, young employees report that they are relatively satisfied with their job, with seven in ten judging their professional situation to be “generally satisfactory” (Table 2). We can hypothesise that some of them have accepted the idea that they will have a journey ahead of them to reach the situation seemingly promised to them by their educational qualifications.

Two of the categories of young people deviate significantly from this average: engineers and executives (87%) and white-collar employees (60%). The same applies in the case of graduates with five years of higher education (82%) and non-graduates (64%). However, beyond the level of educational attainment or socio-professional category as separate aspects, we

assume that it is in fact the link between the two that is of interest: young employees working in a socio-professional category that does not match what they could have hoped for on the basis of their degree are more often unsatisfied with their professional situation. For example, among graduates with five years of higher education, nine in ten of those in executive-level positions report that they are satisfied, compared with seven in ten of those in administrative positions.

Almost nine in ten young employees report that they “find their work interesting”. This proportion varies between 80% (white-collar employees, whether skilled or not) and 96% (technicians, engineers and executives). In terms of the link between the level of educational attainment and reporting an interesting job, there are some, relatively minor, deviations: 88% of graduates with two years of higher education and 93% of those with five years of higher education find their work interesting, compared with 84% of other young employees, whatever their level of educational attainment. Two of the responses proposed suggest a relative dissatisfaction associated with use of skills and remuneration: only six in ten employees report that they make full use of their skills in their work and less than half believe they are sufficiently paid for the work they perform. These assessments of the employees in terms of their satisfaction at work appear related to the difficulties they report encountering at work.

Time management (work-life balance, staggered hours, requirement to rush, working more than

Table 2 – Young people’s assessments of their work and the difficulties encountered

	Workforce (in thousands)	Proportion (%)
Are generally satisfied with their professional situation	1,773	71
Find their work interesting	2,151	87
Work matches qualifications	1,724	69
Are not bored	2,083	84
Use all their skills in their work	1,461	59
Are paid enough given the work performed	1,183	48
Have difficulties in balancing personal and professional life	692	28
Are required to rush	1,383	56
Work more than 45 hours/week	526	21
Work staggered hours	1,405	57
Find their work physically exhausting	967	39

Reading note: 59% of individuals under the age of 30, who were in employment in December 2013, say they use all their skills in performing their work. Sources and Coverage: Cnefp-Céreq, Defis 2015. Employees under the age of 30 from companies with ten or more employees in December 2013 who had been in employment for the 18 months that followed that date (N=2,885).

45 hours) is a major factor contributing to dissatisfaction. Four young people in ten find their “work arduous”. The requirement “to rush” is reported by 56% of those surveyed, and “staggered hours” by 57%. One in five young people reports that they work over 45 hours per week, and 28% that their work-life balance is a problem (30% of young women and 26% of young men). Similarly, 36% of young people reporting staggered hours also state that they have difficulties in balancing their professional and personal life (17% among others) as do 47% of those young people reporting that they work over 45 hours per week (23% among others). Time management is therefore a major element at the core of young people’s professional aspirations.

### 1.3. Contrasted Career Aspirations Depending on Characteristics of Young People

We now look at the career aspirations of young employees. 94% of them report having “a career plan for the next five years”. More specifically, for the question “what are your professional development aspirations for the next five years?”, the survey asks the young employees to give their view on each of the six following proposals: to find another employment or change company; to change profession or trade; to create their own business; to take on more responsibility; to develop the content of their work; to give more time for their personal life.

The range of aspirations given by the young people highlights major differences depending on the individual profiles (Table 3). The aspirations most frequently put forward are “To develop the content of your work” (79%) and “To take on more responsibility” (73%). However, these aspirations are even more prevalent among young people with a high level of educational attainment or who hold a more skilled job: among young people with at least five years of higher education, 89% want to develop the content of their work and 84% want to take on more responsibility. In the case of engineers and executives, these figures are 89% and 83%, respectively. The business context also plays a decisive role. For example, the tendency to report the desire “to give more time for personal life” drops as the size of the company increases, falling gradually from 58% for employees in companies with 10 to 19 employees to 44% for those working in a company with over 1,000 employees.<sup>2</sup> Lastly,

the type of job also leaves its mark on the aspirations formulated by young employees. While on average 59% plan to leave for another company and/or access other employment, this number is at 73% for unskilled white-collar employees. This wish is particularly prevalent among young women (66%, compared with 54% of men), owing to the characteristics of female employment, which is largely focused on the category of unskilled white-collar employees and has a higher prevalence of part-time employment (Bel, 2008).

While these initial results highlight the fact that individual characteristics and terms of employment affect the expression and nature of career aspirations, these dimensions are by no means representative of all the career aspirations of young employees. At the very start of the 2000s, an iconic study carried out by Baudelot & Gollac (2003) showed that, in addition to employment terms that are presumed to be satisfactory (permanent contract, full-time work, decent remuneration), working conditions (intensity, arduousness, sense of unfairness, etc.) also constitute a major factor in whether a person has a “happy or unhappy relationship with their professional activity”. This idea was backed up in 2009 by the Employment Policy Council (COE), which highlighted that: “*Among the expectations of employees looking for professional mobility, better remuneration is the primary motivation. Interest in a new position and in better working conditions come second and third.*” (COE, 2009, p. 54). More recently, Guillaneuf examined the motivations given by employees wanting to change employment. While 23% of them were targeting an increase in remuneration and 19% more stable employment, 16% wanted a more interesting job and 27% improved working conditions (data from the Labour Force survey, Guillaneuf, 2018). These findings show that quality of work and quality of the job are both equally central to the career plans of the working population. Although Guillaneuf’s study focuses on the entire working population and not solely on employees under 30, and despite the fact that the results vary depending on employment situations (those with the most beneficial terms of employment place greater emphasis on the work), it does stress the importance of quality of work in terms of individual aspirations. The study by Portela & Signoretto (2017)

<sup>2</sup> This finding echoes that made by Charles Raffin who highlights the fact that, for full-time employees, weekly working hours are longer in VSEs than in other companies (Raffin, 2019).

**Table 3 – Professional development aspirations of young people depending on their individual and employment characteristics (%)**

	Proportion of young employees expressing a desire to...					
	Find other employment or change company	Change trade or profession	Create their own business	Take on more responsibility	Develop the content of their work	Give more time for their personal life
Total	59	43	24	73	79	49
Among women	66	48	19	71	78	51
Among men	54	39	28	75	79	48
Among those with						
No qualifications	60	52	27	63	69	51
CAP/BEP	61	39	25	71	74	48
Baccalaureate	59	49	22	71	72	43
2 years of higher education	58	42	24	68	82	51
3 or 4 years of higher education	59	42	29	76	83	55
5 or more years of higher education	57	38	21	84	89	52
Among young people on permanent contracts	58	43	24	75	80	53
Among young people working part-time	70	59	25	53	59	41
Among young people having worked at their company for...						
Less than one year	66	45	30	70	73	45
1 to < 2 years	61	43	23	72	76	47
2 to < 4 years	52	41	23	77	86	52
4 or more years	55	42	20	75	82	55
Among young people who are...						
Unskilled manual workers	63	49	27	64	67	50
Skilled manual workers	46	33	28	72	77	44
Unskilled white-collar employees	73	58	25	71	73	50
Skilled white-collar employees	61	46	21	73	78	49
Technicians or supervisors	55	34	25	74	85	54
Executive engineers	57	39	20	83	89	52
Among young people working in a company with...						
10 to 19 employees	61	43	34	75	77	58
20 to 49 employees	56	34	24	62	71	56
50 to 249 employees	62	43	27	75	81	50
250 to 499 employees	71	52	25	71	74	48
500 to 999 employees	58	52	32	82	86	47
1,000+ employees	55	43	18	76	82	44

Reading note: 59% of young employees report that they want to find other employment or change company over the course of the next five years. Sources and Coverage: Cnefp-Céreq, Defis 2015. Employees under the age of 30 from companies with ten or more employees in December 2013 who had been in employment for the 18 months that followed that date (N=2,885).

also attests to this: following an analysis on voluntary resignations by young people on permanent contracts, they highlight the importance of “autonomy” and “recognition of work”, in addition to remuneration.

## 2. Modelling Career Change Aspirations

In order to now analyse the factors that play a determining role in the various plans made by employees, we hypothesise that, beyond the

characteristics of the employee and the job they hold, quality of the work also plays a decisive role in the development and expression of a career plan. The probability of expressing each of the six career development aspirations is modelled in order to highlight the influence of terms of employment (status, type of contract, full/part-time, length of service) and the quality of the work, while taking account of the individual characteristics of the young employees (gender, educational attainment) and the characteristics of the companies that employ them (size and business sector).

While the notion of a “plan” is in widespread use, it is also highly disputed (Coquelle, 1994; Béret, 2002; Guillaume, 2009). In this paper, we will define an expressed career plan, i.e. what a person plans given the elements at their disposal, as involving a formulation or vision of actions to be carried out in a concrete manner. The plan is built on the basis of current and expected conditions (both working conditions and terms of employment). The formulation of a plan therefore presupposes the availability of the means and terms required for that formulation, i.e. the existence of elements (objective and subjective) that form the foundation of and

give structure to an expectation. For example, believing that you “have opportunities for progression”, or “for increased remuneration” or that you “are not at risk of losing your job” are all factors that facilitate, or even empower, the development and expression of a career plan. We have therefore introduced the dimension of “confidence in the future” as a control variable; this dimension corresponds to the picture given by each employee, via the statements they make, of how they perceive their likely future. Box 2 presents the models and the estimation results are presented in Table 4.

## 2.1. Terms of Employment Influencing Expression of Career Change Aspirations

Most studies on the initial years of working life are generally based on two principles. The first posits that young people are “integrated” once they have a “stable” job, i.e. a full-time permanent contract or in the civil service; the second is that all young people are looking to progress professionally, by moving up the job ladder in terms of qualification and remuneration. This model, driven by the economic performance of the “*Trente Glorieuses*” (the 30 years of strong

### Box 2 – Estimation of the probability of wanting a professional change

We estimate a series of six logistic regressions where each professional aspiration  $y_{ij}$  is explained using variables relating to the characteristics of the employment ( $CarEmp_{ij}$ ) and the quality of the work ( $QualTrav_{ij}$ ) as well as control variables associated with the characteristics of the company and the employees (socio-demographic characteristics and confidence in the future).

Where  $y_{ij}$  represents the chance that an employee  $i$  expresses their plan  $j$  (compared with not expressing it), with  $j$  from 1 to 6 :

$y_{i1}$ : expresses the desire “to find other employment or change company” ;

$y_{i2}$ : expresses the desire “to change trade or profession” ;

$y_{i3}$ : expresses the desire “to create their own business” ;

$y_{i4}$ : expresses the desire “to take on more responsibility” ;

$y_{i5}$ : expresses the desire “to develop the content of their work” ;

$y_{i6}$ : expresses the desire “to give more time for their personal life”.

For each  $y_{ij}$ , we adopt the following specification:

$$y_{ij} = \alpha CarEmp_{ij} + \beta QualTrav_{ij} + \delta ConfAve_{ij} + \lambda CaractEnt_{ij} + \sigma Caractind_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

- The variables used to characterise the terms of employment ( $CarEmp_{ij}$ ) are the employment contract, working hours, length of service and socio-professional category.

- The variables used to characterise the quality of work ( $QualTrav_{ij}$ ) are, on the one hand, the subjective quality of work (believing their work is interesting, matches their qualifications, is sufficiently paid, arduous, makes it difficult to balance personal and professional life) and, on the other hand, the working conditions described by three composite indicators (see Box 3): the composite indicator of opportunity for personal development, the composite indicator of intensity of work and the composite indicator of freedom to discuss work.

- The variables used to characterise confidence in the future ( $ConfAve_{ij}$ ) are believing that they have chances of promotion, increased salary and keeping their job.

- The control variables characterising the employees and the companies in which they work are: for companies ( $CaractEnt_{ij}$ ), size and business sector and, for employees ( $Caractind_{ij}$ ) age, level of educational attainment and gender.

Table 4 – Estimation of probability of wanting a professional change (estimated parameters – Logit)

Desire to	$y_{11}$ Find other employment or change company	$y_{12}$ Change trade or profession	$y_{13}$ Create their own business	$y_{14}$ Create their own business	$y_{15}$ Develop the content of their work	$y_{16}$ Give more time for their personal life
Constant	1.2498***	0.7108**	-0.6788**	0.9530***	1.0030***	-0.2821
<b>Confidence in the future</b>						
Believe that they will have the following opportunities in the coming year...						
... promotion	-0.1767*	-0.0327	0.1834*	0.5567***	0.0810	0.1011
... a salary increase	0.0139	0.0155	-0.0125	-0.1840*	0.0408	-0.0892
... to keep their job	-0.0871	-0.1172	-0.0522	0.0330	0.1286	0.2118**
<b>Employment characteristics</b>						
On a permanent contract	0.0651	0.1958*	-0.1130	0.0146	-0.0932	0.1838*
Work part-time	-0.1078	0.0858	-0.0521	-0.4604***	-0.4063***	-0.2602**
Length of service in the company (ref. = less than one year)						
1 to < 2 years	0.0933	-0.0255	0.0165	-0.0487	-0.2688*	-0.1902*
2 to < 4 years	-0.3043*	-0.1382	0.0145	0.1653	0.4000**	0.0387
4 or more years	-0.0207	0.0967	-0.2288	-0.0250	0.1352	0.1314
Socio-professional categories (ref. = executive engineer)						
Unskilled manual worker	-0.1063	0.0734	0.0592	-0.2708	-0.4458*	0.2921
Skilled manual worker	-0.4243**	-0.4156**	0.2547	-0.0724	-0.1582	-0.1415
Unskilled white-collar employee	0.1336	0.2654	-0.0375	0.3006	0.1739	-0.1679
Skilled white-collar employee	0.0491	0.0111	-0.2001	0.0665	-0.0616	-0.0748
Technician or supervisor	0.1265	-0.1397	0.0952	-0.0321	0.2992	0.0689
<b>Subjective quality of work</b>						
Believe their work...						
... is interesting	-0.7343**	-0.6964**	-0.1876	0.3710	0.5590**	-0.1654
... matches their qualifications	-0.5813***	-0.6295***	0.0944	0.00647	-0.1476	0.0648
... is sufficiently paid	-0.4380***	-0.1858	-0.5226***	-0.5177***	-0.5108***	-0.3556**
... is arduous	0.2467	0.4105**	-0.1322	-0.3358*	-0.0316	0.2302
... makes it difficult to balance their personal and professional life	0.3712*	0.2876	0.0560	0.4324**	0.3978**	1.1373***
<b>Composite indicators of working conditions</b>						
Opportunity for personal development	-0.3357***	-0.2730***	-0.2146**	0.0537	-0.00283	-0.0421
Work intensity	0.0104	0.1014	-0.0543	0.0137	-0.1338	0.1451*
Freedom to discuss work	-0.0156	-0.1235	-0.0405	0.0727	0.0246	0.1609**
R2	0.24	0.24	0.11	0.17	0.16	0.20

Reading note: All the models presented above are Logit models that take into account the complex survey sampling design ("Survey Logistic" procedure in SAS). The estimated parameters and their level of significance are indicated in the table (\*\*\* significant at the 1% threshold, \*\* significant at the 5% threshold, \* significant at the 10% threshold). The following control variables are included in the specification: age, level of educational attainment, gender, company size and business sector. The full results are given in the appendix.  
Sources and Coverage: Cnefp-Céreq, Defis 2015. Employees under the age of 30 from companies with ten or more employees in December 2013 who had been in employment for the 18 months that followed that date (N=2,885).

economic growth in France from 1945 to 1975), was dominant until the beginning of the 1980s (Germe *et al.*, 2003; Amossé, 2002-2003).

However, the many economic crises that have shaken the job market following that period and the "democratisation" of higher education have



impacted on the professional prospects of young people entering working life. How do they talk about their desire to “carve out a career” nowadays? What are their career aspirations?

Improvement in terms of employment remains an essential feature of the plans put forward by young employees. Status, working hours and remuneration are all determining factors of their living standards (housing, family plans, etc.). This is also highlighted in studies carried out on the basis of the Céreq *Génération* survey (Céreq, 2017) on mobility aspirations according to employment status.<sup>3</sup>

The examination of the links between the terms of employment of young employees and their career aspirations sheds additional light on this point. All things being equal, the estimation of the probability of a young employee expressing their desire for professional development shows that terms of employment do not have a significant impact here (Table 4). However, some characteristics associated with working hours (percentage of full-time employment), length of service in the company or the level of skill of the position held all have a notable influence.

In this regard, we can highlight the fact that holding a position as a skilled manual worker reduces the probability of expressing the desire to “find other employment or change company” and to “change profession or trade”. It is undoubtedly the case for these employees that there is a greater level of correspondence between their initial training and the skill level of the position held and that there are real career development opportunities within their companies. Indeed, among young people, more skilled manual workers report fully using their skills in their work that in any other category (68% compared with 59% of young employees overall). These results are consistent with those obtained by Lebeaux (2004) using the Céreq *Génération* surveys, which showed that skilled young people tend to be more satisfied with their situation and more optimistic about their future than unskilled young people.

The desire to “develop the content of their work” seems to be more characteristic of young employees who have worked at a company for between two and less than four years. It is during this period that they feel it is time to expand their skills. Below two years of service, young employees potentially feel that they have not yet exhausted their position (the probability of stating “do not wish to develop the content of

you work” is higher among young employees with between one and less than two years of service in a company).

Lastly, all things being equal, “believing that you have opportunities for progression” has a positive impact on expressing the wish to “take on new responsibilities”, while believing that “you are not at risk of losing your job” appears to be a necessary condition for wanting “to give yourself more time for your personal life”.

## 2.2. The Quality of Work, a Major Factor in Career Aspirations

The quality of work, as we see it, can be assessed through two different dimensions.

The first brings together the factual characteristics of the work (“working conditions” in the model). For this, it is necessary to create composite indicators, in the same way as Asselin (2009), in order to synthesise three constituent parts: the opportunity for personal development, the intensity of the work and the freedom to discuss work and training with the employer. Information about each of these parts is recorded via variables from the Defis system, which are used to calculate the following composite indicators (the calculation is detailed in Box 3):

- opportunity for personal development includes the variables: work that is not boring, that does not involve repetitive actions, fully using your skills, having increased your skills, having learned new things or having had to resolve unforeseen problems;
- intensity of work includes the variables: holding different positions, regularly working more than 45 hours, being required to rush, working staggered or irregular hours, alternating shifts or working at night;
- freedom of discussion includes the variables: having the possibility to discuss the content of your work with your supervisor, having made suggestions to improve your workstation; being able to amend or decide your working hours, asking for training, turning down a training suggestion, not receiving instructions or orders or not being monitored in your work.

3. In 2016, of those young employees who had left the education system three years before, 10% were looking for another job: 5% of public officials, 8% of young people with permanent contracts, 14% of temporary workers, 18% of young people in assisted jobs and 12% of young people in other fixed-term employment (Céreq, 2017).

### Box 3 – Methodology for modelling composite indicators

Three approaches are primarily used to construct the composite indicators: one based on the fuzzy set theory, the entropy method and, the most widespread, the approach based on inertia. The third option is the one we have adopted for this study. It comes from the field of statistical mechanics and is based on data analysis techniques. The main advantage of this inertia approach (Asselin, 2009) is that it makes it possible to remove the arbitrariness from the calculation of a composite indicator. To implement this approach, we use multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), which is the data analysis technique most suitable for our case, as all the variables are qualitative and can be coded as either 0 or 1.

The functional form of each composite indicator is defined as follows:

Taking  $m$  as the index of a given employee and  $C_m$  as their eigenvalue for the composite indicator, the functional form of the composite indicator is therefore:

$$C_m = \frac{\sum_{k=1}^K \sum_{j_k} W_{j_k}^k I_{j_k}^k}{K}$$

where  $K$  = number of categorical indicators,

$J_k$  = number of categories for the indicator  $k$ ,

$W_{j_k}^k$  = the weighting (score of the first normalised axis,  $\frac{\text{score}}{\sqrt{\lambda_1}}$ ) of the category  $j_k$  (the score corresponding to the

coordinate of each method in the first factorial axis and  $\lambda_1$  the first eigenvalue),

$I_{j_k}^k$  = the binary variable 0/1, taking the value 1 when the unit has category  $j_k$ .

Therefore, the value for the composite indicator for an employee is the average of the weighting categories corresponding to the average of the normalised scores on the first factorial axis. In other words, it is the factorial coordinate of the employee on the first axis that classifies the employees depending on their situation of constraint or well-being.

The variables used for the composite indicators of working conditions are the following binary (yes/no) variables:

Variables	%
<b>Composite indicator of opportunity for personal development</b>	
Are not bored in their work (or only sometimes)	84
Their work does not involve continually repeating the same series of actions or activities	42
Can use all their skills in their work	59
Have increased their skills over the last 12 months	68
Their work involves learning new things	73
Their work involves resolving unforeseen problems	82
<b>Composite indicator of intensity of work</b>	
Hold different positions	45
Regularly work more than 45 hours	21
Are required to rush to do their work	
- all the time	21
- often	35
- sometimes	32
- never	12
Work staggered hours	43
Work irregular or alternate shifts	41
Work at night	14
<b>Composite indicator of freedom of discussion</b>	
Can discuss the content of their work with their supervisor	79
Have made suggestions to improve their workstation	93
Have the option to amend or decide on their working hours	50
Are able to ask for training	75
Can refuse a training suggestion	68
Receive orders/instructions	
- that they apply to the letter	49
- but sometimes do things differently	40
- but mostly do things differently	3
- does not receive orders/instructions	8
Their work is not monitored	45

Sources: Cnefp-Céreq, Defis 2015.

The second dimension brings together subjective elements that report the degree of satisfaction associated with the work (“subjective quality of work” in the model): considering that your work is interesting, that it matches your qualifications, that it is well paid, that it is arduous or makes it difficult to balance personal and professional life.

Our investigations clearly show that the career aspirations of young employees are closely linked with the quality of the work they perform, evaluated on the basis of factual characteristics and subjective assessments. There are several particularly salient results worthy of highlighting:

- the lack of opportunities for personal development and the arduousness of the work are strongly associated with a desire for radical change: changing trade or profession;

- when the effect of the other characteristics is neutralised, the motivations for wanting “to give yourself more time for your personal life” are closely linked to the intensity of work and the difficulties of balancing professional and personal life. In this same area, we can see that freedom to discuss work content and the way it is organised reduces the probability of feeling that the work takes up an excessive part of the employee’s schedule;

- the estimations also bring to light the dual link between the difficulties in balancing professional and private life and the desire for professional change. Some see this balance as favourable towards their work, shown by the fact they wish to “take on more responsibility” or “develop the content of their work” (notably graduates with five years of higher education and executives). For others, the objective is to conserve “more time for their personal life” (for example, employees in small companies). These results echo those of Amossé and Gollac, highlighting that “*increased intensity of work is linked to a rise in upward mobility for employees who have the resources to face the constraints, and in downward mobility for those who do not*” (Amossé & Gollac, 2008, p. 59);

- the more a young employee finds their job interesting, the more they are inclined to want to develop the content of their work, as an interesting job undoubtedly opens up a wider range of development possibilities.

In conclusion, the quality of work is clearly a major factor in the plans formulated by the

youngest employees in society and plays a much larger role than other aspects associated with employment.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. The Career Plans of Young Employees: Five Types of Aspirations and Three Options for Mobility

We can now turn our attention to drawing up an overview of the career aspirations of young employees. To do this, we construct a typology based on an ascending hierarchical classification.<sup>5</sup> By linking the data relating to the formulated aspirations and the employees’ own assessments of their work (subjective quality of work as defined in the model), we can distribute the population of young employees into five classes on the basis of the orientation of their career plan.

#### 3.1. Construction of the Typology

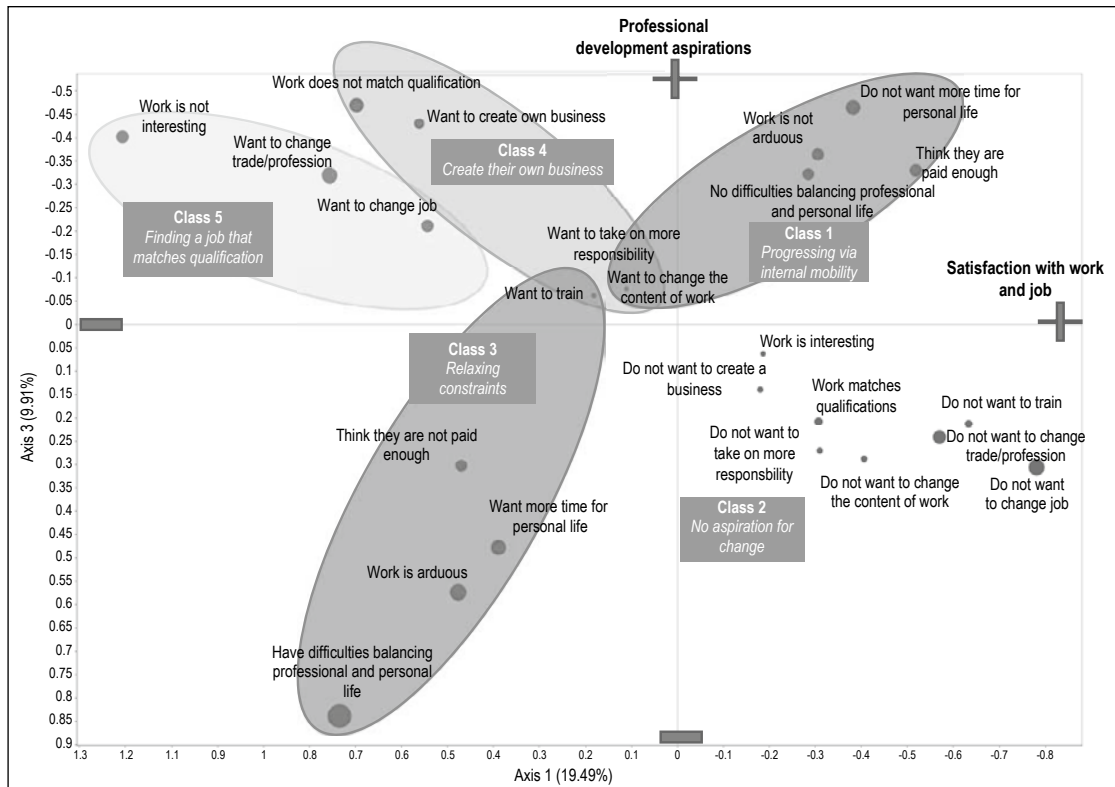
The first stage of this involved a multiple correspondence factorial analysis carried out using 12 active variables. Seven variables characterise the career aspirations of young people: taking on more responsibility; developing the content of their work; changing trade or profession; finding other employment, changing company, joining the civil service; creating their own business; giving themselves more time for their personal life; training. Five other variables relate to their own assessment of their work: it is interesting; it matches their qualifications; they are paid sufficiently; they find their working conditions arduous; they find it difficult to balance their personal and family life with their professional life.

The Figure below shows the projection of these active variables and the barycentres of the classes on axes 1 and 3, which together account for around 30% of the total inertia. The horizontal axis 1 is mainly explained by variables expressing satisfaction with work and job. Axis 3 is mainly explained by variables reflecting the desire for professional change (internal or external). The ascending hierarchical classification gives five classes characterised in Table 5.

4. Even if the characteristics associated with work quality that came to light during the studies differ depending on the type of plan.

5. The ascending hierarchical classification is a technical statistic that aims to separate a population into different classes or subgroups. The intention is that the individuals grouped into one class (intra-class homogeneity) are as similar as possible, while the classes themselves are as dissimilar between themselves as possible (inter-class heterogeneity).

Figure – Multiple correspondence analysis



Sources and Coverage: Cnefp-Céreq, Defis 2015. Employees under the age of 30 from companies with ten or more employees in December 2013 who had been in employment for the 18 months that followed that date (N=2,885).

### 3.2. Orientation of Career Plans

To characterise the career plans of young employees, we can start by recalling the fact that six in ten report that they wish to change employment or company (cf. Table 3). Yet an even larger proportion seems, instead, to want development within the company they work in. However, within these desires for mobility or change, the nature of the aspirations stated and the reasons for dissatisfaction regarding their current situation are quite heterogeneous. It is also likely that some of these mobility aspirations will become reality in line with the opportunities that present themselves.<sup>6</sup> Lastly, one group of young employees seem not to really have any aspirations to change their situation.

#### 3.2.1. Progressing via Internal Mobility

The first class of the typology (see Figure and Table 5), which covers 31% of young employees, is dominated by those who plan to progress within the company that employees them. As the majority of the young people in

this class are higher education graduates and are more often employed in large companies (1000+ employees), they logically hold more skilled positions (engineers and technical executives, skilled industrial workers). This class by far includes the highest proportion of employees working full-time: only 6% work part-time, compared with an average of 12%. However, they do not stand out from the population as a whole in terms of the type of work contract (78% are on permanent contracts; 79% on average).

These employees are satisfied with their professional situation and the balance that they are achieving with their family life. With a higher-than-average length of service within their company and reporting a low risk of losing their job, they plan to develop within the company that employs them.

The composite indicators for quality of work calculated for this class report advantageous conditions compared with the population as a

6. As highlighted by Amossé (2003) with regard to all employees.

Table 5 – Characterisation of typology classes (%)

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Total
<b>Total</b>	31	15	22	16	16	100
<b>Work satisfaction</b>						
The work involves learning new things	86	61	82	73	49	73
Find their work interesting	99	90	99	96	32	87
Think their work matches their qualifications	85	76	79	76	12	69
Are not bored in their work	93	90	89	86	50	84
Use all their skills in their work	73	65	57	59	28	59
Think they are paid enough for the work they do	73	69	22	36	25	48
Are generally satisfied with their professional situation	87	80	72	74	29	71
<b>Perception of their future</b>						
Think they will have opportunities for promotion	49	36	39	44	25	40
Think they will have opportunities for a salary increase	44	29	36	39	22	36
Think they risk losing their job	15	20	20	24	28	20
<b>Training and development of skills</b>						
Have increased their skills	76	67	71	67	50	68
Have taken part in at least one organised training course	49	36	50	47	40	46
<b>Work-related interview</b>						
Have had a work-related interview with their superior	79	57	72	69	58	69
Spoke about what they learn in their job	83	74	84	82	68	80
Spoke about their career prospects	90	80	89	84	79	86
Spoke about their training needs	84	74	83	78	65	79
<b>Absence of training</b>						
Have not been trained	60	67	60	57	66	61
Have not been trained and felt they missed out	27	54	13	13	31	27
Have not been trained and did not feel they missed out	33	13	47	44	35	34
Have not been trained and have received at least one offer of training	19	7	20	9	13	14
Have not been trained and have received no offers of training	41	60	40	48	53	47
<b>Difficulties at work</b>						
Think they are missing some skills	56	27	58	59	34	49
Think their working conditions are arduous	14	42	61	36	57	39
Are required to rush to do their work	42	48	74	53	67	56
Have difficulty in balancing personal and professional life	5	10	64	27	41	28
Work staggered hours	45	57	69	49	70	57
Work more than 45 hours/week	18	19	36	20	10	21
<b>Aspirations</b>						
More time for their personal life	29	27	86	62	49	49
To train	82	32	91	89	81	77
To take on more responsibility	86	13	88	89	67	73
To change the content of their work	95	9	93	95	74	79
To find other employment or change company	36	44	62	78	94	59
To change trade or profession	22	28	40	56	89	43
To create their own business	5	16	1	100	24	24
<b>Asking for training</b>						
Are able to ask for training	83	66	82	72	64	75
Have asked for training	41	19	45	34	24	35
Have asked for training as they have not been trained	14	9	17	13	12	13
Asked for training as not trained and no offers received	11	8	13	11	11	11
Want to train and have made a request	36	9	40	32	20	30 →

Table 5 (contd.)

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Total
<b>Composite indicators of work quality (average)</b>						
Opportunities for personal development	0.33	-0.18	0.15	-0.12	-1.09	-0.08
Work intensity	-0.40	-0.09	0.34	-0.12	0.15	0.05
Ability to discuss	0.25	-0.08	-0.00	-0.06	-0.62	-0.04

Reading note: Among young employees in class 1, 99% think that their work is interesting.

Sources and Coverage: Cnefp-Céreq, Defis 2015. Employees under the age of 30 from companies with ten or more employees in December 2013 who had been in employment for the 18 months that followed that date (N=2,885)

whole: the opportunities for personal development are estimated to be greater, the intensity of work much lower and freedom of discussion much higher, thereby opening margins for negotiation regarding the work performed.

Young employees in this group consider that their job matches their level of qualification and allows them to make full use of their skills. Even so, they do not wish to stop there, stating their desire to train in order to develop their skills. The prospect of upward mobility within their current company is underpinned by the development of their skills (76% state that they have gained in skills over the last 18 months). This development has been supported by organised training courses: 49% accessed training over the last 18 months. This group seems to fit the career profile driven by internal mobility within a company offering opportunities for progression.

### 3.2.2. *Creating Their Own Business to Relax the Relationship of Subordination and Gain Autonomy*

Class 4 of the typology accounts for 16% of the young employees who all aspire to create their own business. These are more often men, non-graduates and employees in the commerce and repairs sector. They mainly work in small companies (10 to 19 employees) or large companies (500 to 1,000 employees). They report being partially satisfied with their employment, believing their work to be interesting and that it matches their qualification level. Even so, a huge proportion (95%) wants to “develop the content of their work” and take on more responsibility. Two thirds do not believe they are paid enough for the work they do. They desire more time for their personal life (62%) while taking on more responsibility (89%). A greater-than-average percentage highlights the risk of losing their job (24% compared with 20% on average).

The composite indicators of quality of work calculated for this class report conditions close to the average when compared with the population as a whole: there are slightly fewer opportunities for personal development but freedom of discussion is in line with the general average. Their work is also less intense.

The development they envisage calls for training: relatively, a smaller-than-average proportion of this class believes they lack the skills to carry out their plan and a greater number report a desire to train than in other categories. 44% of them did not undertake any training during the year preceding the survey, stating the lack in skills they feel associated with the absence of training.<sup>7</sup>

### 3.2.3. *Changing for a Job That Matches Their Qualification*

Class 5 of the typology, which covers 16% of the young people, is dominated by those whose desire for change reflects their dissatisfaction associated with the (generally unfavourable) gap between the job they do and the qualifications they have obtained. They describe their employment as arduous (many report staggered hours), poorly paid, uninteresting, repetitive and not very compatible with their personal life (even though they are the group with the highest rate of part-time working, which seems to indicate that the organisation of their time is not facilitated by this, especially when their staggered working hours counteract the balance between personal and professional life). Many of the people in this class state that their skills have not been expanded over the last few months. They have rarely had access to training over the last 18 months and have fewer possibilities than other groups to ask for it.

7. This 44% corresponds to the proportion of employees in class 4 who have both received no training and answered negatively when asked: “Have you missed out on training?” (See table 5 “Have not received training and did not feel they missed out”).

This is the group with the highest number of women, bringing together the categories of skilled and unskilled white-collar employees: administrative or commercial employees, or direct personal service staff. With a high presence in the hospitality and commerce sectors, these young employees often work in relatively large companies (250 to 500 employees) or for brand networks.

The composite indicators for quality of work calculated for this class report very unfavourable conditions compared with the population as a whole: they believe they have far fewer opportunities for personal development, the intensity of work is much higher and freedom of discussion relatively limited.

### 3.2.4. *Changing for a Better Work-Life Balance*

Class 3 of the typology, covering 22% of young employees, is dominated by those who would like to better balance their personal and professional lives in order to improve their quality of life. For a long time, the matter of balancing personal and professional life seemed only to have affected women, who were subjected to a professional calendar dominated by the masculine career model, itself loaded with progression opportunities at the very moment that women are most often invested in maternity. However, women are only slightly overrepresented in this class. The question of achieving a better balance has therefore reached and convinced young men, or at least some of them. The employees in this group are more qualified than average, but, unlike those in class 1, report unsatisfactory working conditions more frequently than others.

The composite indicators for quality of work calculated for this class report conditions that can prove problematic compared with the population as a whole. Although they have better-than-average opportunities for personal development, the intensity of their work is higher and the freedom of discussion relatively limited.

The difficulty in balancing personal and professional life is largely due to time management. More young people in this category than in others find their work arduous (61%, compared with 39% on average) due to staggered hours (69%, compared with 57% on average) or the need to “rush” or working hours of more than 45 hours per week (36%, compared with 21% on average).

### 3.2.5. *No Desire for Change*

Not all young employees desire change. Class 2, for example, which covers 15% of this population, is dominated by those who state no prospect of change. They report that they are generally satisfied with their employment and believe they are sufficiently paid for the work they do, which they do not find very arduous. Their work seems to match their qualifications and allows them to make full use of their skills, which they do not plan to develop. Incidentally, they develop extensively within professional contexts that offer little training and that show little concern for organising the mobility of their employees. These employees are often manual workers, whether skilled or unskilled, and carry out their work activities in small companies, in the transport and hospitality sectors. The fact that they work in trades experiencing labour shortages protects them from unemployment. This may mean that they do not see the need to train or, more generally, to gain new skills to protect themselves, as they believe they will easily find another job in case of dismissal or end of contract. Consequently, despite low levels of access to training (33% participated in a training course over the last 18 months) compared with those in the other groups, they express few training needs. The composite indicators for quality of work calculated for this class report conditions that are close to the average.

\* \*  
\*

Following our investigations, several major findings emerge. The aspirations of young employees do not fit one single model by far. Indeed, their aspirations for upward professional mobility and the adjustments between the qualifications they have gained and the job they hold permeate a large number of the prospects developed by young employees, although they are juxtaposed by plans organised primarily around a relaxing of professional constraints, in order to achieve a better work-life balance or increase their autonomy. For example, terms of employment (status, level of skill of the position held, working hours) remain a major determining factor of their aspirations, but do not show the whole picture. The quality of the work performed also bears heavily on the aspirations of young employees. Consequently, it is useful to fully understand the professional situations of

young people from both the perspective of the characteristics of the jobs they hold and from that of the quality of the work performed, which is informed by the activities undertaken by the employee and the managerial and organisational context in which they take place (Fournier *et al.*, 2017a; 2017b).

Overall, young employees state that they are satisfied with their current professional situation while also highlighting their desire for change

by showing, by way of the aspirations they state, that their situation represents one episode on their expected career path. In conclusion, we are therefore faced with the question of satisfying those aspirations. In this regard, an ambitious law, enacted in September 2018, announced in its title “the freedom to choose your own professional future”, albeit a conditional freedom, given that the working environment and activities performed seem to restrict the plans that young employees are led to formulate. □

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**FULL RESULTS OF THE ESTIMATION OF THE PROBABILITY  
OF WANTING A PROFESSIONAL CHANGE**

Modelled probability	$y_{11}$ Finding other employment or changing company	$y_{12}$ Changing trade or profession	$y_{13}$ Creating their own business	$y_{14}$ Taking on more res- ponsibility	$y_{15}$ Developing the content of their work	$y_{16}$ Giving more time for their personal life
Constant	1.2498***	0.7108**	-0.6788**	0.9530***	1.0030***	-0.2821
Confidence in the future						
<i>Believe that they will have the following opportunities in the coming year...</i>						
promotion	-0.1767 *	-0.0327	0.1834 *	0.5567 ***	0.0810	0.1011
a salary increase	0.0139	0.0155	-0.0125	-0.1840 *	0.0408	-0.0892
keeping their job	-0.0871	-0.1172	-0.0522	0.0330	0.1286	0.2118 **
Employment characteristics						
On a permanent contract	0.0651	0.1958*	-0.1130	0.0146	-0.0932	0.1838*
Work part-time	-0.1078	0.0858	-0.0521	-0.4604 ***	-0.4063 ***	-0.2602 **
<i>Length of service in the company (ref. = less than one year)</i>						
1 to <2 years	0.0933	-0.0255	0.0165	-0.0487	-0.2688*	-0.1902*
2 to <4 years	-0.3043*	-0.1382	0.0145	0.1653	0.4000**	0.0387
4 or more years	-0.0207	0.0967	-0.2288	-0.0250	0.1352	0.1314
<i>Socio-professional categories (ref. = executive engineer)</i>						
Unskilled manual worker	-0.1063	0.0734	0.0592	-0.2708	-0.4458 *	0.2921
Skilled manual worker	-0.4243**	-0.4156**	0.2547	-0.0724	-0.1582	-0.1415
Unskilled white-collar employee	0.1336	0.2654	-0.0375	0.3006	0.1739	-0.1679
Skilled white-collar employee	0.0491	0.0111	-0.2001	0.0665	-0.0616	-0.0748
Technician or supervisor	0.1265	-0.1397	0.0952	-0.0321	0.2992	0.0689
Subjective quality of work						
<i>Believe their work...</i>						
Is interesting	-0.7343**	-0.6964**	-0.1876	0.3710	0.5590**	-0.1654
Matches their qualifications	-0.5813***	-0.6295***	0.0944	0.00647	-0.1476	0.0648
Is sufficiently paid	-0.4380***	-0.1858	-0.5226***	-0.5177***	-0.5108***	-0.3556**
Is arduous	0.2467	0.4105**	-0.1322	-0.3358*	-0.0316	0.2302
Makes it difficult to balance their personal and professional life	0.3712 *	0.2876	0.0560	0.4324 **	0.3978 **	1.1373 ***
Working conditions (composite indicators)						
Opportunity for personal development	-0.3357 ***	-0.2730 ***	-0.2146 **	0.0537	-0.00283	-0.0421
Work intensity	0.0104	0.1014	-0.0543	0.0137	-0.1338	0.1451*
Freedom to discuss work	-0.0156	-0.1235	-0.0405	0.0727	0.0246	0.1609 **
Company characteristics						
<i>Size of the company (ref. = 50 to 249 employees)</i>						
10 to 19 employees	0.00574	-0.0184	0.3319*	0.1101	-0.0521	0.3480*
20 to 49 employees	-0.0951	-0.3972**	-0.0422	-0.5269***	-0.3247*	0.3219**
250 to 499 employees	0.3339	0.1374	-0.2330	-0.2895	-0.4188*	-0.2066
500 to 999 employees	-0.1025	0.3640	0.4117*	0.5147**	0.4972**	-0.2279
1,000+ employees	-0.2005	0.0303	-0.5355***	0.1113	0.1739	-0.1829 →

## What do Young Employees Dream of? Quality of Work, Career Aspirations and Desire for Mobility

Modelled probability	$y_{11}$ Finding other employment or changing company	$y_{12}$ Changing trade or profession	$y_{13}$ Creating their own business	$y_{14}$ Taking on more res- ponsibility	$y_{15}$ Developing the content of their work	$y_{16}$ Giving more time for their personal life
<i>Business sector (ref.: transport)</i>						
Scientific and technical activities	0.4543**	-0.1378	0.1198	0.0686	-0.0397	-0.2542
Education, health and social work	0.1755	-0.3116	-0.1295	-0.5326*	-0.1188	0.1068
Other service activities	0.6795	0.7734*	0.7196*	-0.1745	-0.5412	0.1142
Trade	-0.1911	0.00401	0.3763**	0.0973	-0.1459	-0.2216
Construction	0.2791	0.1005	-0.2379	-0.0596	-0.2744	0.0586
Energy	-0.4311	0.6495	-0.5942	0.6874	1.5701***	0.6471
Food production	-0.4063	-0.8383***	-0.0619	0.3673	-0.2392	0.0710
Manufacture of electrical/IT equipment	-0.7209*	-0.7027	-0.5794	-0.1611	0.9088	-0.5200
Manufacture of other industrial products	-0.1459	0.1880	0.0127	0.7822**	0.7464**	-0.1186
Manufacture of transport equipment	-0.5180	-0.0947	-0.3419	0.5851	-0.4687	-0.4957
Finance/insurance	-0.0107	0.2313	-0.2481	-0.0815	0.0902	0.4655
Real-estate activities	-0.3200	0.6448	1.1114 *	-0.4138	-0.8833	1.5166***
Information/communication	0.5170*	0.1445	-0.2072	-0.8166**	-0.3090	-0.4418
Hospitality	0.5754*	-0.3630	-0.0592	-0.2646	-0.5236	-0.0137
Individual characteristics						
Are female	0.1211	0.0718	-0.2897***	0.00176	0.0368	0.0737
<i>Basic education (ref. no qualifications)</i>						
CAP/BEP	0.0551	-0.2711	-0.1319	0.1050	-0.0505	-0.00114
Baccalaureate	0.0879	0.3060*	-0.2390	-0.0855	-0.3393**	-0.1904
2 years of higher education	-0.0145	-0.1162	-0.0123	-0.3840**	0.0573	-0.00234
3/4 years of higher education	-0.0169	-0.0862	0.2698	0.0330	0.0459	0.0696
5 or more years of higher education	0.0880	0.0102	0.1252	0.5157**	0.4752	0.0595
R2	0.24	0.24	0.11	0.17	0.16	0.20

Reading note: All the models presented above are Logit models that take into account the complex survey sampling design ("Survey Logistic" procedure in SAS). The estimated parameters and their level of significance are indicated in the table (\*\*\* significant at the 1% threshold, \*\* significant at the 5% threshold, \* significant at the 10% threshold).

Sources and Coverage: Cnefp-Céreq, Defis 2015. Employees under the age of 30 from companies with ten or more employees in December 2013 who had been in employment for the 18 months that followed that date (N=2,885).

