

# Gender-Based Wage Inequalities Persist Throughout Careers of French Senior Civil Servants \*

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## Abstract

In 2023, despite women accounting for nearly two-thirds of the workforce in the French civil service, senior management positions remain predominantly occupied by men. This underrepresentation of women in high-ranking roles is primarily driven by gender-differentiated career and wage trajectories.

By tracking individuals who entered one of the elite civil service corps through a specialised school pathway in the 1980s, this study highlights the persistence of gender inequalities throughout professional careers, both in terms of access to the most highly remunerated positions and wage disparities.

Although the proportion of women in the elite corps of the civil service has increased significantly since the late 1970s, gender parity in recruitment remains far from being achieved. The feminization rate has stagnated in both the technical and administrative elite corps, despite men leaving the civil service more frequently primarily to transition into the private sector.

Despite the implementation of measures aiming at promoting pay equality, wage disparities within the elite corps of the civil service emerge from the very beginning of careers, accumulate over time, and become more pronounced. Over the course of a 30-year career, these disparities amount to an estimated loss of 276 600€ (constant 2022 euros) for women in the administrative elite corps and 162 900€ in the technical elite corps.

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\*This study was conducted within the DERA division of the DSDS department at INSEE's General Management between June and July 2024, under the supervision of Benjamin Gilbert (INSEE Administrator, INSEE) and Fanny Godet (INSEE Administrator, INSERM). The research was carried out as part of an internship at the end of my first year at ENSAE.

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<sup>1</sup>The specific features of the French civil service are discussed in the documentation section, where definitions and methodology are also elaborated. It may be useful to begin reading from that section.

# **1 Multiple measures of gender inequalities in the civil service**

Since 1983, the general statute of civil servants has legally prohibited gender-based discrimination within the civil service. Despite this legal framework, gender equality remains elusive, both in terms of access to professional positions and wage parity.

In response to these persistent disparities and the growing awareness of gender inequalities in professional environments, corrective policies with coercive effects have been introduced since the 2010s. The implementation of gender quotas through the Copé-Zimmermann Law (27 January 2011) and the Sauvadet Law (12 March 2012) aimed to promote female access to senior positions in both the private and public sectors. Further measures and regulatory oversight mechanisms promoting professional equality between men and women have also been introduced, such as the Professional Equality Index defined by the Law of 5 September 2018 on the freedom to choose one's professional future.

Additional transparency obligations in recruitment and remuneration will soon be enforced, aligning with the provisions of the European Directive 2023/970 (10 May 2023), which aims to reinforce the principle of equal pay for equal work or work of equal value.

Based on a comprehensive panel of civil servants, this study complements existing research and statistical analyses by illustrating the persistence of gender-based wage inequalities in the civil service, despite these policy interventions. By examining long-term career trajectories, it highlights that while access to elite civil service positions has partially feminized, career advancement remains gendered, and wage parity remains an exception rather than the norm.

## **2 Limited feminization of the highest-paying public sector positions since 1980**

The French civil service has experienced significant feminization over the past 40 years. Women, already a majority by the late 1970s, accounted for 53% of the civil service workforce in 1980, increasing to 57% in 2000 and 63% in 2020 (Table 1).

This feminization trend is observed through all employment categories, although the increase in the share of women among non permanent employees (from 55% in 1980 to 60% in 2020) has been less pronounced than among permanent employees (53% in 1980 to 65% in 2020). The

increase in female representation has also been relatively uniform through hierarchical categories A, B, C, and previously D, although structural reclassifications have influenced these trends. Notably, the nearly 20-percentage-point drop in the proportion of women in category B between 2000 and 2010 was primarily due to the gradual replacement of primary school teachers with the new category of *professeurs des écoles*, introduced by the Jospin Education Act of 1989.

However, this global feminization has not extended to the most lucrative positions within the civil service—namely, category A employees (excluding teachers) and functional positions, many of which involve senior management appointments. While the share of women in these high-paying roles has increased, this growth remains significantly below the overall feminization rate of the civil service.

Thus, compared to the feminization levels observed through all civil service employees, women remain underrepresented among category A employees (excluding teachers), where they accounted for only 60% of the workforce in 2023 (Massis, 2024). Among those holding functional positions, only 40% were women in 2023—exactly matching the annual threshold mandated for new appointments under the Rixain Law of 24 November 2021. However, this figure remains well below full gender parity, which will only become mandatory for new appointments from 1 January 2026, as stipulated by the Law of 19 July 2023 aimed at increasing women’s access to senior roles in the public sector.

**Table 1:** Proportion of Women Among Civil Servants in the French Public Sector by Status and Hierarchical Category

Category	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020
Titulaires	53%	55%	57%	59%	65%
Catégorie A	44%	47%	57%	62%	69%
Catégorie B	65%	67%	67%	48%	58%
Catégorie C et D	49%	52%	51%	65%	63%
Non-titulaires	55%	57%	58%	60%	60%

*Note:* In 2010, women represented 62% of permanent category A civil servants in the French public sector.

*Scope:* France excluding Mayotte, civil servants in the French public sector (FPE).

*Source:* Insee, *Fichiers Généraux de l’État 1978-2009*, *Système d’Information sur les Agents des Services Publics 2010-2021* (SIASP).

## Elite civil service recruitment remains predominantly male

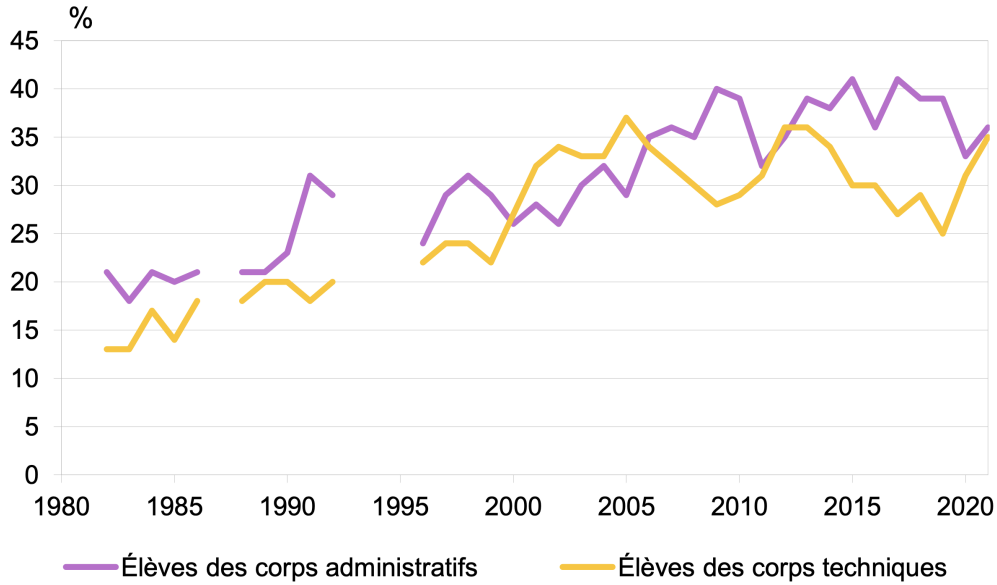
The limited feminization of senior positions in the French civil service is even more pronounced within the elite corps (high-ranking public service bodies responsible for senior management functions), and this disparity is evident from the very point of entry into these recruitment pathways (Figure 1). Despite the *École nationale d'administration (ENA)* having admitted mixed-gender cohorts since 1947, the proportion of women among students entering the administrative elite corps did not exceed 21% in the 1980s, increasing to 31% in 1991 and 40% in 2009.

In the technical elite corps, the presence of women was even lower, accounting for only 13% of students between 1980 and 1983, primarily due to the late introduction of gender diversity in top engineering schools. The first female students were admitted to *École des Ponts et Chaussées* in 1962, *École des Mines* in 1970, and *École Polytechnique* in 1972. With the exception of the *Insee administrators' corps*, which welcomed its first female recruit in 1946, the earliest female graduates from the elite corps only emerged in the late 1970s: in 1977 for the Ponts et Chaussées corps and in 1978 for the Mines corps. The threshold of 30% female students in the technical elite corps was not reached until 2002 (32%).

The proportion of women among students in the elite civil service corps has not increased significantly since the mid-2000s. In the administrative elite corps, the share has fluctuated between 32% (in 2011) and 41% (in 2017), while in the technical elite corps, it rose modestly from 29% in 2010 to 31% in 2020, never exceeding 36%. Although multiple recruitment pathways exist for access to senior positions in the French civil service, this persistent underrepresentation of women at the entry stage into the elite corps creates long-term hysteresis effects that structurally limit the overall feminisation of the country's senior public administration.

Details on the proportion of female students in the elite administrative and technical corps are available in Table 2 in the Appendix.

**Figure 1:** Proportion of Female Students in the Elite Administrative and Technical Corps (1980-2020)



*Note: The purple line represents administrative corps students, the yellow line represents technical corps students.*

*Note: In 2020, women represented 33% of students in the administrative corps of the elite civil service.*

*Scope: France excluding Mayotte, civil servants in the French public sector (FPE).*

*Source: Insee, Fichiers Généraux de l'État 1978-2009, Système d'Information sur les Agents des Services Publics 2010-2021 (SIASP).*

### 3 Women leave the senior civil service less frequently and at a slower pace than their male counterparts

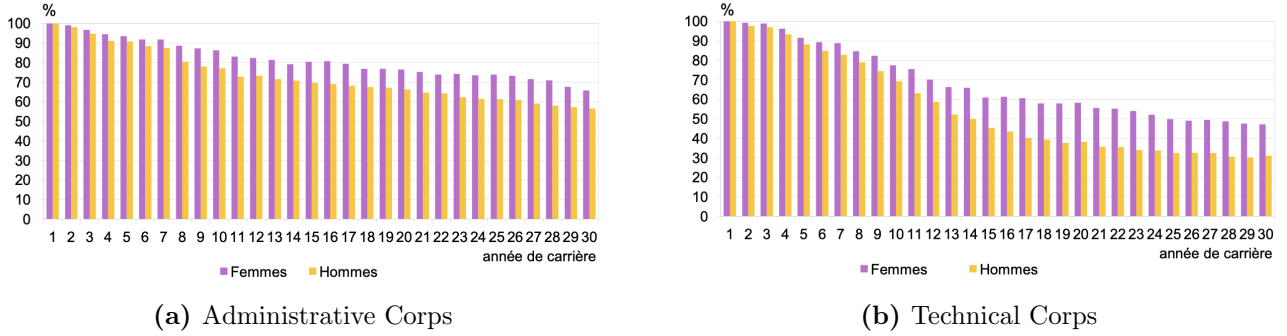
Although women have remained a minority among students entering the elite civil service corps since the 1980s, their share among state-employed cohorts increases as careers progress, primarily due to higher exit rates among men. This dynamic contributes to an increase in the feminization rate when considering the total workforce of these corps.

The technical corps have been most affected by the decrease in staff numbers (Figure 2, Table 3 in Appendix). Among students who entered these corps in the 1980s, only 34% remained after 30 years. Exit patterns are particularly gendered: only 31% of men who joined a technical corps in the 1980s were still in the public sector after 30 years, compared to 47% of women. Although the gap is smaller, a similar trend is observed in the administrative corps: while only 57% of the men who entered in the 1980s remained in the French civil service after 30 years, the retention rate for women was 66%.

These higher exit rates among men, which occur more frequently at the beginning of their careers, can be attributed in part to retirement, mortality, or transitions to inactivity. However, in

most cases, exits are linked to career changes towards private sector employment, a phenomenon often referred to as *pantouflage* (revolving door transitions). Sociological research has examined these gender differences, highlighting that they partly reflect biases in the recruitment channels of corporate executives, particularly in the banking and industrial sectors (Kolopp, 2021).

**Figure 2:** Retention Rates of Civil Servants in the French Public Sector After Entering an Elite Corps in the 1980s



*Note:* The retention rates represent the proportion of civil servants remaining in the French public sector over time.

*Scope:* France excluding Mayotte, civil servants who entered an elite corps in the 1980s.

*Source:* Insee, *Fichiers Généraux de l'État 1978-2009*, *Système d'Information sur les Agents des Services Publics 2010-2021 (SIASP)*.

## 4 Gender-Based Wage Inequalities Accumulate Throughout Careers in the Elite Civil Service

In the French civil service as a whole, the average gender wage gap in full-time equivalent terms stood at 13.1% in 2022 (?), compared to 13.5% in 2017 (Goussen and Godet, 2019), 14.8% in 2012 (Michel, 2014), and 15.6% in 2007 (Rocher, 2009).

Studies on gender wage disparities highlight two primary factors that contribute to pay differences: occupational segregation (where women are overrepresented in lower paid civil service corps and underrepresented in the most highly remunerate ones) and differences in working hours.

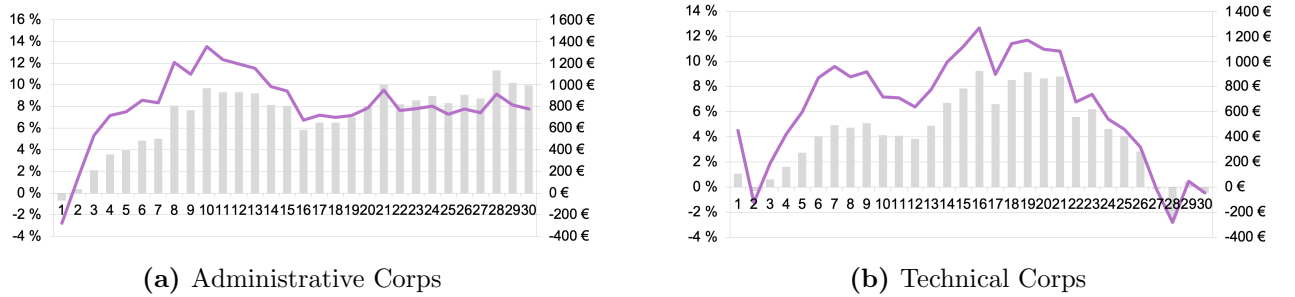
As a result, in 2022, when adjusting for full-time equivalent positions and controlling for employee and employer characteristics, the average wage gap between men and women in the civil service was reduced to 3.0% (?), a figure that remained stable compared to five years earlier (Goussen and Godet, 2019).

While these adjusted wage gaps highlight discrepancies that cannot be solely attributed to structural effects, they fail to capture individual career trajectories, particularly the differences in professional advancement opportunities between men and women.

Beyond these conventional indicators, this study examines the long-term formation of gender wage disparities among individuals who entered an elite civil service corps between 1980 and 1989. By analyzing wage differences over the course of an entire 30-year professional career, the study provides insights into how these disparities accumulate over time.

Men and women entering the elite corps at the same time follow distinctly different salary trajectories at every stage of their careers (Figure 3, Table 4 in Appendix).

**Figure 3:** Evolution of Gender Wage Gaps in the Elite Civil Service (1980 Cohort)



*Note: The figures illustrate the wage gap trajectories between men and women over time.*

*Scope: France excluding Mayotte, civil servants who entered an elite corps in the 1980s.*

*Source: Insee, Fichiers Généraux de l'État 1978-2009, Système d'Information sur les Agents des Services Publics 2010-2021 (SIASP).*

In both administrative and technical corps, these wage disparities tend to emerge early in professional careers. Although they remain relatively minor during the first two years, they expand rapidly over the following five years.

In the administrative corps, these inequalities persist over time, with the average wage gap reaching a peak around ten years into the career before slightly narrowing. This reduction coincides with higher exit rates among men in the civil service. In constant 2022 euros, these disparities represent significant amounts from the early years of employment, with an average net monthly salary gap of 400€ in full-time equivalent terms after five years of service. In the technical corps, the average wage gap between men and women continues to widen over the first twenty years of a career, but gradually diminishes over the last decade.

These dynamics reflect, at least in part, the structuring of careers within the elite corps of the civil service and the key career milestones that define them: allocation to a corps upon graduation from ENA for administrative corps members; completion of the ten-year service



commitment; internal promotions for certain employees after ten to fifteen years; appointments to senior functional positions; transitions to private sector employment; reaching the maximum salary grade within the corps after a decade or more of service, among others. They also illustrate the penalties associated with parenthood in terms of income from employment, which are paid almost exclusively by women (Auriol et al., 2024).

## **5 Wage dispersion is higher among men than women in the elite civil service**

These gender-based wage disparities are largely driven by a greater salary dispersion between men than between women (Figure 4).

The thresholds for the lowest paid 10% of employees (D1 or first decile) who entered an elite civil service corps remain similar between men and women throughout their careers. In contrast, the gap increases significantly between the top 10% of earners (D9 or ninth decile).

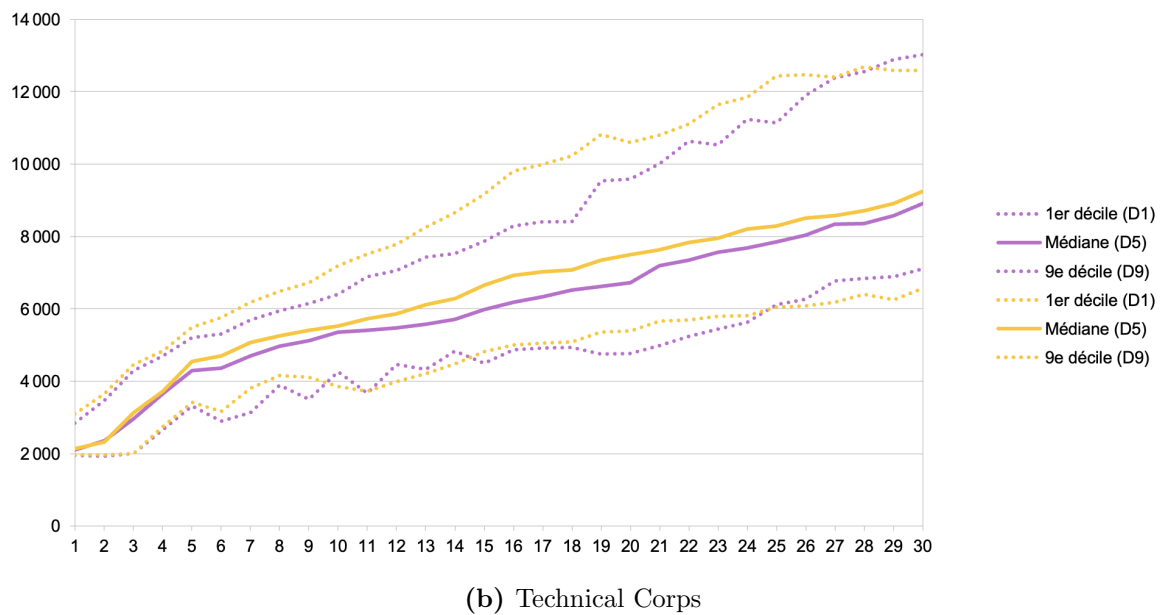
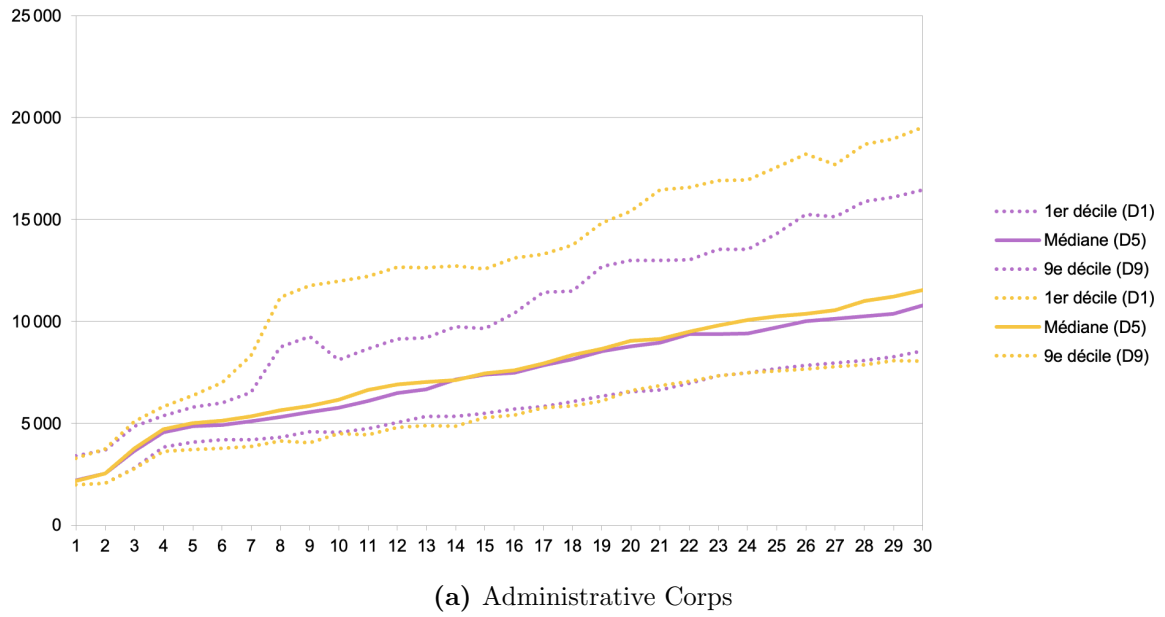
In the technical corps, this disparity emerges rapidly: after ten years of service, the ninth decile salary is 6 398€ for women compared to 7 199€ for men. After 20 years, this increase to 8 403€ for women versus 9 996€ for men, representing a difference of 15.9%. However, the gap stabilizes after 25 years, due to both salary caps on higher earnings and exits from the public sector. The trajectory of the ninth decile accounts for the majority of variations observed in the average gender wage gap.

In the administrative corps, the overall wage gap is similarly driven by disparities among the highest earners. Although the median wage gap remains limited over the first thirty years of a career, differences through the highest paid 10% widen quickly: after ten years, the ninth decile salary is 8 125€ for women compared to 11 984€ for men, reflecting a gap of 32.2%.

Although men and women enter an elite civil service corps at the same time, women accumulate wage disparities relative to their male counterparts throughout their professional careers. This results primarily from differences in promotion rates, access to specific technical and managerial bonuses, and lower representation in senior functional positions.

Over a 30-year career, these accumulated wage disparities represent a substantial financial gap. On average, women who entered an administrative elite corps and worked for at least 25 years in the civil service earned 276 600€ less than their male counterparts in constant 2022 euros. In the technical corps, this cumulative wage gap over 30 years amounts to 162 900€.

**Figure 4:** Salary dispersion among civil servants in the elite corps (1980 Cohort)



*Note: The figures display salary dispersion in the elite civil service corps over a 30-year career. Higher dispersion among men is observed, particularly in the top decile of earners.*

*Reading note: In 2020, the ninth decile salary for women in the technical corps was €8,403, compared to €9,996 for men, a difference of 15.9%.*

*Scope: France excluding Mayotte, civil servants who entered an elite corps in the 1980s.*

*Source: Insee, Fichiers Généraux de l'État 1978-2009, Système d'Information sur les Agents des Services Publics 2010-2021.*

Sociological research (Marry et al., 2017) suggests that while some of these disparities stem from individual career and family choices, they also primarily reflect male advantages that hinder women’s access to senior leadership roles in the elite civil service. These include implicit biases regarding maternity leave, peer effects, and gender-based discrimination.

## 6 Documentation

### Sources

The present study was conducted using employment characteristics and salary data of civil servants in the French State civil service from 1980 to 2021. These data originate from the Fichiers Généraux de l’État (FGE) and the Système d’Information sur les Agents des Services Publics (SIASP) managed by INSEE.

From 1978 to 2009 (excluding 1979, 1981, 1987, 1993, 1994, and 1995), the FGE files recorded workforce data, employment characteristics, and salaries of civil servants in the French State public service. These data sets were compiled from the State’s annual payroll records.

From 2010 to 2021, the SIASP database documented employment characteristics and salary information for civil servants across the three public service sectors: the State Public Service (Fonction Publique d’État), the Local Public Service (Fonction Publique Territoriale), and the Hospital Public Service (Fonction Publique Hospitalière). The database was built using monthly State payroll files, the Recensement des Agents de l’État (RAE), annual social data declarations (Déclarations Annuelles de Données Sociales, DADS), and, increasingly since 2020, individual social security declarations (Déclarations Sociales Nominatives, DSN).

### Methodology

The tables and figures in this study, except for the first two, focus on civil servants in the elite State corps who began their careers in the 1980s.

To ensure a sufficiently large sample, all civil servants who entered an elite State corps between 1980 and 1989 (excluding the years 1981 and 1987) were selected, and their careers within the State civil service were tracked until 2021. Each agent’s employment and salary trajectory was followed for a total of 30 years to maintain a consistent observation period for the entire sample (e.g., for those who entered an elite corps in 1989, their 30th career year corresponds to 2019).

The proportion of agents still employed in the State civil service was calculated annually,

based on whether they had worked in the civil service for at least one day in the given year. Salaries are expressed as full-time equivalent net wages for each individual and are systematically reported in constant 2022 euros. Mean, median, and decile statistics were computed for the subset of agents still employed in the State civil service at each career stage.

To control for biases resulting from long-term career interruptions, cumulative wage gaps over 30 years were calculated based on individuals who had worked in the State civil service for at least 25 of the 30 observed career years.

## Definitions

The French public service consists of three branches: the State Public Service, the Local Public Service, and the Hospital Public Service. This retrospective study focuses exclusively on the State Public Service.

The State Public Service comprises ministries and national administrative public institutions such as France Travail, the CNRS, and universities, as defined by Law No. 84-16 of 11 January 1984. However, it excludes national social security public institutions, which primarily recruit under private sector employment regulations, including the National Health Insurance Fund (CNAM), the National Pension Fund (CNAV), and the Family Allowance Fund (CNAF).

A corps refers to a structured group of civil servants governed by a common legal framework. The classification of State civil service corps has evolved over time, with a major reform introduced in 2021 as part of the transformation of the senior civil service. This reform led to the replacement of the École Nationale d'Administration (ENA) by the Institut National du Service Public (INSP) and the gradual phasing out of several elite administrative corps. Since this study covers the period from 1978 to 2021, the analysis retains the historical classification of these elite corps.

Civil service corps are categorized into hierarchical levels (A, B, and C, with category D existing until 1992) according to recruitment criteria and job responsibilities. These categories partly overlap with socio-professional classifications such as executives, intermediate professions, workers, and employees. As fundamental units of career management, corps are structured into grades, which are further divided into steps. The official pay scale determines the salary for each step and sets out the conditions for career advancement.

Unlike other components of the State Public Service, elite State corps, commonly referred to as senior civil servants, do not have a formally defined legal status. The legal framework governing senior civil service positions encompasses a range of jobs, grades, corps, and functions. To

facilitate a long-term statistical analysis of elite State corps members, an operational definition has been adopted.

For the purposes of this publication, elite State corps refer to the civil service bodies entrusted with senior management responsibilities. This classification includes the elite administrative corps, primarily composed of individuals recruited through the ENA, and the elite technical corps, which include engineers of the Mines, engineers of the Ponts, Eaux et Forêts, engineers of the Armement, and administrators and general inspectors of Insee. These individuals are predominantly recruited through engineering schools and the Écoles Normales Supérieures (ENS). The elite corps affected by mergers in 2009, following Decree No. 2009-63 of 16 January 2009 and Decree No. 2009-1106 of 10 September 2009, are grouped under their new designations. Due to the absence of individual career tracking data for military personnel between 1980 and 2009, elite State corps with military status are systematically excluded from statistics concerning technical corps.

Although entry into these corps does not necessarily require prior training at a specialist school, the agents studied in this research were identified based on their status as civil service trainees. Analyzing elite corps from an educational training perspective enables more precise and consistent career tracking, whereas an employment-based approach would be more complex for comparative analysis.

Functional positions refer to roles that are filled either through secondment for civil servants or fixed-term contract recruitment for non permanent staff. These positions are governed by a specific employment framework that defines selection criteria, appointment procedures, classification, career progression, and remuneration conditions. They predominantly correspond to senior management positions.

Gross salary comprises base pay together with all bonuses and allowances, including overtime payments.

Net salary, before income tax, corresponds to the amount actually received by the agent after deducting social security contributions, the General Social Contribution (CSG), and the Contribution for the Repayment of Social Debt (CRDS).

## 7 Appendix

**Table 2:** Proportion of Female Students in the Elite Administrative and Technical Corps (1980-2020)

Year	Administrative Corps (%)	Technical Corps (%)
1980	16	13
1981	—	—
1982	21	13
1983	18	13
1984	21	17
1985	20	14
1986	21	18
1987	—	—
1988	21	18
1989	21	20
1990	23	20
1991	31	18
1992	29	20
1996	24	22
1997	29	24
1998	31	24
1999	29	22
2000	26	27
2001	28	32
2002	26	34
2003	30	33
2004	32	33
2005	29	37
2006	35	34
2007	36	32
2008	35	30
2009	40	28
2010	39	29
2011	32	31
2012	35	36
2013	39	36
2014	38	34
2015	41	30
2016	36	30
2017	41	27
2018	39	29
2019	39	25
2020	33	31
2021	36	35

*Note: The percentage values correspond to the proportion of female students in the administrative and technical elite corps.*

*Scope: France excluding Mayotte, civil servants who entered an elite corps in the 1980s.*

*Source: Insee, Fichiers Généraux de l'État 1978-2009 (FGE), Système d'Information sur les Agents des Services Publics 2010-2021 (SIASP).*

**Table 3:** Proportion of Civil Servants Remaining in the French Public Sector After Entering an Elite Corps in the 1980s

Career Year	Admin Corps Women (%)	Admin Corps Men (%)	Tech Corps Women (%)	Tech Corps Men (%)
1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
2	99.02	98.08	99.23	97.63
3	96.73	94.72	98.85	96.94
4	94.44	90.97	96.17	93.35
5	93.46	90.81	91.57	88.16
6	91.83	88.41	89.27	84.87
7	91.83	87.37	88.89	82.73
8	88.56	80.34	84.67	78.92
9	87.25	77.94	82.38	74.41
10	86.27	77.06	77.39	69.21
15	80.39	69.62	60.92	45.38
20	76.47	66.27	58.24	38.12
25	73.86	61.23	49.81	32.46
30	65.69	56.51	47.13	31.02

*Note: After 25 years of career, only 32% of technical corps male civil servants remained in the public sector.*

*Scope: France excluding Mayotte, civil servants who entered an elite corps in the 1980s.*

*Source: Insee, Fichiers Généraux de l'État 1978-2009, Système d'Information sur les Agents des Services Publics (SIASP).*

**Table 4:** Average Monthly Net Wage Gaps Between Men and Women in the Elite Civil Service (1980s Cohort)

Career Year	Admin Corps Women (€)	Admin Corps Men (€)	Admin Corps Gap (€)
30	11779	12772	993
29	11483	12500	1017
28	11268	12401	1133
27	10905	11778	873
26	10753	11660	907
25	10606	11437	831
20	9375	10175	800
15	7732	8537	805
10	6197	7165	968
5	4936	5336	400
1	2505	2437	-68

Career Year	Tech Corps Women (€)	Tech Corps Men (€)	Tech Corps Gap (€)
30	9565	9521	-44
29	9257	9300	43
28	9422	9165	-257
27	8959	8942	-17
26	8640	8923	283
25	8460	8868	408
20	7031	7897	866
15	6219	7004	785
10	5324	5736	412
5	4314	4588	274
1	2245	2351	106

*Note: The wage gaps represent the difference in average monthly net salaries between men and women over time.*

*Scope: France excluding Mayotte, civil servants who entered an elite corps in the 1980s.*

*Source: Insee, Fichiers Généraux de l'État 1978-2009, Public Service Agents Information System 2010-2021 (SIASP).*



**Table 5:** Distribution of Salaries in the Administrative and Technical Corps (1980s Cohort)

Career Year	Women D1 (€)	Men D1 (€)	Women Median (€)	Men Median (€)	Women D9 (€)	Men D9 (€)	Women D9/D1	Men D9/D1
1	1990	1990	2193	2190	3397	3296	1.71	1.66
2	2052	2052	2547	2533	3703	3757	1.80	1.83
3	2827	2770	3664	3787	4875	5110	1.72	1.84
4	3828	3616	4557	4709	5376	5839	1.40	1.61
5	4091	3706	4862	5016	5787	6375	1.41	1.72
10	4563	4511	5752	6145	8125	11984	1.78	2.65
15	5505	5275	7389	7464	9649	12575	1.75	2.38
20	6542	6600	8771	9037	12985	15391	1.98	2.33
25	7685	7568	9714	10267	14317	17577	1.86	2.32
30	8571	8067	10780	11529	16466	19522	1.92	2.42

Career Year	Women D1 (€)	Men D1 (€)	Women Median (€)	Men Median (€)	Women D9 (€)	Men D9 (€)	Women D9/D1	Men D9/D1
1	1950	1975	2106	2140	2846	3091	1.46	1.57
2	1933	1962	2356	2324	3469	3658	1.79	1.86
3	2002	1998	2967	3134	4304	4467	2.14	2.23
4	2666	2745	3654	3720	4704	4841	1.76	1.76
5	3316	3424	4295	4541	5210	5494	1.57	1.60
10	4264	3864	5356	5528	6398	7199	1.50	1.86
15	4494	4818	5989	6663	7864	9168	1.74	1.90
20	4774	5390	6724	7500	9592	10601	2.01	1.97
25	6111	6044	7857	8292	11132	12430	1.82	2.06
30	7112	6566	8905	9245	13031	12592	1.83	1.92

*Reading note: Salaries are in 2022 constant euros. The values represent the 1st, median, and 9th decile of the salary distribution for each year of career progression.*

*Source: Insee, General State Files (FGE) 1980-2009, Public Service Agents Information System (SIASP) 2010-2021.*

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