

# Governance of educational trajectories in Europe

## *State of the Art Report*

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# **Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe (GOETE)**

*Access, Coping and Relevance of Education for Young People in European Knowledge Societies in Comparative Perspective*

## **Project abstract**

The GOETE project will analyse the role of school in re-conceptualising education in terms of lifelong learning by combining a life course and a governance perspective. In European knowledge societies, adequacy of education means a balance of individual, social and economic aspects. This is operationalized by exploring how educational institutions conceptualise and organise individual educational trajectories. The study covers the period from transition into lower secondary education to transition into upper secondary education/vocational education and training, i.e. the age group between 10 and 16 years. Comparative analysis will focus on the regulation of access to education, support measures for coping with education, and securing the relevance of education for social integration and the labour market. In 8 EU countries this mixed-method study involves.

- surveys with pupils, parents and school principals;
- comparison of teacher training;
- case studies of local school spaces;
- discourse analysis;
- expert interviews with policy makers and stakeholders.

On a scientific level, the comparison of the regulation of educational trajectories involves re-conceptualising the social aspects of learning and education under conditions of late modern knowledge societies. It reflects the need for formal education to be embedded in social life worlds, enabled by social support, and complemented by informal and non-formal learning. On a practice and policy level, it will provide information about alternative means of providing children and young people with access to education; of supporting them in coping with education; and ensuring the relevance of education through communication and cooperation between school, labour market, other educational actors, students and parents. The communication of findings will include a dialogic model of educational policy planning at local level, training workshops with teachers, youth workers and policy makers, and a European policy seminar.

## Introduction

The GOETE project is concerned with understanding how education systems deal with the changing relation between education and social integration in the knowledge society. It analyses young people's educational trajectories in *Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia* and *the UK*. Applying a *life course perspective* it asks how young people's access to different stages of education is regulated; how coping with the forms and demands of education and lifelong learning is facilitated through formal and informal support, and whether education is relevant for the future lives of young people, and if so, to what extent. Applying a *governance perspective*, GOETE aims to analyse the mechanisms of regulation of educational trajectories in regards to access to, coping with, and relevance of education. This perspective involves investigating the various actors and administrative levels involved; how communication and cooperation between schools, economy, and civil society are organised; and whether the voices of individual pupils and their parents are heard, and the extent to which their views are adopted in decision making. It explores current discourses and reforms regarding school entry and progression, organisation of support, teaching and curriculum development, and the funding of education, while questioning how these are directed.

Such an approach requires a comparative perspective for two main reasons. *Firstly*, it enables scholars to ask how and to what extent different institutional structures and regulations perform differently with regard to access, coping, and relevance of educational trajectories in the different countries involved. *Secondly*, it enables analysis of how local, regional, national, and supra-national levels interact, and how EU policy is interpreted and implemented by different actors across Europe. A comparative and life course perspective – one that takes account of the interaction of the institutional and individual levels – makes it possible to relate the social structure of educational trajectories to individual agency within educational trajectories (cf. Giddens 1984; Biesta & Tedder 2007). It also allows for interpretation of the differences and similarities between education systems and policies in relation to the systemic functions they play, and the cultural meanings that are conveyed by the different societal contexts. European coverage was secured by selecting countries according to a model of “transition regimes” (Walther & Pohl 2005). This model allowed us to distinguish between the different ‘ideal types’ of constellations aimed at structuring young people's transitions from school to work based on European transition research and informed by comparative welfare and comparative education. This heuristic model contributes to an understanding and interpretation of comparative data by providing analytical dimensions that can relate concrete findings to overall societal structures.

The present report represents a significant part of the state of the art in educational research and data relevant to the objectives of the GOETE project. The comparative research framework in GOETE involves different phases in which the international comparative analysis is carefully and systematically prepared in order to allow for the analysis of empirical data collected in the different working packages of the project.

Preparation began with a *descriptive phase*, resulting in eight country reports that served as a foundation to further develop research questions. These national reports provide contextual information on the institutional structures of, and the procedures within, the respective national education systems in GOETE. They were produced on the basis of secondary analysis of the institutional descriptions, existing scholarly literature and statistical data, and policy programmes. This was particularly useful in providing information about the institutional contexts of children and young people's educational trajectories in each of the eight participating countries. Data gathered included information on the organisation of schooling and the administrative management of schools but also on educational attendance and achievement; labour market developments and labour market demands; welfare and its links with education; social conditions of youth; as well as current discourses related to educational governance. The data were collected in relation to the GOETE overarching research question and the particular regions and cities chosen for the empirical work. This first phase also involved the production of a glossary outlining key concepts that, rather than homogenize the different national specific, discipline bound understandings of concepts central to the GOETE project, aimed to provide for a common understanding within our international and interdisciplinary research context. The findings of this first phase also served to prepare the empirical fieldwork by highlighting the many national specific differences, which could then be accounted for when designing the data collection instruments for each of the various work packages.

Following a comparative rationale, the second phase involved the *interpretation and juxtaposition of the data and conceptual information* gathered in the single national reports, especially with regard to the institutional dimensions of education. This current report combines aspects of a review of the state of art with a comparative juxtaposition of information. It provides a contextualising basis for the analysis of empirical data gathered during the third stage of the GOETE research project, which will involve international comparative data analysis. Work on this report began with the extraction of national data from the country reports and – where necessary – the complementing of this data with available European data provided by Eurostat. Therefore, the majority of this report is constructed from the juxtaposition of data, rather than comparative analysis. As mentioned above, the information documented in this report will allow for comparative analysis, where data from each national research team can be positioned within the wider European social context.

The next section provides an overview of the ‘units of comparison’ chosen for the project, – the regions and cities within the eight GOETE countries – and includes pertinent information about the national research contexts. The main body of the report is separated into five chapters, each related to the five thematic dimensions along which the GOETE project is structured: education and the *life course*, *access* to education, *coping* with education, *relevance* of education, and educational *governance*. Each chapter is introduced by a brief outline of the state of the art on existing research on the respective dimension, followed by the juxtaposition of data concerning the national contexts of young people’s educational trajectories. Brief summaries close each chapter to highlight its main issues and themes. In The final chapter draws together conclusions from across the thematic chapters and presents a research outlook, which includes hypotheses that will guide the on-going research process.

With regard to the level of aspiration and current objectives, this report admittedly cannot do full justice to all thematic dimensions. This is due to the heterogeneity of information available in the countries involved in the study, limited time, and the fact that the project combines thematic dimensions exceeding the expertise of partners in one or another direction. The main objective of the GOETE project lies in drawing together discourses and research findings that normally remain separated such as life course and governance, education and support, education system and welfare system, transitions within (and not only after) education, young people’s educational trajectories and their life conditions regardless of how explicitly they are connected with education. This also applies to this report, which provides a clear starting point and background for the empirical work. It should not be viewed as the main outcome and result.

### *Regions and cities as ‘territorial research entities’*

The sampling for empirical studies in GOETE covers three different regions and cities in each of the eight countries. Selecting the sample for study was based on the careful consideration of geographical, socio-economic, and cultural criteria representing different economic, cultural, and social realities within each country. The regions or cities chosen for the empirical fieldwork represent different levels of affluence and/or economic/industrial and socio-political contexts, particularly with regard to rates of economic development, employment, and wealth. Furthermore, consideration was given to the level of centralization or decentralization in the organization of education governance. Table 1 details the regions and cities that were selected based on these criteria. Key indicators for each city within the sample are provided:

**Table 1: Key Data on The Regions and Cities Selected for Empirical Research in GOETE**

<b>Finland</b>			
<b>Region</b>	<b>Southern Finland (Uusimaa)</b>	<b>South-Western Finland (Varsinais-Suomi)</b>	<b>Western and Inland Finland (Pirkanmaa)</b>
<b>Main city</b>	Helsinki	Turku	Tampere
<b>Inhabitants in main city: in the region:</b>	576,000	176,000	211,000
<b>Unemployment rate % (2009) overall (among youth)</b>	6.5 (N/A)	10.5 (N/A)	12.5 (N/A)
<b>GDP per capita in € (2007)</b>	48,368	31,960	36,535
<b>Number of schools combined primary + lower secondary: primary: lower secondary: upper secondary: vocational:</b>	51 combined primary + lower sec. schools 81 primary schools 27 lower sec. schools 39 upper sec. schools 13 vocational schools	15 combined primary + lower sec. schools 23 primary schools 6 lower sec. schools 12 upper sec. schools 6 vocational schools	13 combined primary + lower sec. schools 25 primary schools 7 lower sec. schools 15 upper sec. schools 4 vocational schools
<b>France</b>			
<b>Region</b>	<b>Bretagne</b>	<b>Languedoc Roussillon</b>	<b>Ile-de-France</b>
<b>Département</b>	Ille-et-Vilaine	Hérault	Seine-Saint-Denis
<b>Main city</b>	Rennes	Montpellier	Bobigny
<b>Inhabitants in main city: in the region:</b>	200,000 3 million	250,000 2,3 million	48,000 11,5 million
<b>Unemployment rate % (2009) overall (among youth)</b>	7.7 (15.5)	12.7 (32.9)	7.9 (19.5)
<b>GDP per capita (€) (2009)</b>	26,547	23,726	47,155
<b>Number of schools primary: lower secondary: upper secondary: vocational:</b>	91 (pre-)primary schools 21 lower sec. schools 11 upper sec. schools 9 vocational schools	60 primary schools 25 lower sec. schools 9 upper sec. schools 4 vocational schools	44 primary schools 19 lower sec. schools 9 upper sec. schools 8 vocational schools
<b>Germany</b>			
<b>Region</b>	<b>Baden-Württemberg</b>	<b>North Rhine-Westphalia</b>	<b>Saxony</b>
<b>Main city</b>	Stuttgart	Duisburg	Leipzig
<b>Inhabitants in main city: in the region:</b>	592,607 10,749,800	490 266 17,996,600	510,512 4,220,200
<b>Unemployment rate % (2009) overall (among youth)</b>	4.2 (6.6)	10 (11.5)	15 (15.6)
<b>GDP per capita in € (2009)</b>	31,982	29,159	22,228
<b>Number of schools primary: lower secondary: upper secondary: vocational:</b>	72 primary schools 126 lower sec. schools 26 upper sec. schools 22 vocational schools	86 primary schools 40 lower sec. schools 14 upper sec. schools 09 vocational schools	65 primary schools 22 lower sec. schools 16 upper sec. schools 11 vocational schools

<b>Italy</b>			
<b>Region</b>	<b>Emilia-Romagna</b>	<b>Marche</b>	<b>Sicily</b>
<b>Main city</b>	Bologna	Ancona	Catania
<b>Inhabitants in main city:</b>	374,944	102,047	296,469
<b>in the region:</b>	976,175	476,016	1,084,977
<b>Unemployment rate % (2009) overall (among youth)</b>	2.2 (4.4)	3.8% (14.4)	12 (32.4)
<b>GDP per capita in €</b>	35,673	28,345	17,140
<b>Number of schools primary:</b>	65 primary schools	22 primary schools	100 primary schools
<b>lower secondary:</b>	23 lower sec. schools	11 lower sec. schools	45 lower sec. schools
<b>upper secondary:</b>	40 upper sec. schools	20 upper sec. schools	49 upper sec. schools
<b>vocational:</b>	30 vocational schools	56 vocational schools	18 vocational schools
<b>Poland</b>			
<b>Region</b>	<b>Mazowieckie</b>	<b>Pomorskie</b>	<b>Lubelskie</b>
<b>Main city</b>	Warsaw	Gdańsk	Lublin
<b>Inhabitants in main city:</b>	1,713,936	455,830	350,430
<b>in the region:</b>			
<b>Unemployment rate % (2009) overall (among youth)</b>	2.9 (9.7)	4.9 (16.3)	9.8 (22.1)
<b>GDP per capita in €</b>	13,192	12,701	5,804
<b>Number of schools primary:</b>	249 primary schools	76 primary schools	45 primary schools
<b>lower secondary:</b>	211 lower sec. schools	50 lower sec. schools	29 lower sec. schools
<b>upper secondary:</b>	143 upper sec. schools	61 upper sec. schools	35 upper sec. schools
<b>vocational:</b>	71 vocational schools	18 vocational schools	14 vocational schools
<b>Slovenia</b>			
<b>Region</b>	<b>Pomurska</b>	<b>Obalno-Kraška</b>	<b>Osrednje Slovenska</b>
<b>Main city</b>	Murska Sobota	Koper	Ljubljana (capital)
<b>Inhabitants in the region:</b>	119.537	108.778	521.965
<b>in main city:</b>	19.679	50.708	267.760
<b>Unemployment rate % (2008) overall (youth 15-24)</b>	12.2 (18.3)	5.2 (8.6)	5.0 (9.2)
<b>GDP per capita in € (2007)</b>	11,160	17,807	24,600
<b>Number of schools primary:</b>	51 primary schools	40 primary schools	164 primary schools
<b>lower secondary:</b>	0 lower sec. Schools (comprehensive system)	0 lower sec. Schools (comprehensive system)	0 lower sec. Schools (comprehensive system)
<b>upper secondary, among which:</b>	8 upper sec. schools	11 upper sec. schools	39 upper sec. schools
<b>vocational:</b>	6 vocational schools	7 vocational schools	25 vocational schools

<b>The Netherlands</b>			
<b>Region</b>	North Holland	South Holland	Gelderland
<b>Main city</b>	Amsterdam	Rotterdam	Arnhem
<b>Inhabitants in main city: in the region:</b>	740,000	584,000	147,000
<b>Unemployment rate % (2009) overall (among youth)</b>	6.5 (2.3)	8.1 (3.1)	6.4 (2,4)
<b>GDP per capita in 2008, in €</b>	29,200	25,800	26,200
<b>Number of schools primary: secondary (including lower and upper sec. and vocational schools):</b>	220 primary schools 41 secondary schools	195 primary schools 38 secondary schools	50 primary schools 11 secondary schools
<b>United Kingdom</b>			
<b>Region</b>	England	Scotland	Northern Ireland
<b>Main city</b>	Bristol	Glasgow	Belfast
<b>Inhabitants in main city: in the region:</b>	433,100 51,843,158	620,000 5,094,800	267,000 1,685,267
<b>Unemployment rate % (2009-2010) overall (among youth 18-24 year olds)</b>	37.1 (24.7)	37.2 (26.5)	7.8 (21)
<b>GDP per capita in € per region</b>	26,904	23,917	19,603
<b>Number of schools by type</b>	104 primary schools 20 secondary schools	147 primary schools 29 secondary schools	93 primary schools 35 post primary schools

## A. Education and the life course

### 1. International research and theoretical concepts on education and the life course

The GOETE project begins with the following observation and problematic: that the individual and social functions of education are increasingly disputed throughout Europe. This concerns the extent to which education is still seen as a contributor to social integration in the sense of simultaneously providing individuals with meaningful and secure life chances, the economy with a well-prepared workforce, and society with responsible and active citizens. Many of these challenges are being investigated within EU-funded research (Power 2007), as they threaten to undermine the objectives of the Education and Training 2010 Work Programme aimed at fulfilling both goals of the Lisbon Strategy – social cohesion and competitiveness (EC 2008a; Council 2008a). For the first time in history a “European Cooperation on Schools” (EC 2008b) strategy has been outlined to assist national education systems in “improving competences for the 21st century” by “investing in youth” (cf. BEPA 2007).

While there are varying concepts, traditions, and perspectives on education, a central aim of the GOETE project is to build connections between a key group of these diverse viewpoints. The first of these concerns, and one that is common throughout contemporary education philosophies is the Enlightenment concept of *‘Bildung’*. This refers to the reflexive process of an individual realising her/his ‘human potential’ and hence becoming a subjective agent by actively exploring the material and social world (Humboldt 1986; cf. Klafki 1964, Heydorn 2004). From this humanist perspective, education concerns the empowerment of the individual through access to knowledge that will enable their successful, safe and fulfilling interaction with the world.

The second perspective starts from an understanding of education as the institutionalization of an existing social order. This manifests in a *teaching-learning* arrangement where one generation socializes the next through purposeful schooling and instruction, thereby reproducing the structures of society. In contemporary societies this involves, for example, qualification for employment, allocation to specific social positions, and integration into existing societal norms and values (Parsons 1967; Fend 1974; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Meyer & Rowan 1983). Such processes have been viewed as having both positive and negative influences on the life chances of young people. Recently, the instrumentalisation of education has taken a different shape through the notion of the ‘knowledge society’, which is specifically and systemically economic in its aims. This indicates a shift from the Fordist, bureaucratic model that defined the necessary skills and knowledge that the younger

generation should acquire, towards a more managerialist model (cf. Maroy 2004; Young 2007; Daun 2007). Outcomes are formulated in terms of standards concerning reading, calculation and science-based problem-solving skills (OECD 2001) as well as technical, social and personal key competencies, all of which are expected to contribute to people leading “satisfying and successful lives in well-functioning societies” (Rychen & Salganik 2003). The notion of ‘lifelong learning’ that accompanies the knowledge economy model reflects an increasing uncertainty about the exact type of skills and knowledge that are required by workers. Therefore, societal and economic uncertainties stemming from globalization are being met within Western societies with a fundamental shift towards individuals taking responsibility for their own learning ‘career’ (Coffield 1999; Field 2000; Young 2007; Jarvis 2009).

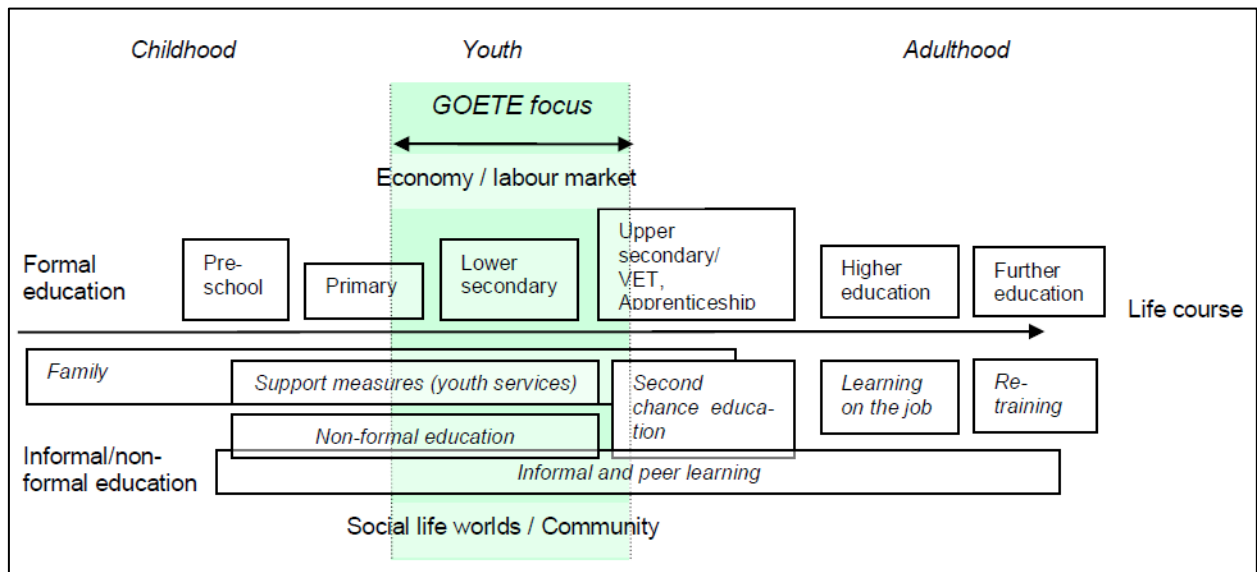
A third perspective looks at education in terms of social practice. Starting from an understanding of the individual as an active learner (Vygotsky 1962), it analyses learning as situated within social contexts (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998; cf. Chisholm 2008). The perspective of social practice refers to learning not only as lifelong (in a manner de-coupled from the economy) but also *lifewide*. It encompasses learning in a variety of ways: as intended by others and as self-directed, as conscious and tacit, as formal and non-formal education, as well as informal learning (cf. Young 1998; Coffield 1999; Field 2005; Mørch & du Bois-Reymond 2006). This perspective is stronger in the Anglo-American literature, which refers much more to the notion of ‘learning’, than the German tradition, although in many respects it shares with ‘Bildung’ an understanding of learning as a subjective process embedded within social relationships. In fact, concepts of education relying on a pragmatic understanding of learning and agency principally allow the connection of instrumental and subjective perspectives. Referring to the facilitation of individual problem solving and coping with everyday life within social contexts, such concepts understand education as “making the modern self” (Dewey 1966; Popkewitz 2005; Young 2007; Biesta & Tedder 2007). This demonstrates close links to the German tradition of social pedagogy (Sozialpädagogik), which has been concerned with the “social conditions of education and the educational conditions of social life” (Natorp 1899; cf. Hämäläinen 2003; Lorenz 2006; Andresen et al. 2008).

The interplay of structure and agency in late modern societies, as Giddens has argued (e.g. 1984; 1992) demonstrates the importance of adopting a *life course* perspective (Kohli 1985; cf. Mayer 1997). This has been used to both explain and inform educational policy. Institutionalised *educational trajectories* are intended to prepare children for adulthood and thus have created the youth phase as “educational moratorium” (Zinnecker 1991; cf. Musgrove 1964; Mørch 2003), while “new learning life courses” extend over the whole life span (Chisholm 2008). Inasmuch as individuals interpret and appropriate their life course in

constructing their life history, educational trajectories are interrelated with subjective learning biographies (Bloomer & Hodgkinson 2000; du Bois-Reymond 2004; Walther et al. 2006; Diepstraten et al. 2006). Investigating the adequacy of education from a life course perspective requires that researchers ask the following questions: firstly, whether individuals have *access* to education across different life phases, especially during life course transitions; secondly, whether individuals can *cope* with educational demands and procedures; and finally, whether education is *relevant* in providing the kinds of skills, knowledge and competencies are necessary for the labour market and the individual biography. Therefore, the classical concept of 'Bildung,' understood as subjective reflexivity, is still relevant even within the "new educational order" of lifelong learning (Field 2000). Through adopting a 'reflexive educational science' approach (Lenzen 1996), the GOETE project is able to ask the joint question of whether education still contributes to social integration, and equally, whether education is still socially integrated.

The concept of the life course enables us to analyse the adequacy of education for social integration because it describes how, in contemporary societies, individual lives have become standardised through the institutionalisation of distinct life phases and the transitions between them. Historically, public education across Europe was introduced to prepare children for the demands of adulthood in relation to employment, family and citizenship; education therefore contributed to the emergence of childhood and youth as distinct life phases. During the first half of the twentieth century the idea of a linear and continuously progressing standard life course became widespread (Myles 1992) and was reflected in relatively stable education and employment patterns. However, this model of the life course no longer explains the experiences of the majority of people, for whom education is an on-going concern, and employment is far more precarious. The prevalent trend towards the differentiation and de-standardisation of life courses has substantially supplemented the perspective of school-based learning with recurrent and fragmentary lifelong learning. Accordingly, life courses can be addressed in contemporary societies as being lifelong *educational trajectories*. This does not necessitate the full adoption of the aims and objectives of the knowledge society/economy, however; rather, it is an objective reflection of widely observable societal changes and their governance (See *Graph 1.*).

**Graph 1. The Focus of GOETE with regard to Lifelong Educational Trajectories**



In the discourse of lifelong learning, there is a differentiation of *formal*, *non-formal* and *informal* contexts and sites of learning that are also *lifewide*, i.e., occurring in various areas and times. However, there has been little acknowledgment of learning outside formal institutions (Coffield 2000; Young 2007; Bekerman et al. 2006; Jarvis 2009). While the rhetoric of the knowledge society claims that informal and non-formal learning are resources that must not be wasted, few examples exist in practice. Any perspective that sees education and learning as social practice – and makes claims about ‘social capital’ or ‘social mobility’ – needs to take into account that all formal learning, especially in school, can only be considered in terms of a learning biography if it is compatible with informally and non-formally acquired skills and knowledge. For example, ‘second chance’ measures rely upon transversal motivational effects when they provide disadvantaged pupils with experiences of success in non-formal learning contexts. But pupils also learn informally within school through ‘hidden curricula’ in the classroom and beyond, which provide them with alternative realities and motivations. This can lead to strong discrepancies between the rhetoric and reality of participation in their own educations. This may happen, for example, when they compare the promise that upper secondary or post compulsory education leads to safe and attractive careers, with the actual destinations of peers in their communities who are either unemployed or have had to settle for a ‘bad job’ (Colley et al. 2002; Walther et al. 2006; Machacek & Walther 2008). It is vital, therefore, to have a good understanding of how the wider social context of learning can provide disadvantages to individual learners, who struggle to invest in and convert their ‘educational capital’. Any attempt to address disadvantaged educational trajectories, therefore, must encompass the wider social contexts in which formal, non-formal and informal learning are embedded in order to understand the dynamics of individual learning biographies and how young people ascribe

meaning and value to their educations as a consequence (Bloomer & Hodgkinson 2000; cf. Kobolt & Zsorga 2006).

Encouraging learning for both the labour market and participation in democratic civil society requires that individual learners ascribe certain intrinsic values and meanings to the content of their education (Holford & van der Veen 2003). In the context of lifelong learning this has been interpreted as the need of “biographicity” – an individual’s competence to reflect on and to shape their own learning biography according to subjective need and interest as well as to external demands and constraints (Alheit et al. 1995; West et al. 2007). Consequently, the relevance of young people’s skills and competencies must be considered as being far broader than might be defined by economic and technical criteria, and should include civic and democratic dialogue, and the level of personal wellbeing. The arts, humanities and social sciences therefore have a key role to play in developing our holistic understanding of what educational relevance might consist of for different individuals in varying circumstances (Young 2007; EC 2007). From the level of policy and governance this demonstrates the increasing necessity for open, public and dialogic educational planning as the realities of lifelong learning make individuals increasingly responsible for their own educational trajectories. It is clear that within any such a consultative process of review the economic criteria commonly used to establish the relevance of education need to be tempered and matched with social and biographical criteria.

In sum, a comparative and life course perspective that starts its analysis from the institutional level makes it possible to relate the *social structure* of educational trajectories to *individual agency* within educational trajectories. Within the broader GOETE research programme this allows for the interpretation of differences and similarities between education systems and policies with regard to the functions they play, as well as the cultural meanings that circulate within different local, national and transnational contexts.

## 2. Educational trajectories in the GOETE countries

This chapter documents how young people's pathways through the different phases and levels of education and their transitions to the labour market are regulated. This includes: the requirements for access to different levels of education; the procedures for transitions between levels of education; and patterns of transition to the labour market. It excludes special needs education and patterns of return to education in later life courses, which have been subject to a broad range of international research (cf. Müller & Gangl, 2003; Schoon & Silbereisen 2009). Rates of participation and qualification levels are addressed in part B.

### 2.1 Organisation of schooling

#### 2.1.1 Regulations of entry, progression and further destinations

The organisation of schooling differs from one country to another. This section will focus on the main principles (especially on access and transition in education) that define trajectories through primary and secondary schooling to provide an overview of the main similarities and differences. It should be noted at this point that this comparison has necessarily involved some level of simplification of all systems, which are far more complex in reality.

**Table 2: Private/Public Sharing, Age of Compulsory Schooling and Access to Lower Secondary Education**

	<b>Private school (ISCED 1-4)</b>	<b>Age of compulsory schooling</b>	<b>Access to lower secondary: Comprehensive / Selective system</b>
<b>Finland</b>	7.1%	7/16	Comprehensive
<b>France</b>	21.6%	6/16	Comprehensive
<b>Germany</b>	7.1%	6/16	Partly selective into different courses (general and vocational)
<b>Italy</b>	5.9%	6/16	Comprehensive
<b>Poland</b>	8.5%	6/16	Comprehensive
<b>Slovenia</b>	1.6%	6/15	Comprehensive
<b>The Netherlands</b>	77%	5/17	Partly selective (into different types of general education and different courses within lower vocational secondary depending on CITO test results)
<b>UK</b>	20.6% but variation across UK (highest in England, 0% in Northern Ireland)	England: 5/16 Scotland: 5/16 Northern Ireland: 4/16	England: Mostly comprehensive even if in lower secondary schools in some areas (grammar schools and private sector) Scotland: comprehensive Northern Ireland: selective test for entry grammar school

Two countries involved in the GOETE project have a more heterogeneous educational system than the others: the German educational system – because of its federal organisation – and the United Kingdom’s educational system which differs across England, Scotland and Northern Ireland (and also Wales, although it is not included in the project).

The most developed private school system is located within the Netherlands with 77% of pupils in CITO level 1-4 studying in private schools (Eurostat 2008). However, the share of private schools that are funded by non-public sources is only around 5%, meaning that all educational institutions (public and private) are funded on an equal footing. In France and the United Kingdom approximately 20% of pupils attend private schools. In the United Kingdom and especially in England, there exists a quasi-market system with strong competition between schools.

The age of compulsory education is similar in all countries. The largest variation concerns when children start compulsory education (see Table 2), but this is often related to the organisation of pre-primary school (Finland is the only country with a pre-primary level starting at 6). In most countries, compulsory education ends at age 16. The real difference is that this threshold does not always coincide with the end of lower secondary school and can continue to the first year of upper secondary school (Scotland, the Netherlands, France, Italy and Germany).

Most countries have comprehensive access to lower secondary schools in public schooling. Nevertheless, Germany, the Netherlands and Northern Ireland have a partly selective system of access.

### 2.1.2 Organisation of schooling along the different educational levels

The following pages provide an overview on the organisation of schooling along the different educational levels.

#### *Pre-Primary level*

Enrolment in pre-primary education is almost always voluntary in European countries. Only the United Kingdom (in Northern Ireland) has made education compulsory for four-year-old children. All countries have organised pre-primary systems, except the Netherlands where 98% of 4 year-olds directly attend primary school (compulsory at age 5).

The national age of entry into educational pre-primary provision for all education systems varies from country to country. Participation rates in pre-primary education are mainly dependent on the provision available, but the general trend within Europe to increase the number of 4-year-olds enrolled in pre-primary or primary education.

**Table 3: Admission Requirements and Tuitions Fees**

	Admission requirements	Tuitions fees (in public schools)
<b>Finland</b>	All 6 year-olds	Free of charge
<b>France</b>	All 3-6 year-olds	Free of charge
<b>Germany</b>	All 3-6 year-olds	Depends on parents' income and number of children
<b>Italy</b>	All 3-6 year-olds	Partly free of charge
<b>Poland</b>	All 3-6 year-olds	Partly free of charge
<b>Slovenia</b>	All 1-5 year-olds	Depends on parents' income
<b>The Netherlands</b>	No formal pre-primary education system, but there are various childcare facilities available outside of the education system such as day nurseries, playgroups and pre-schools for those who are 6 weeks and 4 years old.	Depends on parents' income
<b>UK</b>	England : all 3-4 year-olds	Free part time provision
	Scotland: all 3-4 year-olds	Free part time provision
	Northern Ireland : all 2-4 year-olds	Free part time provision

*Slovenia* is the only GOETE country that has a compulsory year of pre-primary education; in all others countries it is optional. Nevertheless, all countries have a high rate of participation in ISCED 0. Finland, France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom have a rate of pre-primary participation between 95% and 100% for pupils aged 3 years and above, and the compulsory school age (4, 5 or 6). Poland and Slovenia have a slightly lower rate that increases as the pupils' age. In Poland, only 53% of 3-5 year-olds attend school, but as the last year of pre-primary is compulsory, we see 95% of 6 year-olds in attendance. In Slovenia, 49% of pupils under the age of 3, 84% over the age of 3 and 92% at the age of 5 attend pre-primary school. The Dutch system does not provide a separate, formal, pre-primary school as compulsory education commences in primary school at 5, with 98% of pupils actually starting primary education at the age of 4. Nevertheless, there are various childcare facilities available outside of the education system such as day nurseries, playgroups and pre-schools for those who are between 6 weeks and 4 years old.

Tuitions fees in public schools vary considerably. Whereas certain systems are completely free (Finland, France), others require parents' financial participation. For instance, in Italy parents must participate by providing transport: in Germany parents are required to pay a certain amount which is means tested in relation to their income and the number of children they have enrolled (but this varies from provider to provider). In Poland, pupils receive the basic half-day education in public school for free, but must pay for any extracurricular hours. Similar to Germany, in Slovenia, fees are means tested according to parental income (from 0% to 80% of parents may be charged); and the United Kingdom follows the basic principle

of free part-time provision, but parents can pay to 'top up' the part-time childcare they receive to full time care. In relation to transition to the next level of education, none of the GOETE countries provide certification at the end of pre-primary level to access primary school.

### *Primary level*

The first cycle of basic education, referred to as primary school, presents the same characteristics in all countries: it is free of charge, centres on the teaching of basic learning (to write, to count, to spell, etc.), and entry is not based on any selection criteria. Entry age into primary school does however differ substantially: ranging from 4 to 5 year-olds (UK, Netherlands) to 6 (France, Germany, Italy, and Slovenia) or even 7 year-olds (Poland, Finland). Most countries use a catchment area principle for primary school allocation, which often has a local implementation.

**Table 4: Admission Requirements, Tuitions Fees, Certification and Transition in Primary Level**

	<b>Admission requirements</b>	<b>Tuition fees</b>	<b>Certification</b>	<b>Possible transition with certificate</b>
<b>Finland</b>	All at least 7 year-olds (except special needs)	Free of charge: education	None	Comprehensive school (7-9 grades)
<b>France</b>	All at least 6 year-olds	Free of charge	None	Lower secondary school
<b>Germany</b>	All at least 6 year-olds	Free of charge	One	Transition to secondary depends on the particular Land
<b>Italy</b>	All at least 6 year-olds	Free of charge	One	Lower secondary school
<b>Poland</b>	All at least 7 year-olds	Free of charge	One	Lower secondary school
<b>Slovenia</b>	All at least 6 year-olds	Free of charge	One	Lower secondary school with no real transition
<b>The Netherlands</b>	All at least 4 year-olds	Free of charge	None	Different types of lower secondary schools
<b>UK</b>	England: All at least 5 year-olds	Free of charge	None	Lower secondary school
	Scotland: All at least 5 year-olds	Free of charge	None	Lower secondary school
	Northern Ireland: all at least 4 year-olds	Free of charge	None	Selective lower secondary (entrance test)

The end of the primary system is more differentiated, with how pupils move to secondary schools regulated differently among the GOETE countries. The role of school grades and reports varies in the transition from primary to secondary school.

While France, Finland, the Netherlands and the UK have no certification, the other countries do, but organise it differently. In Italy, there is a periodical and final assessment. In the Netherlands, the head of the child's primary school is required to draw up a report on their educational potential and level of attainment (an educational report). The most common method of assessment within the Netherlands however is for pupils to undergo academic testing in their final year of primary school, via tests developed mainly to assess pupils' level

of knowledge and understanding (CITO-test, which is used by almost 85% of all Dutch primary schools). Primary schools advise parents about the type of secondary education they feel would be most suited to their child on the basis of these CITO test results and the educational performance, interests and motivation of the child. The school will suggest one of the three following routes: VMBO (pre-vocational secondary education); HAVO (senior general secondary education), VWO (pre-university education), practical training for pupils who are likely to fail in obtaining a qualification even with a learning support. In Poland, there is a final obligatory test with no selection function. In Slovenia, there is continuous assessment and a yearly report, where pupils are granted a school-leaving certificate when they have completed the entire comprehensive school syllabus. In Germany, there exist a number of regional differences. In Baden-Württemberg a 'recommendation' is issued by the school and the parents may decide on which type of secondary school their child will attend. While this sustains a degree of permeability in educational transitions, the reality shows that the majority of changes between school types represents a downward mobility (i.e. to a school type with lower status). In North Rhine Westphalia a binding decision is taken by the schools, and in cases where the parents do not agree with the decision a diagnostic/prognostic test on the child is implemented. In Saxony, there is also a 'recommendation' by the schools, but any recommendation to a 'Gymnasium' is based on student grades.

At the end of primary school, pupils usually move on to lower secondary school. However, there are some variations across the GOETE countries. In the Netherlands, different routes are possible according to the level of the pupil: pre-university education, senior secondary general education, pre-vocational secondary education or practical training. In Northern Ireland, there is an entrance test currently run by Grammar schools for those wishing to compete for a grammar school place. Transition to lower secondary education differs in Germany according to the different Länder, i.e., according to the number of tracks in the specific region (see Table 5 below).

### *Lower Secondary level*

The end of compulsory full-time education often coincides with the transition between lower and upper secondary education and the beginning of different routes. However, in some countries (France, Ireland, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, particularly Scotland), the transition between lower and upper secondary education takes place one or two years before the end of full-time compulsory schooling. After 15 or 16 years of age, young people are obliged to undergo at least part-time training for two or three years in Germany and in Poland. In the Netherlands, the obligation to undergo part-time training that lasts for one year

was in place until 2007/08. In these countries, compulsory schooling is followed by upper secondary education or finishes at the end of this level of education.

**Table 5: Admission Requirements, Tuitions Fees, Certification and Transition in Lower Secondary level**

	<b>Admission requirements</b>	<b>Tuition fees</b>	<b>Certification</b>	<b>Possible Transition with certificate</b>
<b>Finland</b>	All pupils who have completed primary education Local catchment is a principle	Free of charge	Basic education certificate	General or vocational upper secondary schools
<b>France</b>	All pupils who have completed primary education	Free of charge	A final state examination	General and professional upper secondary school Vocational course Apprenticeship
<b>Germany</b>	Depends on the particular land	Free of charge	Leaving certification	General Gymnasium Professional Gymnasium Vocational training
<b>Italy</b>	All pupils who have completed primary	Free of charge	A final state examination	Upper secondary education Vocational training Apprenticeship
<b>Poland</b>	Certificate of primary school completion	Free of charge	Final examination and certificate	General upper secondary education Technical upper secondary education Vocational education
<b>Slovenia</b>	Age	Free of charge	External final assessment	General upper secondary education Technical and specialised upper secondary education Vocational education
<b>The Netherlands</b>	All pupils who have completed primary education	Free of charge	A Leaving examination administered in two parts: a school examination and a national examination.	Upper pre-university education Upper senior general secondary education Secondary vocational education
<b>UK</b>	Automatic progression from primary school based on age.	Free of charge	Final state examinations – GCSE (England & Northern Ireland); Standard Grades Scotland	General upper secondary education in same school.  General upper secondary education college of further education/sixth form college general/academic education, vocational training/Modern Apprenticeship

Finland and Slovenia have a common structure for primary and lower secondary schools and there is no real transition between schools, whereas in Germany and the Netherlands pupils and their families have to make a choice regarding transition at the end of primary school (at age 12). In Germany, it depends primarily on each pupil's marks and is in principle a

collective decision between parents and their child's school. In most cases, following consultation with the parents, the primary school recommends a secondary school. This results in Germany and the Netherlands having a semi-selective lower secondary education system. Furthermore, due to the federal system, the German education system is very complex. The two most important specificities concern the differentiation of lower secondary education, which selects pupils into different tracks leading to qualifications with different status (including a strong presence of special needs education), and the 'dual' vocational training system (see below). This constellation has led to considerable inequality and risks of exclusion within German education and training. PISA studies have revealed not only an under-average performance of German pupils (somewhat average in last rounds of PISA), but have also highlighted strong effects of disadvantage of children from families from lower socio-economic status and who have a migrant background (PISA 2000; 2006). Hauptschule (the lowest track of lower secondary education) is increasingly becoming an unpopular choice for both pupils and their parents. Indeed, the chances to find a training position have declined dramatically due to a loss of apprenticeship places and an increased intake of leavers from Gymnasium who aim at combining vocational training with higher education.

In the Netherlands, pupils are assessed to establish their suitability for admission to secondary education (VMBO, HAVO or VWO) and the school board makes decisions about admission. The head of the child's primary school is required to draw up a report on his or her educational potential and level of attainment. The most common method of assessment is for pupils to be tested in the final year of primary school, using academic tests developed centrally to assess pupils' level of knowledge and understanding. Each year the National Institute for Educational Measurement (CITO) publishes a primary school leavers' attainment test, which is used by almost 85% of Dutch primary schools. Primary schools advise parents as to the type of secondary education most suited to their child on the basis of the CITO test results and the educational performance, interests and motivation of the child (Eurydice 2009a). Because pupils' achievement levels highly correlate with their social background (as in most countries, the more affluent the social background, the more successful the school career), academic selection in secondary education results in an uneven distribution of children by social background (Karsten et al., 2006).

In Poland, the admission criterion for secondary school (gimnazjum) is the leaving certificate they receive at the end of their six years at primary school obtained via a standardised compulsory test. After three years of secondary school, pupils take an external standardised test on a national scale.

In France, schools do not have official selection criteria, but there is an invisible process of selection. In the last year of lower secondary school, the class council (predominantly

composed by school teachers and the principle) offers advice to pupils and their families regarding the best course to follow according to the pupil's situation (grades, motivation, behaviour, etc.). The distribution of pupils in the different courses of the upper schools (general, technical and vocational) is close to the distribution by social background. The majority of pupils from the most advantaged families attend general courses, whilst the less advantaged pupils are overly represented in vocational courses, which are regarded to be less prestigious than general courses.

In the United Kingdom formal admission requirements are rare. In Northern Ireland pupils sit an entry test to compete for a place at a specific grammar school, while in some areas of England (such as Kent) the county administered '11 plus' selection exam for grammar school still exists. However, for the majority of pupils, recruitment and school selection is largely based on catchment area. Where there are several schools within one area, a system of parental choice exists, but there is a wide variation in how this is organised in practice by local educational authorities.

Each of the GOETE countries has a formal process of assessment and certification at the end of lower secondary education. However, there is some variation. The case of Slovenia, for example, is interesting because there is an external, final assessment that does not affect pupils' trajectories, but simply aims to provide feedback on each young person's academic achievements. In the UK there are differences in assessment between nations. England and Northern Ireland mainly assess pupils via the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE), while in Scotland pupils sit Scottish Standard Grade examinations and gain a Scottish Qualifications Certificate. At the end of lower secondary school, four main routes exist within the countries: general, professional, vocational training and apprenticeship.

### *Upper secondary level*

At upper secondary education there are different educational programmes within each of the GOETE countries. In general, however, it is possible to distinguish between two common categories: general education, which prepares the pupils for tertiary education, and vocational education, which prepares pupils both for working life and for further studies. In some GOETE countries these different options are organised into separate programmes and pupils must opt for one or the other. In others, general education and vocational programmes are offered in the same structure and sometimes in the same establishment. In the UK, in addition to general education, programmes containing elements of both general and vocational education are offered. This offers a flexible but complex system of academic, general and applied vocational courses, laid out within the national qualifications framework that – in principle – allows progression within and across vocational and academic pathways. Even if bridges are possible among the different courses (general, professional and

vocational), transition and mobility from vocational to general is difficult. This phenomenon is reinforced in countries with separated courses in lower secondary, such as Germany and the Netherlands, but also occurs in the UK.

**Table 6: Admission Requirements, Tuitions Fees, Certification and Transition in Upper Secondary Level**

	<b>Admission requirements</b>	<b>Tuition fees</b>	<b>Certification</b>	<b>Possible transition with certificate</b>
<b>Finland</b>	Grade of the basic education certificate	Free of charge	National matriculation examination	Higher education (those with a vocational degree obtained through apprenticeship training are not eligible for university)
<b>France</b>	No official criterion	Free of charge	State examination	Higher education ( needs general or professional degree)
<b>Germany</b>	To pass grade 10	Free of charge	State examination	Higher education (Universities or Polytechnics) Employment
<b>Italy</b>	Pupils who have passed the lower secondary state exam	Modest fees	State examination	Higher education Employment
<b>Poland</b>	Points on lower secondary certificate	Free of charge	State examination	Higher education ( University, master studies, higher vocational education)
<b>Slovenia</b>	Depends on grades	Free of charge	State examination	Higher vocational college education and higher academic and professional education
<b>The Netherlands</b>	Depends on the previous orientation	Free of charge	A leaving examination administered in two parts: a school examination and a national examination.	Universities Higher professional education
<b>UK</b>	No official criteria	Free of charge	State examinations  General National Vocational Qualifications  Diploma	Higher/Further Education Institutes/Universities/University Colleges Employment

Entrance to this level is the first transition stage that is regulated in all countries on the basis of pupils' education level (formally in most countries but informally in France). In Finland, all young people who have completed basic education may continue onto upper secondary level; there is a national application system whose main criterion is the grade achieved in the basic education certificate and 90% of the pupils attend this system. Officially in France all young people who have completed their lower secondary education may enter the upper secondary level. However, a pupil's performance level partly determines their orientation.

Pupils with low achievement will be directed toward vocational upper secondary whilst those with higher grades tend to be pushed toward general upper secondary. Other factors are taken into consideration, such as student behaviour and motivation or the wishes of the family.

The catchment area principle is also a major factor in determining where students go after lower secondary school. In Germany, the precondition to enter upper secondary school is to pass grade 10 (when they are not already in the Gymnasium). Additionally, there is a special quota for those few pupils who leave the “Realschule” with excellent marks. In Italy, pupils who have passed the state exam at the end of the first cycle of education must enrol in schools of the second cycle of education. In Poland and Slovenia, the grades obtained at the end of the lower secondary level determine a pupil’s admission to an upper secondary school. In the Netherlands, upper secondary education and its contents depend on the previous orientation made at the end of the primary school. In the UK, there are no centralised entry requirements to post-compulsory education and training, with individual schools or colleges setting their own requirements. There are a number of sixth-form and further education colleges in the UK that offer similar provision to upper secondary education in mainstream schools, although they tend to offer a broader range of general and vocational programmes. Most pupils who remain within school after compulsory schooling follow an academic track, and study for two years towards A-level examinations (England and Northern Ireland) or Highers (Scotland) for access into tertiary education. These are the traditional qualifications for university entry, although alternative advanced general vocational programmes (GNVQs/BTEC) are also offered at various levels at schools and colleges within broad vocational areas, which are accepted by many universities as alternative qualifications for specific degree courses. For example, advanced GNVQs are supposed to be seen as equivalent to 3 ‘A’ levels on the academic track. With regard to tuition fees, post compulsory schooling is free in all countries, except in Italy and the Netherlands.

All systems have a national examination that provides certificates the end of the upper secondary education. These examinations often have a particular name: the Baccalauréat in France, the Abitur in Germany, the Matura in Poland and Slovenia, the General Certificate of Education Advanced-level (GCE A-level) in England, the Scottish Qualification Certificate at Higher Grade (Highers) in Scotland. In general, all countries are organised in similar ways concerning student orientation at the end of this level. Each caters for higher/further education institutes, universities, or vocational studies systems, or alternatively young people may leave education completely and enter the labour market at this stage.

## Vocational education

**Table 7: Admission Requirements, Tuitions Fees, Certification and Transition in Vocational Education**

	<b>Admission requirements</b>	<b>Tuition fees</b>	<b>Certification</b>	<b>Possible transition with certificate</b>
<b>Finland</b>	Main criterion: grade of the basic education certificate	Free of charge	Qualification certificate (vocational)	Higher education Occupation
<b>France</b>	All children who have completed lower secondary education Catchment area principle	Free of charge	Final vocational examination	Vocational <i>Baccalauréat</i> Employment
<b>Germany</b>	Open to all children who have leaving certificates and qualifications acquired at the end of lower secondary level	Free of charge	Final certificate (vocational)	Qualified job
<b>Italy</b>	Pupils who have passed the lower secondary school leaving examination	Free of charge	State examination	Higher education Employment
<b>Poland</b>	Points on lower secondary certificate decides pupil's admission to an upper secondary school	Free of charge	Final examination	Higher professional education Employment
<b>Slovenia</b>	Completed basic school (primary + lower secondary)	Free of charge	Certificate of the final examination	Vocational-technical programmes (upgrade of vocational education) Employment
<b>The Netherlands</b>	A range of options (see below)	Free of charge	All tests passed give a diploma at the end	Higher professional education Employment
<b>UK</b>	End of compulsory school, diploma's, foundation learning, apprenticeships	Free of charge	Specific regional certificates	Further Education Institutes Higher Education Employment

Most countries have formal entrance criteria for vocational education that are similar to those required for upper secondary school. It is common for pupils with higher academic achievement levels and grades to go onto upper secondary study, while those with lower achievement records enter into vocational study.

Vocational education is provided in GOETE countries in school-based, work-based or in 'dual' systems. In Germany, the vocational training is mainly provided by a 'dual' system combining professional schools and apprenticeship training within a company. Traditionally, leavers from lower secondary education (Hauptschule, Realschule or Mittelschule) have found access to qualified work. However, this level of access is decreasing due to a lower provision of apprenticeship places. Additionally, an increasing number of school leavers from Hauptschule try to opt for school-based vocational education, as this allows students to improve their general school leaving certificate.

In France, young people and their families do not hold vocational training in high esteem, with general education remaining the more prestigious route. Furthermore, a recent reform of the vocational education system (mainly the creation of a single vocational course in 3 years for 14 to 17 year-olds) may reinforce this phenomenon. Indeed, pupils who follow this track often encounter a higher level of difficulty in finding a work placement as an apprentice, as companies are reluctant to commit to working with these pupils for such a long time.

In the Netherlands, due to the differences outline above, the system differs. To enter onto a course at assistant or basic vocational training level, there are no requirements regarding previous education. To enrol on a course at professional or middle-management level, a certificate of pre-vocational secondary education (VMBO), a certificate of junior general secondary education (MAVO), or proof that the student has completed their first three years of senior general secondary education (HAVO) or pre-university education (VWO) are necessary requirements. For a course at specialist level, students require a professional training qualification in the same occupation or occupational group for entry.

Despite numerous reforms, the UK has continued to struggle to establish a coherent system of work-based vocational training at the post-compulsory level that is held in equal status to the academic route. Vocational study therefore continues to be perceived as of lower status. Although influenced by, but not solely confined to, educational concerns within more disadvantaged groups, a major review of educational provision for the 14-19 age group has recently been undertaken in England. Work-based vocational training in the UK is certificated at a number of progressive levels through National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) in England and Northern Ireland, with SVQs in Scotland. These are most commonly taken at Level 1 to 3 in the post-compulsory years, where Level 1 represents a pre-apprenticeship (basic) level, Level 2 a standard apprenticeship and Level 3 a higher (advanced) technical apprenticeship. Young people can enter into any of these levels based on their prior achievement in the lower secondary school and can progress from one level to another. Across all of the GOETE countries, upper secondary education is free and may lead directly to employment.

### *Higher education*

Everywhere in Europe the minimum requirement for securing access to tertiary education is an upper secondary education certificate or its equivalent. In most countries other admission procedures may be required, such as passing an entrance examination, submitting a personal record of achievement, or attending an interview with the desired higher education institution. Such procedures are used either to limit number of admissions – mainly because

the number of candidates exceeds the intake capacity of institutions – or to ensure that candidates have the qualifications that are needed in order to undertake the educational provision on offer (for example, in artistic, technical or medical fields of study).

**Table 8: Admission Requirements, Tuitions Fees, Certification and Transition in Higher Education**

	<b>Admission requirements</b>	<b>Tuitions fees</b>	<b>Certificate</b>	<b>Possible transition with certificate</b>
<b>Finland</b>	The Finnish matriculation examination + previous study record + an entrance examination	Free of charge	Higher education degrees	Employment Post-graduate degrees (MA, PhD)
<b>France</b>	The Baccalauréat, no selection for universities, grades selection for the others	Low tuitions fees	Higher education degrees	Employment Post-graduate degrees (MA, PhD)
<b>Germany</b>	Abitur or equivalent qualification for Polytechnics	Länder differences	Higher education degrees	Employment Post-graduate degrees (MA, PhD)
<b>Italy</b>	Upper secondary school leaving certificate	Low tuitions fees	Higher education degrees	Employment Post-graduate degrees (MA, PhD)
<b>Poland</b>	Matura (general and technical upper secondary examination)	Mostly free of charge	Higher education degrees	Employment Post-graduate degrees (MA, PhD)
<b>Slovenia</b>	Matura (Higher vocational colleges and higher academic studies)	Free of charge	Higher education degrees	Employment Post-graduate degrees (MA, PhD)
<b>The Netherlands</b>	Different entrance procedures (see below)	Statutory rate for tuition fees	Higher education degrees	Employment Post-graduate degrees (MA, PhD)
<b>UK</b>	A/AS level point scores (England & Northern Ireland; Highers Scotland). Various alternative general vocational qualifications (GNVQ'S/BTEC).	High, variable tuition fees	Higher education degrees	Employment Postgraduate Studies (MA, PGCE, PhD)

Labour market conditions may also explain attempts to control the number of places available to students, with certain incentives offered to young people studying subjects that are seen as priorities within corresponding professional sectors. There are three main levels in the regulation of access to tertiary education: central/regional *numerus clausus*, institutional regulation, and free access. Additionally, in certain countries different combinations between these three categories are utilised. The entry criteria may be applied to all fields of study or programmes, or just a selection.

In Finland, the Finnish matriculation examination or a three-year vocational degree is required to access university. Universities use different types of student selection criteria to set entrance levels, such as previous study record and an entrance examination. The general requirement for admission to polytechnics is the completion of general upper secondary school or vocational upper secondary degree (mainly based on school

achievement and work experience and, in many cases, entrance examinations). The different systems are free of charge.

In France, universities may be accessed directly with a Baccalauréat or equivalent qualification, without a selection procedure (with the exception of Instituts Universitaires de Technologie (IUT), where there is a selection procedure for CPGE, STS, IUT and Écoles Spécialisées. This selection procedure is based on an admission application. The type of Baccalauréat awarded and the grades achieved during the last two years of lycée are determining factors. Finally, the pupils who achieve the highest grades receive preparatory tuition for two years in CPGE: the most prestigious tertiary education institutions, normally known as Grandes Écoles. Tuition fees are relatively low and pupils with low incomes are exempted.

In Germany, higher education institutions can be universities, teacher-training colleges, theological or arts colleges, comprehensive institutions (Gesamthochschule), or universities of applied sciences. Entrance requirements vary according to the particular institutional type, but are usually the Abitur or equivalent certificate (e.g. via 'second chance' education). The tuitions fees vary according to the Länder. The system is similar in Poland and Slovenia, where only the Matura is required. In Slovenia tuition is free of charge and in Poland it is mainly free, however young people must pay for repeating some classes or courses.

In the Netherlands there are several possible entrance processes. For higher professional education they include: the senior general secondary education (HAVO) certificate; the MBO middle-management or specialist training certificate; or a pre-university education (VWO) certificate. Admission to university is also possible with a pre-university (VWO) school-leaving certificate, an HBO qualification, or an HBO propaedeutic certificate. For each case there is a national application procedure and tuition fees are statutory.

Entry to university in the UK is typically based on A level examination results (England and Northern Ireland) or Highers results (Scotland), with different requirements for entry for the type of course and institution. Most universities will also accept certain levels of general vocational qualifications, which are equivalent to a certain number of 'A' Levels. Where the UK differs from the other GOETE countries is the tuition fee system. Where university education is free in Scotland, a new fee structure has been increased under the Tory lead coalition government in England and Northern Ireland. Where fees are currently £3,225 per year there will be a rise to between £6000-£9000 in 2012, with many institutions already indicating that they will charge the maximum.

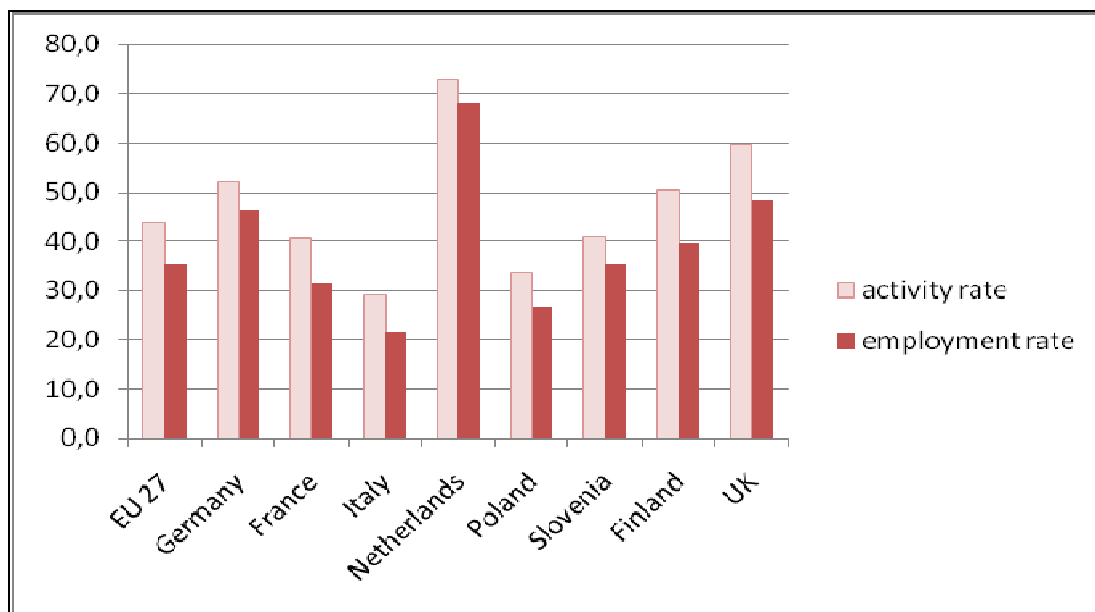
## 2.2 Transitions from school to work

### 2.2.1 Routes into the labour market

School to work transitions relate to young people's educational trajectories in two ways. Firstly, they coincide with one particular goal of education, namely preparing young people to enter into the labour market and be active contributors to society. This entails that the relevance of education in late modern labour societies – frequently referred to as 'knowledge societies' – is of key importance. The extent to which these routes successfully equip individuals with knowledge and competencies that can be 'spent' in the labour market is important for future trajectories. Secondly, school to work transitions are not only the end goal but also an integral part of educational trajectories, especially where these transitions include training in vocational schools or apprenticeship training organised between companies and school. In this section we describe the dominant pathways from school to the labour market in the countries under investigation.

The available data demonstrates that there are major differences in how young people participate in the labour market within each of the GOETE countries. Graph 1 shows that the rate of those young people who are economically active and employed in the Netherlands is more than double compared those within Italy and Poland.

Graph 2: Activity and employment rates of young people in 2009 (source: Eurostat)

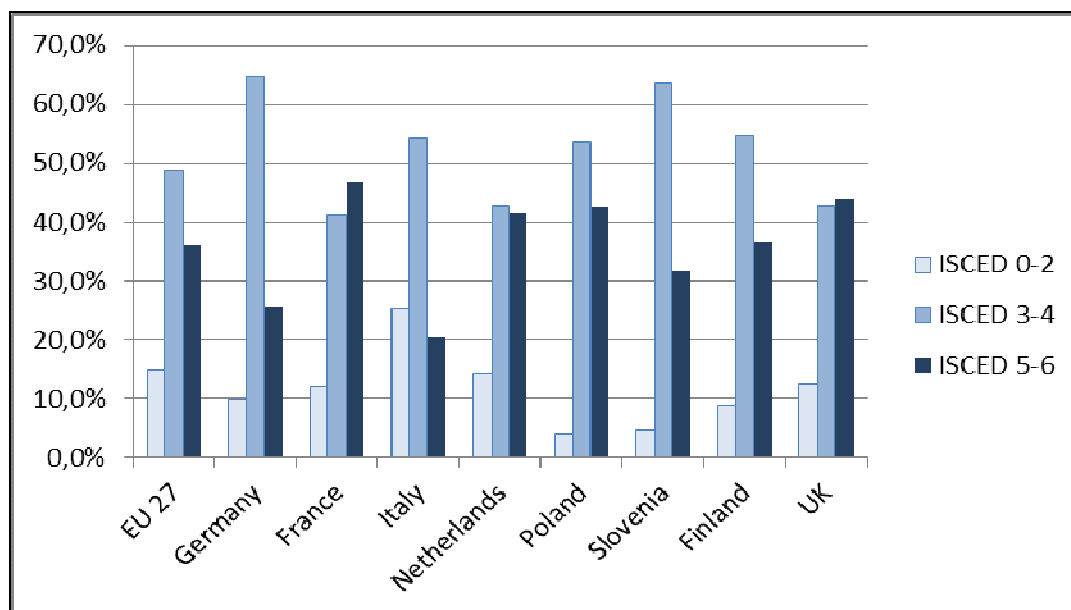


However, it is important to examine these figures in relation to the different structures of youth labour markets in the GOETE countries, which include the following:

- in the Netherlands, Finland, Germany and Slovenia, a large population of students within higher education are employed in regular jobs alongside their studies;
- in the Netherlands and Germany young people who are involved in apprenticeship training are classified as 'employed' in contrast to young people who are involved in the school-based vocational education and training courses we have found to be prevalent in the other countries;
- while in Italy, school and university leavers often wait long periods of time to enter regular employment, but during this time they are involved in informal work in the shadow economy.

The trend behind this picture is ambiguous, as is the situation of young people who are confronted with the demand of investing more into their human capital and entering the labour market earlier. While in some countries, over the past decade, the activity rate of young people has increased (Germany, France and Slovenia), in others it has decreased (Finland, Italy, Poland, UK as well as the EU average). In the Netherlands however, it has managed to remain stable.

**Graph 3: Education Level of Employed 25-29 Year Olds in 2009 (source: Eurostat)**



A key question regards the way in which education and employment are linked, and in what ways investment into (longer or higher) education is reflected by the education level of the labour force. If one looks into Eurostat data regarding the education level of employed 25-29 year olds (Graph 2) – that is, those expected to have completed the transition from school to work – one finds obvious differences. While in Slovenia and Poland only 4.0 or 4.5% are early school leavers (with maximum qualification ISCED 2), this accounts for 14.5% in the

Netherlands (around EU average) and for 25% in Italy. On the other side, we find rates of more than 40% of employed 25-29 year olds holding a higher education degree in France, the Netherlands, Poland and the UK, while in Germany and Italy this accounts for less than 25%.

Behind these figures, one finds characteristics of national labour markets which can be partly explained by mechanisms of labour recruitment through companies and individual pathways into employment. Comparative labour market research distinguishes occupational from organisational labour markets (e.g. Shavit & Müller 1998; Blossfeld et al. 2005). While the former rely on standardised vocational qualifications with rather stable careers, recruitment in the latter can be characterised by learning on the job and testing job seekers whose early careers consist of many job changes. Table 9 contextualises the dominant routes into employment of young people with low, middle and high social capital with regard to the prevalent structure of labour market entry.

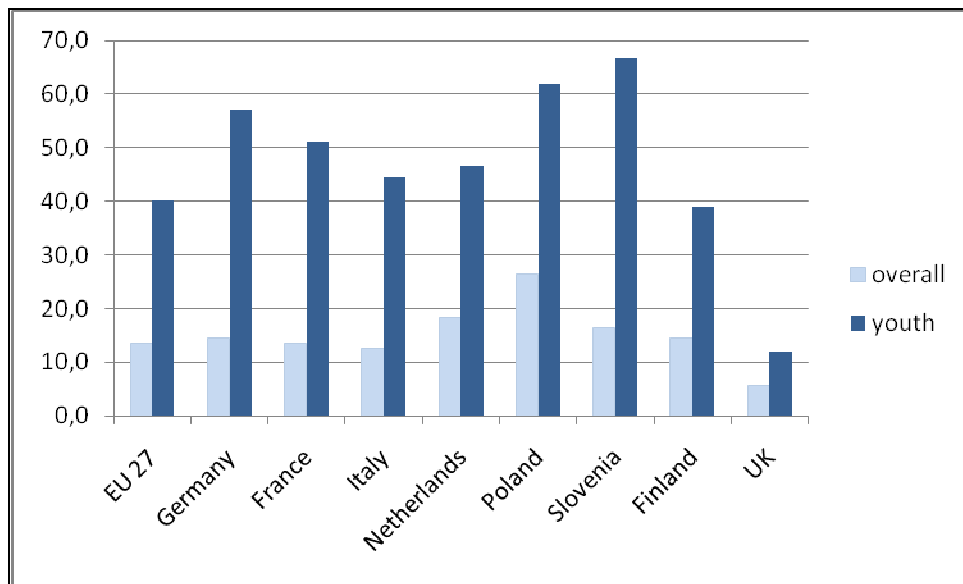
**Table 9: Characteristics of Routes into the Labour Market**

	<b>Low (ISCED 0-2)</b>	<b>Middle (ISCED 3-4)</b>	<b>High (ISCED 5-6)</b>	<b>Model of labour market entry</b>
<b>Finland</b>	ESL with high risk of unemployment	VET leavers with good mid-term prospects	HE degrees (often side jobs), rather secure careers	Occupational?
<b>France</b>	Early school leavers with high risks of unemployment and long-term precarity.	School-based VET with rather low status, precarious early careers.	HE degrees with long trajectories and precarious early careers; share increases.	Occupational
<b>Germany</b>	Early school leavers entering only pre-vocational measures with increasing risks of long-term precarity.	(Dual) apprenticeship and school-based VET with good prospects but increasingly flexible careers.	HE degrees with low risk but often side-jobs. No increase due to selective school system.	Occupational
<b>Italy</b>	Early school leavers often with direct but precarious labour market careers	Long transitions and precarity after post-compulsory education and VET	HE degrees with long and precarious trajectories	Organisational (but segmented)
<b>Poland</b>	Early school leavers (only training schemes) with highest risks	Graduates from school-based VET; security depends on type of school	HE degrees increasing; partly precarious; emigration as option	Organisational (but segmented)
<b>Slovenia</b>	Options for ESL due to low productivity but precarious careers	School-based VET; prospects depend on type of course.	HE degrees often side jobs, long waiting period and precarious jobs	Organisational (but segmented)
<b>The Netherlands</b>	Early school leavers (only pre-vocational qualifications) with	Stable labour market entry of leavers of dual or	HE degrees with side jobs but rather secure careers	Occupational

	high risks	school-based VET		
<b>UK</b>	High unemployment risks of ESL and NEET	School and work based VET. Prospects depend on level and type of course.	HE degrees with comparatively short trajectories. Generally prospects more secure but precarious early careers dependent on degree subject. Increasing	Organisational

As regards the quality of young people’s employment, there is a clear trend across the countries and the EU towards fixed term contracts. Therefore it is young people who are forced to carry the main burden of labour market flexibilisation. However, there are significant differences that, once again, reflect general labour market structures (see Graph 3). Fixed-term contracts play a minor role in the UK while accounting for more than half of employed young people in France, Germany, Poland and Slovenia.

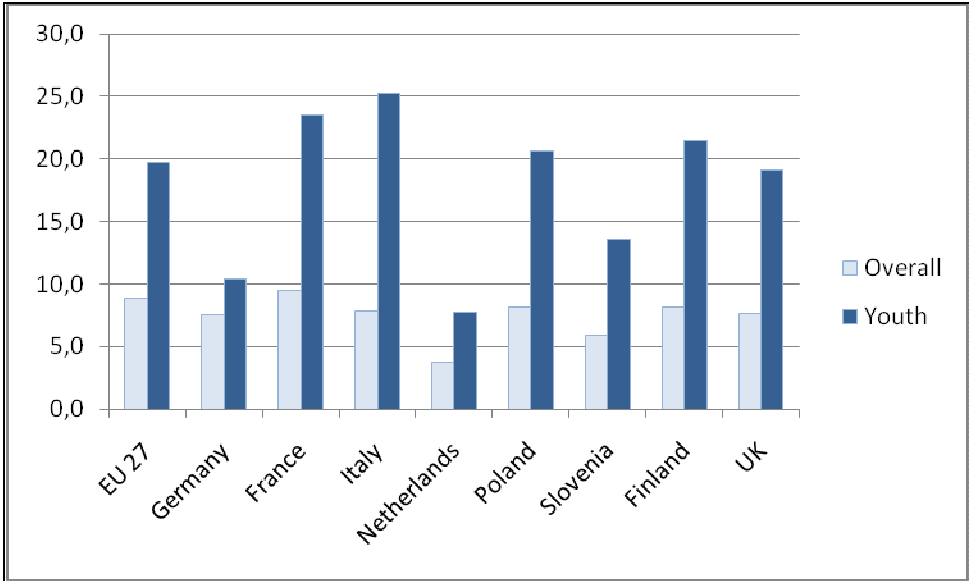
**Graph 4: Young People and Overall Employed with Fixed-term Contracts (2009) (source: Eurostat)**



### 2.2.2 Youth unemployment

A major concern with regard to young people’s transitions from school to work that has risen across the EU during the past three decades is the increase of youth unemployment, which in average is double as high as the overall unemployment rate. While this trend has started in Western Europe already in the 1980s as one element of the post-Fordist economic restructuring, in Central and Eastern Europe the rise and experience of youth unemployment is connected to the end of state socialism and planned economy in 1990.

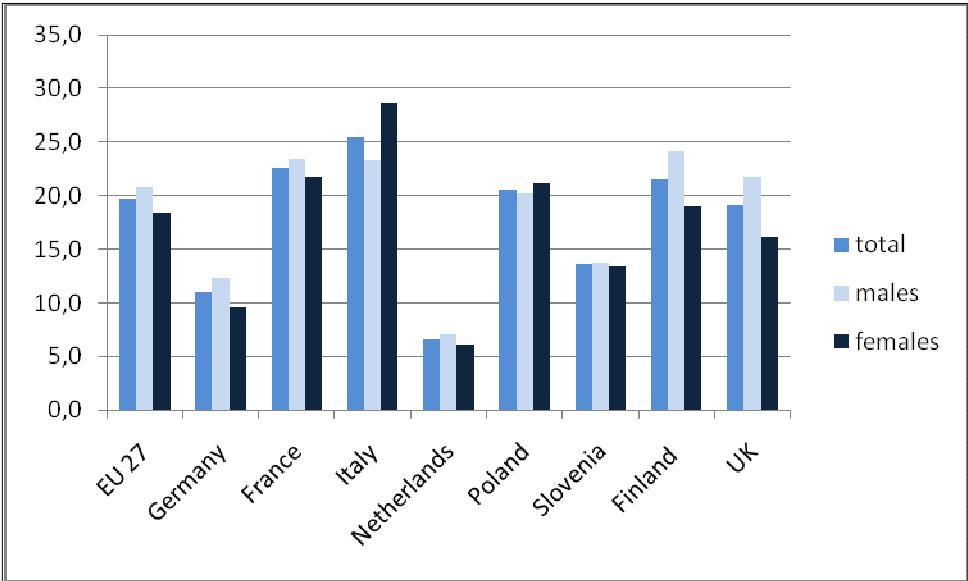
**Graph 5: Youth Unemployment and Overall Unemployment Rates in 2009 (Eurostat)**



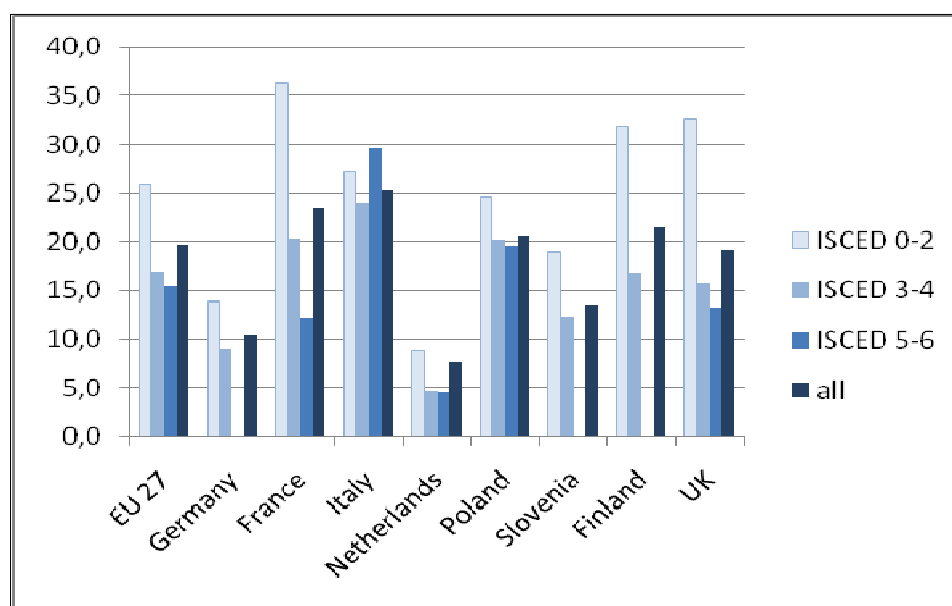
Graph 4, however, shows that the relation between overall and youth unemployment differs across countries with a minor difference in Germany (1: 1.3) and a major difference in Italy (1: 3). Countries differ also in the development of youth unemployment over the past decade with increases in the UK, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, and decreases in Italy, Poland, Slovenia, and Finland (cf. Table 9 above).

With regard to gender, several EU member states have witnessed a shift from female towards male youth unemployment. In Italy young women are still more affected than young men, while in Slovenia and Poland the picture appears balanced (see Graph 5).

**Graph 6: Youth Unemployment (< 25) according to Gender (2009) (source: Eurostat)**



**Graph 7: Youth Unemployment (< 25) according to Level of Education 2009 (source: Eurostat)\***



\*No data for ISCED 5-6 from Germany, Slovenia and Finland

Moreover, Graph 6 reveals that the composition of youth unemployment differs across levels of education. While in most countries early school leavers are increasingly the most affected by unemployment, this is not the case for Italy and to a minor extent in other countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, and Poland while differences are highest in Finland, France and the UK.

**Table 10: Structural Characteristics and Trends of Youth Unemployment, in %**

	Overall trend 2000-2009	Trend low education 2000-2009	Relation overall: low education 2009	Trend gap low education: overall	Relation gender	Relation youth: overall
<b>Finland</b>	-6.9	-11.6	1:1,5	Decrease	Balance	2.6
<b>France</b>	+2.1	+5.3	1:1,6	Increase	Males higher	2.5
<b>Germany</b>	+2.7	+4.3	1:1,3	Increase	Males higher	1.4
<b>Italy</b>	-6.1	-4.4	1:1,1	Increase	Females higher	3.2
<b>Poland</b>	-15.1	-12.5	1:1,2	Increase	Males higher	2.5
<b>Slovenia</b>	-2.8	-7.3	1:1,4	Decrease	Balance	2.3
<b>The Netherlands</b>	+1.3	+1.4	1:1,3	Stable	Males higher	2.1
<b>UK</b>	+7	+11.2	1:1,7	Increase	Males higher	2.5
<b>EU 27</b>	+1.5	+5.8	1:1,3	Increase	Males higher	2.2

If one looks into the country reports, early school leaving is always referred to as a key factor of youth unemployment. However, apart from this there are particular national patterns and/or discourses with regard to youth unemployment:

- Germany: early school leavers failing to enter training are ascribed a lack of 'trainability' which reflects the selective school system and the institutional discrimination of migrant youth; regional disparities are also relevant.
- France: youth unemployment is high across all education levels – including HE leavers – due to labour market segmentation according to age; however, early school leavers are especially affected. Migration and ethnicity play a role but are not referred to explicitly.
- Italy: youth unemployment is high across all education levels, due to labour market segmentation according to age and region. The mismatch between education and employment is a key issue.
- The Netherlands: unemployment is relatively low across all levels including early school leavers. Male migrant youth are referred to as carrying high risk (due to low school or vocational qualifications).
- Poland: traditionally there has been a high level of youth unemployment, especially among those with low education.
- Slovenia: an issue of increasing attention to unemployment and/or precarious employment of leavers from higher education; lack of work experience among school leavers is one of the main reasons for unemployment.
- Finland: overall *and* youth unemployment have been always at or above EU average; risks are especially high for those with a limited education.
- United Kingdom: the normality of short and direct transitions has been reversed in the past two decades; risks of those with limited qualifications are increasing while the share of NEET (not in employment, education or training) youth remains stable at 10%.

Different patterns of youth unemployment may imply differences in the biographical and career relevance young people ascribe to education. Relevance of school for labour market entrance and as protector against unemployment seems low in Italy, Poland, Slovenia, and increasingly in Germany (for the low-trackers), while it appears high in the UK, Netherlands, France and Finland.

### 2.2.3 Youth transition regimes

The concept of transition regimes refers to different (national) configurations of the regulation of transitions in the life course. It has been developed in the context of European comparative research on young people's transitions from education to work. Regimes distinguish clusters of socio-economic, institutional and cultural factors that interact with

individual agency. The notion of 'regime' refers to the fact that regulation of life course trajectories – and educational trajectories are one key element of these – expands beyond institutional governance including individual biographical constructions. In sum, transition regimes refer to different configurations of power and normality in organising social inclusion and exclusion.

One starting point has been the model of welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990; see also Section C). From there the model has evolved over a series of studies on youth transitions involving the analysis of institutional arrangements, document analysis of policy programmes, statistical analysis, expert interviews, case studies of projects for disadvantaged youth, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with young people across different educational levels as well as with parents (McNeish & Loncle 2003; Walther & Pohl, 2005; Walther, 2006; Walther et al., 2006; Pohl & Walther, 2007). It provides a set of analytical dimensions (see Table 11):

- Structures of welfare in terms of state versus family responsibilities and the conditions and rules of individual access (Esping-Andersen 1990; Gallie & Paugam 2000).
- Structures of education and training, especially in terms of the extent to which school systems allocate pupils to different educational pathways with unequal outcomes (stratification) (Allmendinger 1989; Lasonen & Young 1998; Shavit & Müller 1998).
- Structures of labour markets and labour market entry – 'open' versus 'close' – and the degree of flexibility regarding transitions within labour markets and careers (Smyth et al., 2001; Müller & Gangl 2003).
- Policies against youth unemployment (resulting from the relationship between education and training, welfare and labour market structures), including different explanations for youth unemployment as well as the different ways of interpreting 'disadvantaged youth' as a structural phenomenon, resulting from labour market segmentation or as individual deficit (Walther, Stauber et al. 2002; McNeish & Loncle 2003; Walther & Pohl 2005; Walther et al. 2006; Pohl & Walther 2007).
- Mechanisms of doing gender, which are a crosscutting dimension allocating young men and women to the same or to different trajectories that in turn can be of equal or unequal status and perspective (Sainsbury 1999).
- The dominant institutional representations of youth and the respective institutional demands and expectations addressed to young people (IARD, 2001; Walther, 2006). Levels and patterns of public expenditure for education, active labour market policy, family and children, which provide different possibilities for implementing transition infrastructure while also representing different levels of recognition of young people as members (and resource) of societies (Walther & Pohl 2005).

- Different meanings and respective implementation of activation revealing both convergence and path dependency under conditions of global social change in general and European integration in particular (Lødemel & Trickey 2001; van Berkel & Hornemann Møller 2002; Harsløf 2005; Pohl & Walther 2007).

**Table 11: Transition Regimes across Europe**

<b>Dimension Regime</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Training</b>	<b>Social security</b>	<b>Employ- ment Regime</b>	<b>Female Employ- ment</b>	<b>Concept of Youth</b>	<b>Concept of Disadvantage</b>	<b>Focus of Transition Policies</b>	<b>Expenditure* Educ/F&amp;C/ALMP</b>	<b>Policy trend</b>
<b>Universalistic</b>	Finland	Not selective	Flexible standards (mixed)	State	Open Low risks	High	Personal development, Citizenship	Individualized and structure-related	Education Activation	FI: 5,9 / 2,9 / 0,7	Liberal (more labour market orientation)
<b>Employment-centred</b>	Germany France Netherlands	Selective	Standardized (dual)	State / family	Closed Risks at the margins	Medium	Adaptation to social positions	Individualized	(Pre-) vocational training	D: 4,5 / 2,8 / 0,5 F: 5,6 / 2,5 / 0,7 NL: 5,3 / 1,6 / 0,7	Liberal (more activation)
<b>Liberal</b>	UK	Principally not selective	Flexible, low standards (mixed)	State / family	Open, High risks	High	Early economic independence	Individualized	Employability	UK: 5,4 / 1,5 / 0,1	Liberal (more education)
<b>Sub-protective</b>	Italy	Not Selective	Low standards and coverage (mainly school)	Family	Closed High risks (Informal work)	Low	Without distinct status	Structure-related	'Some' status (work, education, training)	IT: 4,3 / 1,2 / 0,4	Liberal (deregulation) and employment-centred (training)
<b>Post-socialist countries</b>											
	Poland Slovenia	Principally not selective	Standards in process of transformation (mixed)	Family state	Closed High risks	Low (except Slovenia)	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed	PL: 4,9 / 0,8 / 0,1 SI: 5,2 / 1,8 / 0,1	PL: Liberal/employment-centred SI: Universal

\*Eurostat data on expenditures for education/families & children/active labour market policies in 2007 (Eurostat)

A regime typology should not be misunderstood as descriptive. It clusters different groups of national transition systems that are similar in their 'Gestalt' of constructing youth and youth transitions (Kaufmann 2003). This implies that structural and institutional details may diverge considerably within one regime type while contributing to a similar rationale in regulating youth transitions. For the time being, four regime types have been modelled (cf. Walther et al. 2009):

- The *liberal* transition regime in the Anglo-Saxon countries is best characterised by the notion of individual responsibility in which young people without work face major pressure to enter the workforce. Youth is regarded as a transitory life phase that should be turned into economic independence as soon as possible. The labour market is structured by a high degree of flexibility, and while this provides multiple entry options it also implies a high level of insecurity. Although female employment is high, it tends to be of part-time nature and in low-skilled or unskilled service occupations. In the context of highly individualising policies young people face considerable risks of social exclusion.
- The *universalistic* transition regime of the Nordic countries is based on comprehensive education systems in which general and vocational education is largely integrated and reflects the individualisation of life courses. Youth is first of all associated with individual personal development providing young people a status of 'citizens in education'. This is reflected by an education allowance for all who are over 18 and still in the education system, which contributes to a partial independence from their families. Also, in labour market oriented activation policies, individual choice is rather broad to secure individual motivation. Gendered career opportunities are highly balanced due to the integration of general and vocational education, the broad relevance of the public employment sector and the availability of childcare.
- In the Mediterranean countries transition regimes are *sub-protective* in a double sense. Due to a lack of reliable training pathways into the labour market, transitions often involve a waiting phase until the mid-thirties, with unequal outcomes. As they are not entitled to any kind of social benefits, young men and women depend to a large extent on their families who are referred to as 'social amortisator' for the socio-political vacuum. Long family dependency indicates that youth do not have a formal status and place in society – with consequences ranging from the positive pole of a lot of freedom for young people living with their parents to the quite negative pole of "forced harmony" (López Blasco et al., 2004). Higher education is one option providing a recognised status while informal work helps to gain limited economic independence. Young women's career opportunities are clearly restricted and they anticipate responsibility for later family obligations.
- The *employment-centred regime* of continental countries is characterised by a

differentiated (and partly even highly selective) school system connected to a rigidly standardised and gendered system of vocational training. Different tracks separate pupils from age ten or twelve according to performance. The dominant expectation towards youth is to socialise for a set occupational and social position through training. This is reflected through the provision of a two-tiered division of social security, favouring those who have already been in regular training or employment, while others are entitled to social assistance, which is generally stigmatised. This also accounts for those who fail to enter regular vocational training. They are referred to as 'disadvantaged' from a deficit-oriented perspective and are consequently channelled into pre-vocational measures, governed by the objective 'first of all, they need to learn to know what work means', in other terms: adaptation, reduction of aspiration, holding out.

It is obvious that this picture is limited inasmuch as it represents the so-called Western world. In the framework of a European project it may appear as a shortcoming that Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries are not represented. In fact, in some of the previous projects 'transformation states' have been involved and analysed according to the dimensions of the model. However, the pace of transformation and the diverse mixtures between an apparently uniform past and increasing heterogeneity do not allow for quick solutions such as subsuming CEE countries under the existing model or creating one post-socialist regime type.

- The *post-socialist* countries at first sight appear rather close to the sub-protective welfare states with public structures being experienced as totally unreliable. Yet, differentiation is needed in a double sense: first, an increasingly sub-protective presence is still related to the (socialist) past in which life courses were structured in a mixture of a universalist guarantee of social positions and an employment-centred logic (as these social positions were tied to employment, to which everyone was entitled and respectively obliged). Female employment was high and secured by availability of childcare. According to Pascal and Manning (2000) the significant decline in this regard makes women to the losers of transformation, at least as some countries are concerned, although high youth unemployment in some CEE countries does not differ significantly according to gender. A particularity is the situation of the Roma, especially in countries like Slovakia or Romania, who suffer from discrimination, social exclusion and poverty. According to Kovacheva (2001), one particular feature of youth transitions is that life conditions either leap from pre-modern constellations into post-modern fragmented ones, or, are a mixture of both.

The model does not replace further comparative analysis especially as differences *within* regime types are neglected and as it has to be constantly reassessed with regard to social

change. And it is a model developed for interpreting differences and similarities with regard to transitions from school to work, and *not* for comparative analysis of conditions of schooling and growing up in general. With regard to the interplay between socio-economic, institutional and cultural structures the transition regime approach organises contextual information regarding the scope of action of young people in different settings. In the GOETE project it serves two purposes: it provides a rationale of sampling countries in terms of different contexts and an interpretative framework for findings of comparative analysis. Between these two stages, the model does not interfere with the process of data collection and analysis.

### 3. Summary

This chapter has dealt with the relation between education and the life course and how this is connected to the process of social integration, which implies three dimensions:

- the function of education as structuring society by institutionalising individual life courses;
- the effects of education in individuals' later life courses and biographies;
- the life course structure and biographical meaning of educational trajectories.

These dimensions are interwoven. In this chapter we have focussed on the regulation of children's and young people's trajectories through different levels of education and their transitions to the labour market, which means that we have started the analysis from the third dimension. As regards the organisation of schooling we have focussed on the duration of compulsory education. While the end of compulsory education is more or less the same in each country (at age 16), there is some variation regarding school entry and the relation of primary school to pre-primary school. This means that in countries like the Netherlands and the UK compulsory schooling is longer than in other countries. In some countries there are visible trends to increase the enrolment into pre-primary education, while at present differences in provision result in large variations in participation in order to prepare children for school and to compensate for different starting positions due to unequal social backgrounds. Most notable differences regard the transition from primary to lower secondary education. While in Finland and Slovenia there are no transitions at this stage because compulsory education includes both primary and lower secondary education, while in other countries pupils change from primary to secondary school in a comprehensive system. Although these countries do not apply institutional selection, there is an invisible process of selection and competitiveness between popular and unpopular schools. In Germany and the Netherlands, as well as Northern Ireland, lower secondary education is explicitly selective which means that after primary education pupils are directed to different tracks providing different (unequal) qualifications and entitlements for further education. In upper secondary

education, different educational courses are provided in all countries. It is possible to distinguish two main categories: the general education option which prepares the pupils for tertiary education and the option of vocational education and training, which prepares pupils both for working life and for further studies. However, there are marked differences in the organisation of vocational education and training between school-based, company-based and dual systems and the status of vocational qualifications, which in Germany for example does not provide access to tertiary education. Everywhere in Europe, the minimum requirement for securing access to tertiary education is an upper secondary education certificate or its equivalent. In most countries other admission procedures may be added to this, such as passing an entrance examination, submitting a personal record of achievement or attending an interview. Tuitions fees vary substantially from a country to another.

These dimensions show that young people's educational trajectories are structured differently across Europe with more or less transitions to be coped with, and with more or less permeability and status difference between different levels. The stage at which this affects later life courses is the transition from school to work. The distinction between occupational and organisational labour markets provides a way of comparing routes into employment. While the occupational model used to be a predictor for low youth unemployment, recent trends of flexibilisation and rationalisation towards knowledge-based and service economies have led to a more differentiated picture. It needs to be determined if the inclusiveness and permeability of education has become a much more important factor for social inclusion than the standardisation of VET systems. In this case, access into and within education would be much more influential for the contribution of education to social integration than its function of distributing school leavers to distinct occupational (and social) positions.

## **B. Access**

### **1. International research and theoretical concepts on inequality and education**

The concept of educational access is central for a life course perspective towards education in terms of educational trajectories and its potentials of social mobility. In the framework of the knowledge society it is most often associated with access to third level education or to lifelong learning, where it tends to be concerned with debates around widening access to particular groups, in particular in relation to gender, socio-economic status, and ethnicity. It is, on the one hand, closely related to the perspective of social inequalities and disadvantage reproduced by the education system. On the other hand, it also relates to participation and whilst participation as a concept implies an active or decisive role for social actors, access can be distinguished through its more restrictive nature, whereby only those individuals with certain ascribed characteristics are able to participate. Access is most closely associated with policies that are related to selection by ability. Referring to the interplay of structure and agency in the reproduction of inequality, the provision of access depends on the subjective accessibility of educational pathways on the side of pupils and their parents.

In broader terms, access and accessibility are issues concerning welfare policies as a whole, rising questions of equality of opportunities, coverage and flexibility (especially to cover multi-problematic cases and cases not belonging to “standard” mainstream welfare user categories). From this point of view, the issue of access is related to institutional responsiveness (capacity to read, meet, and answer potential clients' needs), effectiveness (capacity to achieve goal, taking up potential clients), and universality (limiting distortion due to implicit or explicit, intended or unintended discriminatory profiling of potential clients).

From a comparative perspective between different transition regimes in Europe, at the lower secondary level, an initial distinction can be made between the few countries which restrict access to academic tracks (gymnasium or grammar schools) and those that operate comprehensive systems. Recent evidence from IALS and PISA suggest that educational systems with the most comprehensive systems have the lowest level of educational inequality in terms of measured outcomes. Selective systems, by comparison display much wider inequalities in education and school level effects (Green et al 2006). However, within comprehensive systems the existence of varying forms of educational quasi-markets is also seen as contributors to educational inequality (Ball 1993). Access to private forms of education represents a further differentiation across European societies. Whether through

educational institutions outside of the state sector or through supplementing state education with private tutoring, whereby access is restricted to families with sufficient resources to avail of such opportunities. Although access to different educational institutions represents one key dimension, it can be defined much more broadly in terms of access to knowledge (Murphy & Hallinger 1989). Within many comprehensive systems academic ability grouping occurs within the same school, through a process of setting or tracking, which can lead to different levels of access to curricula and teaching.

Besides being addressed in terms of social justice, school failure and educational inequalities are increasingly discussed in terms of (private, social, and fiscal) costs of school failure (Psacharopoulos 2007; Wößmann 2005). The term 'underachievement' may thus refer to how the education system itself is faring (pointing to efficiency and efficacy aspects of school systems) and not only how well students are performing in school.

Lifelong learning policies imply multiple options and choice of access for individuals. Yet, in many education systems access is to a large extent not a matter of individual choice, but is regulated institutionally along more or less stratified paths (cf. section A 2.1). The level of *stratification* as well as the degree of *standardization* (in particular with regard to vocational training in upper secondary education; Allmendinger 1989) of the diverse education systems may well interfere with individual performance, thus triggering processes of differentiation and, consequently, re-producing inequalities in the educational trajectories of young people. Furthermore, education systems are prone bias according to social and ethnic origin biases, which, in the course of the educational biographies, determine educational outcomes in terms both of competencies and of qualifications, reproducing old and creating new and multifarious inequalities, both social and economic. Apart from leading to unequal status positions, individual learning achievements are increasingly related to inclusion or exclusion at each single transition step within the education system (cf. Castel 2000; Furlong & Cartmel 2006).

The category of *access* in GOETE hints therefore at the importance of addressing social inequalities in educational trajectories. The phenomenon of early school leaving in particular demonstrates how transitions entering into, during, and coming out of education are affected by unequal starting positions, learning conditions, and life perspectives according to one's class, gender, ethnicity, region and neighbourhood (EC 2008a; 2008c; cf. Walther & Pohl 2005; Jones 2008). Inequality has changed in forms of reproduction and consequences. Success or failure in education is increasingly ascribed to individual dispositions, decisions, and performance. On the other hand, formal education – i. e. the school as an institution – also plays an important part in re-producing inequality through its workings and the regulation of education paths. Research on educational inequality has much to gain from the

combination of both perspectives: a life course perspective and an institutional (or governance) perspective. Such an approach allows us to link insights from research focusing on individual/group characteristics (differences in social/cultural/economic capital; decision and behaviour, etc.) with findings from research on institutional/organizational arrangements with all the attending cognitive and normative expectations towards the pupils and their families.

The following section presents a variety of aspects and concepts addressed within international research on inequality and education, both from the fields of sociology of education and from educational research.

Research on educational disadvantage and inequality revolves internationally around similar themes and topics. The concept of 'meritocracy', the degree of differentiation and selectivity of the particular education system as well as the interaction of inscriptive criteria such as gender, class, and ethnic origin are recurrent themes in research on educational inequality. 'Meritocracy' refers to the norm of organizing educational institutions to reward and advance pupils according to demonstrated intelligence, ability, and talent while, at the same time ignoring individual/group socio-economic, gender or ethnic differences. The promotion of pupils according to their performance in evaluation and testing (school grades) without taking notice of the different individual/familial and social dispositions is an example of this norm. Research on educational inequalities criticizes this as being an illusion (Bourdieu & Passeron 1979; Radtke 2004; McNamee & Miller 2004) and points to divergent levels of cultural, social, and economic capital at the start of the educational careers of pupils found in empirical research. Education systems may also differ in their level of *differentiation and selectivity*; for instance there are comprehensive and selective systems. While the former does not select their students according to academic achievement or aptitude, the latter tracks its pupils to different types of institutions – not seldom creating an institutional hierarchy with differing social status. The degree to which a system is able to organizationally sort out pupils (tracking) and the level of selectivity of schools has a great impact on the reproduction of historical inequalities and in the production of new ones. Institutional/organizational arrangements may reinforce discrepancies in the level of competencies and/or the degrees attained. The interaction of *ascriptive criteria* in reproducing unequal educational outcomes refers to observed differences in academic achievement – i. e. the educational credentials and degrees attained as well as the actual skills and capabilities of pupils – that are determined or biased by socio-economic status, gender or ethnic/regional origin, etc. Here there has been a shift from in focus from girls to boys, in particular those of migrant background (Geißler 2008; Diefenbach 2010).

The categories examined in research on educational disadvantage and inequalities have concentrated on different aspects since the 1960s: social class, gender, region (including migrant status), and religion. Current research on educational inequality may be distinguished along two different perspectives: an *aetiological* and an *institutional* perspective.

The *aetiological perspective* places its focus on individual and/or collective characteristics as well as on the life conditions of the concerned groups. Studies informed by socialization-theoretical assumptions of deficitary or dispositional properties of individual/groups explain educational inequalities by referring to different language codes (Bernstein 1971); in a similar vein, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) offered with their concept of cultural capital an explanation for the reproduction of unequal life/educational chances based on social-spatial differences. Sociology of education has been especially concerned with the fact that education has proved to be a key factor in reproducing structures of social inequality (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). While until the 1970s this meant that working class children 'inherited' the working class jobs of their parents (cf. Willis 1977), more recently, low attainment implies risks of social exclusion (Castel 2000; cf. Vanttaja & Järvinen 2006; Field et al. 2007). Moreover, some studies refer to social class-based decisions taken by parents concerning investment in the education of their children as a crucial 'social mechanism' in explaining educational inequality (see Boudon 1974; Becker 2000b). This latter strand of research distinguishes between *primary effects* (e. g. the varying levels of resources (financial and other) parents have for supporting their children) and *secondary effects* (e. g. different educational aspirations of parents) (see Ditton 1989; Breen & Goldthorpe 1997; Stockè 2007; Becker & Hecken 2008; Grundmann u. a. 2008; Hillmert 2008). The effect of class and gender on educational attainment has been studied in a long-term perspective for seven European countries (for males: Breen et al. 2009; for females: Breen et al. 2010). The authors documented that "class-based educational inequality declined in all of the countries" investigated (Breen et al. 2010: 45f.). Currently, gender-based differences in educational attainment are also declining and, within some educational levels, on average females outperform males (Buchmann & DiPrete 2006; Breen et al. 2010).

The *institutional perspective* of educational inequality attempts to account for the unequal participation of particular groups of students within the education system by examining its organizational and operational aspects. Research conducted with a focus on institutional/organizational aspects addresses inequality as an effect of educational institutions. For instance, unequal treatment may arise from a bias in the interaction of the school with persons from a particular social class, cultural or language background. With reference to migrant children, Gomolla & Radtke (2009) found mechanisms of 'institutional discrimination' that came about through the internal 'logics and pragmatics' of the school as organization. The school, according to the authors, reproduces educational inequality by

utilising pre-ascribed individual/collective attributes of the pupils (the “collective feature of national culture/language”, *ibid.* p. 275) as its reasoning and explaining variable in how it makes sense of, and justifies, its particular institutional decisions over transitions/tracking. Research on the transition from primary to secondary schools in Germany showed that the degree of recommendation for a particular secondary school from a student’s primary school teacher had a significant effect on the parent’s decision of the actual transition of pupils (Gresch et al. 2010). Classroom composition can also influence a student’s transition from primary to secondary school; both the composition according to achievement levels (reference group effect) as well as socio-economic differences can exert influence on the transition to one of the secondary school tracks available over another (Trautwein & Baeriswyl 2007).

While research with a marked focus on the institutional perspective is rather sparse, research designs that combine both perspectives are becoming the norm. The topic of inequality in education has experienced a ‘revival’ during the past ten years or so – even if the current discussion is dominated by economic arguments. The linkage of both perspectives aforementioned is not the only result of this renewed interest and attention. Insight into the cumulative nature of educational inequality is increasingly being recognized, resulting in increased levels of research on early education and non-formal education, which highlights the importance of focusing upon educational trajectories.

### *1.1 Access and inequality*

Both modern production societies and late modern knowledge societies rely on the assumption that education is a factor of social integration leading to stable employment and contributing to a socially recognised status of adulthood. Late modern knowledge societies are characterised by the paradox that education has become an indispensable prerequisite of social inclusion while at the same time education and employment are being decoupled; specific educational pathways no longer lead predictably to specific careers. Labour markets are more flexible and as a consequence life courses have become de-standardised (Walther et al. 2002; cf. Beck 1992; Mayer 2005; Olkinuora et al. 2008). The earlier assumption that education guarantees social integration has been questioned since neither access to, nor the successful coping with education – that is neither qualification nor the relevance of skills and knowledge – can be taken for granted (cf. Young 1998; 2007).

Among the indicators of the changing relationship between education and employment, early school leaving, insufficient reading competences, and youth unemployment have received growing attention at European level because they imply risks for both social cohesion and economic competitiveness, especially since national and European policies during the last

decade have not succeeded in achieving the significant changes envisaged by the Lisbon Strategy (EC 2008a; 2008c; cf. GHK 2005; Walther & Pohl 2005; Kendall & Kinder 2005; Jones 2008). Public discourses refer to early school leaving, insufficient competences, and youth unemployment as consisting of interdependent factors. Yet comparative analysis reveals that high levels of early school leaving do not always coincide with low scores in PISA, or with high youth unemployment. We also find countries with low early school leaving, the low scores found in PISA, and high youth unemployment, and countries where a significant reduction of early school leaving has not been followed by a decline of youth unemployment (e.g. Poland). In the UK the development that young people with low educational aspirations prefer remaining in education than entering a contracted labour market has been referred to as “discouraged workers” effect (Biggart 2005). In Southern and Eastern Europe particularly, unemployment affects school leavers with ISCED 3-level qualifications almost as much as early school leavers. This means that from a comparative perspective the relationships between qualifications, competences, and employment are more ambiguous than has been assumed, so require a more differentiated understanding (see also section A 2.2; cf. Wolf 2002; Walther & Pohl 2005; Resnik 2005; Vanttaja & Järvinen 2006; Pohl & Kovacheva 2007; Jones 2008; Julkunen 2009a).

If one looks at general factors, income inequality and poverty are higher in countries with higher early school leaving, though this neither holds for PISA results nor for youth unemployment to the same extent. Youth unemployment in contrast needs to be analysed with regard to economic dynamics regarding conjunctures, labour market regulation and deregulation, the mismatch between skills and qualifications of job seekers and the demands of employers, and the coverage and effectiveness of active labour market policies (Järvinen 1998; Nicaise 2000; Hammer 2003; Walther & Pohl 2005; EC 2008c; OECD 2008a).

Furthermore, disadvantage in education and transitions to work are often associated with ethnicity and migration. However, there is limited data available for educational and labour market disadvantages faced by migrant and ethnic minority youth. This means that causal directions between educational disadvantage, parental education, language deficits, precarious living conditions, and the anticipation of lacking career opportunities remain unclear. In his report for the European Commission, Heckmann (2008) refers to both the ethnicisation of social disadvantage as well as to discrimination through a lack of appropriate support for migrant children and youth. In fact the PISA studies suggest that migrant and ethnic minority youth disadvantage needs to be primarily addressed due to the failure of European schools in dealing with diversity – not only with regard to ethnic origin but also with regard to gender and individual learning styles and speeds (Karsten 2006; Dupriez et al. 2008; Gewirtz & Cribb 2008; Mørch et al. 2008; Jones 2008; OECD 2008b; Stein et al. 2008).

Gendered boundaries between advantage and disadvantage also tend to be blurred. While in most countries females on average tend to outperform males in school, they experience disadvantages in entering the labour market (except for the UK and Northern Europe). In Continental and Southern Europe young women's educational achievement is undermined by labour market segmentation and/or a lack of child care facilities (Biggart 2002; Malmberg-Heimonen & Julkunen 2002; Smyth 2004; Walther & Pohl 2005). At the same time, poorly qualified young men have increasingly come under the scrutiny of inequality research, educational policy, and activation and law-and-order policies (cf. Davies 2008; Murphy & Ivinson 2008; Jones 2008; Hodgson 2008).

Early school leaving points to the fact that social inequality is also reproduced through pupils' individual decisions and their subjective motivation to either continue or drop out of education (Walther et al. 2006; Stauber 2007; Heckhausen & Heckhausen 2008). Structure and agency are closely interrelated in children's and young people's educational trajectories (Gecas 2003; Furlong et al. 2003; Henderson et al. 2007; cf. Giddens 1984). This not only applies to educational disadvantage but also holds for the majority of young people who succeed in accumulating cultural capital (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron 1977) and for 'trendsetters' who combine family resources with formal and informal learning in the individualised shaping of their life course trajectories (du Bois-Reymond 2004; Diepstraten et al. 2006; Pohl et al. 2006; Brooks & Everett 2008). Inasmuch as motivation evolves from experiences derived from individual agency in the social context, the extent that structures of social inequality impact upon life chances and processes of motivation needs more in-depth examination (cf. Walther 2009). Furlong and Cartmel (2007) argue that although there are now greater opportunities for advanced education and training for all young people, routes to the labour market have become more complex and are increasingly accompanied by a subjective perception of risk and uncertainty, meaning life chances remain highly structured.

In order to explain cross-national differences in early school leaving and attainment and in particular the different impact of social and ethnic origin on reading competences (OECD 2008a), it is necessary to take institutional differences into account (see section A 2.1). This accounts for the difference between 'effective' and 'failing' schools within the same national context, as well as for differences between different education systems regarding differentiation and selectivity, or school leaving age (cf. Allmendinger & Leibfried 2003; Walther & Pohl 2005; Field et al. 2007). Power's (2007) review of EU-funded educational research concluded that education policies often underestimate the complexity of inequalities in education and transitions to work by prioritising economic over social criteria. The effects of intersecting inequalities in particular (cf. Crenshaw 1991; Phoenix 2006; Davis 2008) require a shift from one-dimensional benchmarking approaches counting 'more' or additional

education (often deficit-oriented) towards approaches of managing a range of diversities within mainstream education; diversity of strengths and weaknesses; of learning rhythms and speeds; of available support; and of individual learning biographies across formal, non-formal and informal learning contexts. There is, however, little comparative evidence of how children and young people manage and cope within school and their learning, or of the effectiveness of their support measures. It is here that GOETE research sets out to contribute to a better understanding of these complex issues of access and inequality.

An important development towards broader access lies in the trend towards 'inclusive education' promoted also by the UNESCO. This discourse and trend however, is restrictive focusing on the inclusion of special needs education in contrast to segregating children for physical or learning problems in special schools. It does not (yet) address differentiation of students according to high and low achievement.

## *1.2 Socio-Economic and institutional inequality and education in GOETE countries*

The young people across Europe today is characterised by two main changes and processes in contemporary society. Firstly, extended youth and education, which can be the cause of protracted economic and social dependence upon parents and family. Secondly, wider societal changes have occurred along with changes in political and economic regime, including globalization, individualization, and new risks, all of which can have great influence over the structuring of an individual's life-course. These processes affect young people the most since they are undertaking the transition process into adulthood. They are therefore on the one side the carriers of all important decisions among a variety of choices and risks, while on the other, they are not yet economically or socially independent.

The social position of young people will be presented here in more detail from the following aspects: socio-demographic characteristics; household and family structure; economic position of young people; those at risk of poverty and education and social exclusion.

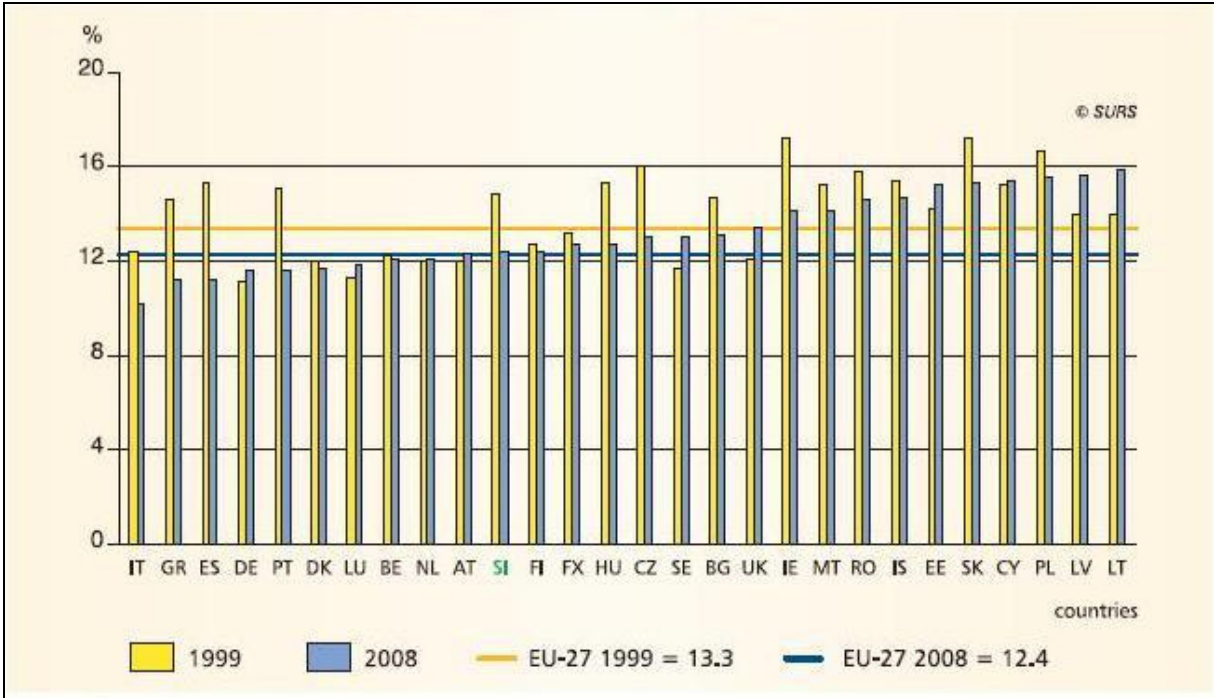
### *Socio-demographic characteristics*

At the end of April 2009, the European Commission in a strategy suggested the amendment of youth policy for the coming decade entitled 'Youth – Investing and Empowering'. In this strategy, the Commission acknowledges the fact that young people are one of the most vulnerable groups in society, especially in the current economic and financial crisis. But at the same time, however, young people are a precious resource in our ageing society despite the fact that the number of young people in Europe is decreasing.

Since 1997, the percentage of young people has decreased in the majority (18) of the EU-27 Member States (by 1.2 percentage points in the EU-27), the most in Spain (by 4.8 percentage points) and in Portugal (by 4.1 percentage points). In Finland, the percentage of young people in this period has not changed, whilst in nine EU-27 Member States their percentage has actually increased, mostly in Latvia (by 2.1 percentage points) and Lithuania (by 1.9 percentage points).

In the EU-27, every eighth resident is young, i.e. 15–24years old. Among EU-27 Member States the percentage of young people was the lowest in Spain (11.2%) and Italy (10.2%) where only every tenth resident was a young person; the highest percentages were recorded in Lithuania (15.9%), Latvia (15.6%) and Poland (15.5%).

**Graph 8: Shares of Young People (15–24 years), EU-27 Member States, 1999 and 2008**



Source: Eurostat in SURS, 2010

The population ‘situation’ is a result of different factors, such as fertility, life expectancy at birth and migration flows. The current levels of the latter in EU Member States show that by 2050 we will witness large demographic changes. These will result in a large decrease in the share of young people and in the ageing of the population in Europe: between 2004 and 2050 the average age should increase from 39 to 49.

*Household and family structure*

Although the fertility of the post-war generation in Europe has been gradually decreasing since 1965, the total fertility rate has remained relatively stable in the past number of years.

The average of 1.5 children per woman in childbearing age. Since the percentage of live-born children born outside marriage is steadily increasing, we can conclude that such a way of cohabitation is becoming very popular among young people. In the EU-27 Member States this phenomenon has been increasing in the recent years in almost all countries and in some countries, especially Northern European countries, this represents the majority of live-born children. In some Mediterranean countries, for example Greece, Cyprus, Italy, Malta, Spain and Portugal, and also in Slovakia and Romania, this percentage is lower, under 30 percent. The high number of live-born children born outside marriage also shows that for young people in EU marriage is no longer the prevailing form of partnership. The development of birth rates as well as the number of marriages and divorces reflects the attitude of society toward family and children. Declining birth rates and decreasing marriages have influence on the number of members of an average household. The age of first marriage and the divorce rate has also been in rise.

Young people are prolonging their living in original families. The transition from parental homes to creating own family is postponed. The reasons for the extended time young people live at home include difficulties in attaining economic independence; unemployment; shortage of housing; and delayed completion of education, and so forth. Ule & Kuhar (2008) show how postponing of adulthood is displaying itself: prolonged living in parental homes; decreasing social meaning and status of a wedding and formalised form of marriage union; increasing 'half-family life' – that is, when partners do not live in a common household, but with their original families. Parenthood is very important to young people, they feel it as a significant and responsible life duty and they plan it carefully.

### *Economic position of young people*

The economic positioning of young people is firstly heavily determined by the economic position of their parents or family. Young people who come from economically weak families are sometimes forced to leave education and enter the labour market at a very early age and therefore face the bigger risk of poverty.

**Table 12: Children aged 0-17 living in jobless households, 1997-2006**

<b>GEO/TIME</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>Finland</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5,7	5,7	6,6	4,9
<b>France</b>	10,1	9,8	9,9	9,4	9,2	9,6	9,4	9,5	9,5	9,5
<b>Germany</b>	10,2	10,0	9,5	9,0	8,9	9,3	10,3	10,9	10,7	10,3
<b>Italy</b>	8,5	8,2	8,3	7,6	7,0	7,2	7,0	5,7	5,6	5,4
<b>Poland</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	12,8
<b>Slovenia</b>	3,2	3,5	4,1	4,0	3,8	3,8	4,0	3,8	2,7	3,6
<b>The Netherlands</b>	7,5	7,5	6,9	8,0	6,0	6,0	7,0	7,0	7,0	6,2
<b>UK</b>	18,9	18,9	18,4	17,0	16,9	17,4	17,0	16,8	16,5	16,2
<b>EU-27</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	9,6	10,0	9,9	10,0	9,7	9,7

Source: Eurostat; Extracted on: 23-04-2010

Among GOETE countries, UK has the highest share of children aged 0-17 years living in a jobless households in 2006, 16.2 per cent, followed by Poland, 12.8 per cent and Germany, 10.3 per cent. However, Slovenia has the lowest share of children living in jobless households, 3.6 per cent, followed by Finland, 4.9 per cent and Italy, 5.4 per cent. The average for EU-27 in 2006 is 9.7 per cent. Differences between GOETE countries are noticeable and we can presume that the conditions for the schooling of young people are more unequal and poorer in countries with there are higher shares of children living in jobless households.

Also, the social-economic security of young people is dependent upon the positioning of young people in the labour market. In the majority of EU countries, unemployment rates of young people are approximately double the rate of total unemployment (see section A 2.2). Against the background of the current global financial crisis, it is worth noting that in times of economic recession it tends to be new job entrants, i.e. young people, who get hit disproportionately hard.

The transition from education to the labour market, which can be seen as a turning point in the life of an individual, is changing across all European countries, as more and more young people continue education at tertiary level. The age of young people in this transitional period is increasing and the duration of this transition is becoming longer and more uncertain. The traditional form of permanent employment is often replaced by new forms, i.e. 'less secure forms of employment' which are often only short-term. The transition from the labour market to educational programmes and the return to the labour market are typical modern trends on

the labour market. This is especially true for people seeking their first employment, which tends to be typically young people.

Trends in the labour market are closely linked with those in the market of capital and market of goods and services. The relationship of employment trends with economic cycles, flows and fluctuations in employment are particularly distinctive for young people, since economic recession first affects those who are just entering the employment system. These are mainly young people who have just finished education and those employed on a fixed-term contract. This is particularly true when the dismissal of permanent staff falls under rigid employment law and is a lengthy process.

The response of employment and social policies of the EU countries to the changing situation in the labour markets and in economic and social systems is derived from the principle of providing social security and inclusion of all citizens. However the requirement of individuals to take responsibility for their own employment, material and social security is also increasing. This is well reflected in the principle of activation of unemployed and inactive persons. The principle of activation is bringing a new definition to the relationship between rights and responsibilities of individuals, because entitlement to social assistance and compensation is no longer self-evident, but depends on the duties and obligations of the individual - particularly one of his/her basic duties is to actively seek employment. Vocational or career guidance and learning skills for employment searching (search for vacancies, representing potential employers, etc.) have an important place in the activation oriented employment policies and programmes.

In countries where education is more generally oriented, such as Slovenia, and where employers do not have any influence over the content of educational programmes and are not directly involved in the provision of various types of training during the education, the importance of recruitment experience is overemphasized. Lack of experience is usually interpreted as a major competitive disadvantage for young workers. The levels of importance that employers ascribe to work experience is different across European countries, and mostly depends on the composition of the national education, and training system and the systemic links between education and work.

## 2. Patterns of Participation in Education

In the following we will present data regarding the participation of children and young people in education across the eight countries involved in the GOETE project. This includes distribution across school types, the qualifications achieved, as well as selected social factors involved in this.

## 2.1 The level of education across generations

Table 13 presents a brief overview of education levels according to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED-UOE 1997).

**Table 13: International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED– UOE, 1997 edition)**

<b>ISCED 0: Pre-primary education</b>	Pre-primary education is defined as the initial stage of organised instruction. It is school or centre-based and is designed for children aged at least 3 years.
<b>ISCED 1: Primary education</b>	This level begins between 5 and 7 years of age, is compulsory in all countries and generally lasts from four to six years.
<b>ISCED 2: Lower secondary education</b>	It continues the basic programmes of the primary level, although teaching is typically more subject-focused. Usually, the end of this level coincides with the end of compulsory education.
<b>ISCED 3: Upper secondary education</b>	This level generally begins at the end of compulsory education. The entrance age is typically 15 or 16 years. Entrance qualifications (end of compulsory education) and other minimum entry requirements are usually needed. Instruction is often more subject-oriented than at ISCED level 2. The typical duration of ISCED level 3 varies from two to five years.
<b>ISCED 4: Post-secondary non-tertiary education</b>	These programmes straddle the boundary between upper secondary and tertiary education. They serve to broaden the knowledge of ISCED level 3 graduates. Typical examples are programmes designed to prepare pupils for studies at level 5 or programmes designed to prepare pupils for direct labour market entry.
<b>ISCED 5 &amp; 6</b>	Tertiary education

Monitoring of students' attendance in education across Europe according to this classification shows that participation rates in education as well as attained levels of education are increasing.

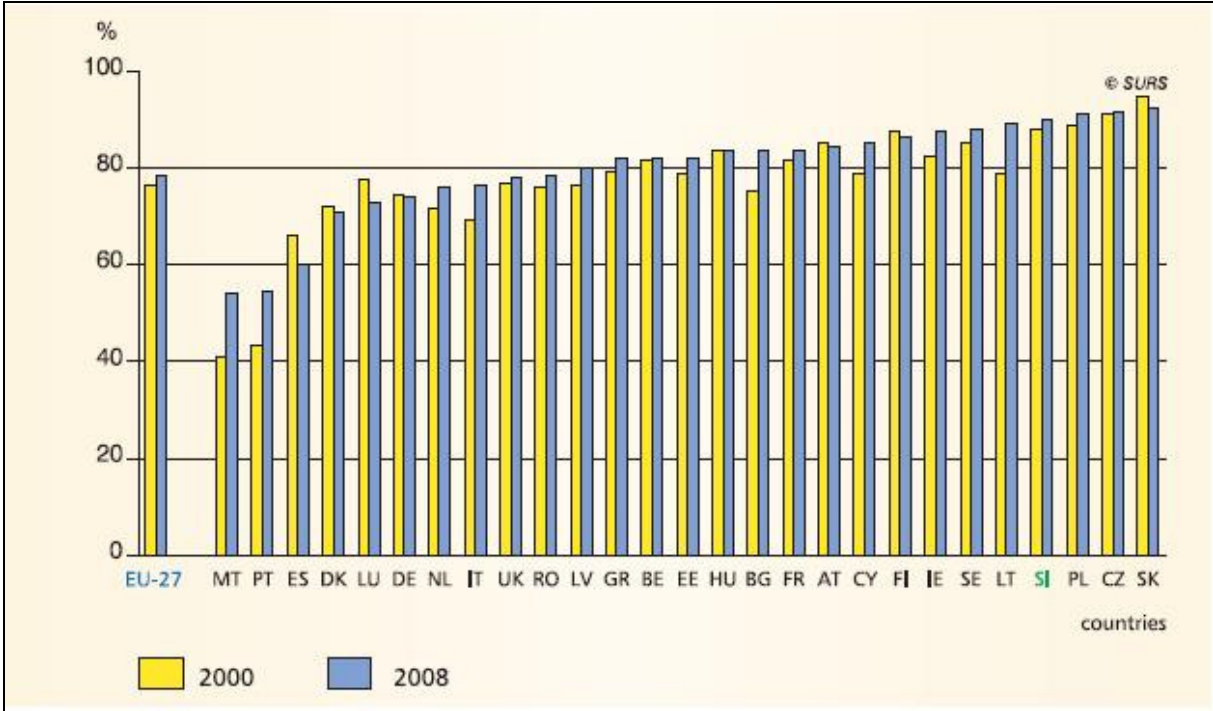
**Table 14: Participation Rates in Education for 18-years olds, ISCED 1-6, 1998-2007**

<b>GEO/TIME</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>
<b>Finland</b>	84.5	85.3	87.3	88.5	89.3	91.9	93.3	93.6	94.0	93.8
<b>France</b>	82.6	81.6	81.3	80.1	79.9	79.7	79.6	77.5	77.2	76.6
<b>Germany</b>	85.7	85.1	85.8	82.6	85.7	86.9	85.5	85.5	85.6	84.8
<b>Italy</b>	68.3	69.7	67.1	69.6	73.2	75.9	75.1	76.3	79.4	78.1
<b>Poland</b>	73.0	74.4	77.5	82.0	85.0	85.4	86.9	92.9	93.6	93.9
<b>Slovenia</b>	66.7	73.3	77.7	81.4	83.8	85.7	87.2	89.4	88.7	89.4
<b>The Netherlands</b>	78.6	79.9	78.4	77.3	76.8	76.2	78.3	78.9	81.9	82.3
<b>UK</b>	50.4	54.8	57.6	56.3	57.1	53.8	60.5	60.3	47.6	49.9
<b>EU-27</b>	67.9	69.3	71.2	72.8	74.3	74.9	76.5	77.8	77.2	76.5

Source: Eurostat; Extracted on: 23-04-2010

Participation rates of 18 year olds in 2007 are highest in Poland (93.9%), closely followed by Finland (93.8%) and Slovenia (89.4%). EU-27 average for 2007 is 76.5 per cent. UK has the lowest participation rate with 49.9 per cent and is well below EU average. In many countries a steady increase in participation rates of 18 year olds is noticeable (Finland, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, and Slovenia). This trend is reversed in France and in UK for 2006 and 2007, whilst participation rates in Germany remain relatively stable across time.

**Graph 9: Shares of Young People (20–24 Years) with at least Upper Secondary Education, EU-27 Member States, 2000 and 2008**



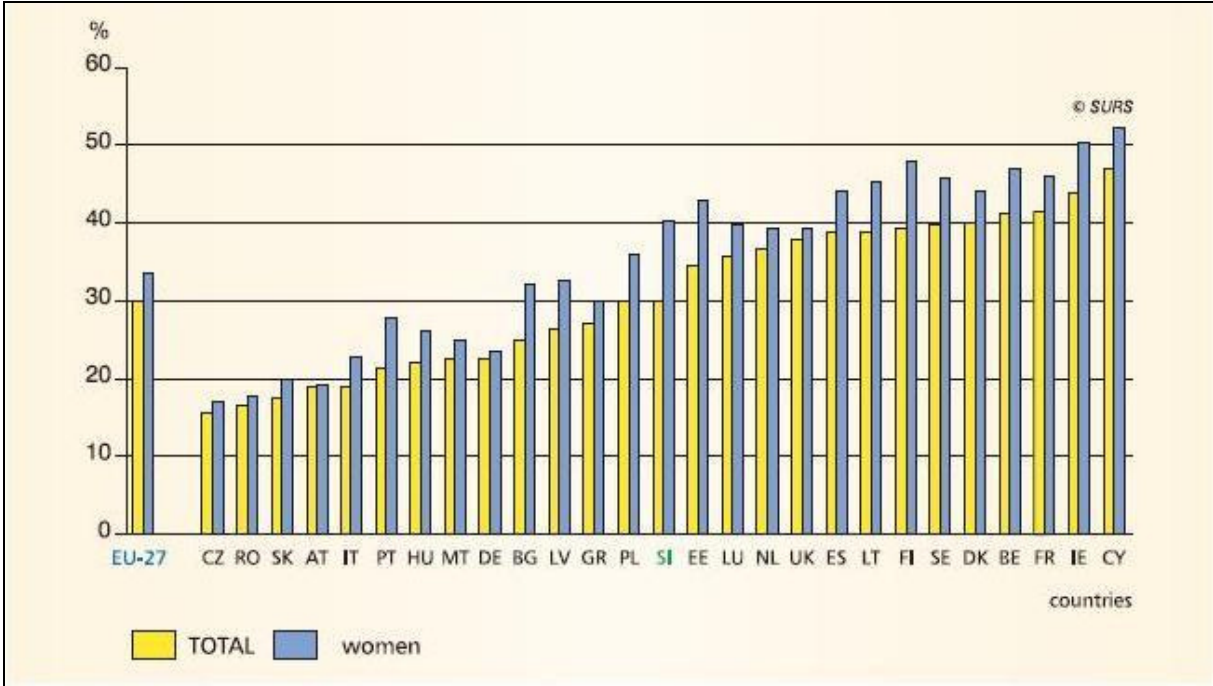
Source: Eurostat in SURS, 2010

Among GOETE countries, Poland and Slovenia have the highest proportion of young people with at least upper secondary education and in both countries, with the share increased during the period 2000 to 2008. The lowest proportions are in Germany, Netherlands, Italy and UK. From 2000 to 2008 this share decreased slightly only in Germany.

Furthermore, the number of European Union citizens with tertiary education is increasing within younger generations. In 2007, less than one third (30%) of the population in the age group 25-34 had tertiary education, whereas in older age groups this percentage was lower. In 2007, a quarter of the EU-27 population (25%) in the age group 35-44 finished at least tertiary education, whereas in the age group 45-64, 19% of the EU-27 population finished tertiary education. In 2007, the percentage of the population with tertiary education in the youngest age group (25–34) was the highest compared to the oldest age group (45–64) in all countries except in Germany. The highest percentage of people with tertiary education aged

25-34 was recorded in Cyprus (47%), Ireland (44%), France (42%), and Belgium (41%), followed by Denmark and Sweden (40% each); the lowest values of this indicator were observed in the Czech Republic (16%), Romania (17%), Slovakia (18%), followed by Italy and Austria (19%).

**Graph 10: Shares of Young People (25–34 Years) with Tertiary Education, EU-27 Member States, 2007**



Source: Eurostat in SURS, 2010

The percentage of tertiary education graduates (this education includes a wide range of study programmes that enable the acquirement of post-secondary, higher and university education as well as masters and specialist education and doctoral education) is increasing in the EU-27 from generation to generation, more for women than for men. In the oldest age group (45–64 years) the percentage of men exceeded the percentage of women (21% of men and 18% of women in that age group had tertiary education), in the group of graduates aged 35–44 the percentages were almost the same (24% of men and 25% of women); in the youngest age group (25–34 years) the percentage of women significantly exceeded the percentage of men (26% of men and 34% of women). The share of students studying abroad is also increasing. There is also a strong connection between the level of education of parents and their children: a high parental education level of parents contributes to a higher education level for their children.

Nowadays, the world and especially Europe promotes a society based on knowledge. In 2007, 80.8 per cent of women in the EU-27 aged between 20 and 24 finished at least upper secondary school, whereas 75.5 per cent of men of the same age finished at least upper

secondary school (in the EU-27). Gender comparison for student participation levels (aged 15-24) shows that females have higher participation level in 2007 in all countries; the exception is Germany, where there is a minimal difference between sexes. The average EU-27 participation rate for women and men is increasing over time.

### 2.1.1 Early school leaving

Education reduces the risk of unemployment and serves as a vehicle of upward social mobility. There is a general trend (demand) to participate in education also on tertiary levels, and number of enrolled students is increasing on yearly basis.

According to some estimates of the Eurobarometer survey for 2007, when 96 million young people aged between 15 and 29 lived in the European Union representing one fifth of the whole population, over 50 per cent of young Europeans aged between 25 and 29 finished upper secondary school, and 29 per cent finished tertiary education. However, one fifth of children had no possibility of achieving basic standards of literacy and numeracy; 6 million young people (i.e. 1 out of 7 young people aged 18-24 years) only finished basic education or not even that. Although in the time period between 2000 and 2007 the percentage of children that give up schooling early (after basic and upper secondary education) in Europe was constantly decreasing, it still reached 14.8 per cent. Because of their low level of education, those young people had fewer possibilities for appropriate employment; without employment they were especially vulnerable since they were literally “condemned” to certain types of ‘poverty’. 19 million children aged between 0 and 17 and 20 per cent of young people aged between 18 and 24 in the EU-27 lived at risk of poverty.

**Table 15: Percentage of the Population aged 25 to 34 having completed at most lower Secondary Education, by Countries, 1997-2008**

<b>GEO/TIME</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>
<b>Finland</b>	13.4	14.3	14.4	14.1	13.2	12.3	11.7	10.6	10.6	10.4	10.0	9.9
<b>France</b>	25.9	25.6	24.4	23.6	22.3	21.5	19.9	19.6	18.6	17.8	17.3	17.2
<b>Germany</b>	14.5	N/A	16.0	15.4	14.8	15.1	15.0	14.7	15.8	16.0	15.0	14.2
<b>Italy</b>	47.4	46.0	44.0	40.7	42.7	40.8	38.7	34.9	33.8	32.9	31.8	31.1
<b>Poland</b>	11.5	11.3	11.5	10.6	10.2	10.1	9.3	8.6	8.0	7.9	7.9	7.2
<b>Slovenia</b>	18.1	16.3	15.5	14.5	15.3	14.1	11.5	9.7	8.8	8.5	7.7	7.6
<b>The Netherlands</b>	27.0	25.8	25.6	24.8	23.3	22.5	21.4	19.8	18.7	18.5	17.4	17.6
<b>UK</b>	40.7	N/A	32.8	31.2	30.1	27.4	24.0	23.0	21.4	20.2	19.6	18.3
<b>EU-27</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	25.7	25.3	24.5	23.5	22.5	21.7	21.3	20.7	20.1

Source: Eurostat; Extracted on 23-04-2010

Poland (7.2%) and Slovenia (7.6%), followed by Finland (9.9%) have the lowest shares of population aged between 25-34 that have completed at most upper secondary education. EU-27 average is 20.1 per cent; Italy is well above this average with 31.1 per cent. Again, in most of the countries we can observe a slow decrease in the shares of less educated population aged between 25-34 years.

**Table 16: Early School-Leavers - Population Aged 18-24 with at most Lower Secondary Education and not in Further Education or Training in %, 1997-2008**

<b>GEO/TIME</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>
<b>Finland</b>	8.1	7.9	9.9	9.0	9.5	9.7	10.1	10.0	10.3	9.7	9.1	9.8
<b>France</b>	14.1	14.9	14.7	13.3	13.5	13.4	13.2	12.8	12.2	12.4	12.6	11.8
<b>Germany</b>	12.9	N/A	14.9	14.6	12.3	12.5	12.8	12.1	13.5	13.6	12.5	11.8
<b>Italy</b>	30.1	28.4	27.2	25.1	25.9	24.2	23.0	22.3	22.0	20.6	19.7	19.7
<b>Poland</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	7.4	7.2	6.0	5.6	5.3	5.4	5.0	5.0
<b>Slovenia</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	6.4	5.1	4.6	4.3	4.9	5.6	4.1	5.1
<b>The Netherlands</b>	16.0	15.5	16.2	15.4	15.1	15.3	14.3	14.1	13.5	12.6	11.7	11.4
<b>UK</b>	N/A	N/A	19.8	18.2	17.8	17.6	12.1	12.1	11.6	11.3	16.6	17.0
<b>EU-27</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	17.6	17.2	17.0	16.6	16.1	15.8	15.5	15.1	14.9

Source: Eurostat; Extracted on 23-04-2010

Poland (5.0%) and Slovenia (5.1%) have the lowest shares of population aged between 18-24 with only lower secondary education and who are no longer in further education or training. The average for EU-27 is much higher, 14.9 per cent. Italy (19.7%) and UK (17.0%) are above EU-27 average. However, in most of the countries as well as in EU average a gradual decrease of early school leavers across the years is evident.

Comparison on the basis of gender shows that in 2008 in all GOETE countries there were more male early school leavers than female. However, despite the fact that women are more educated than men across EU countries, this does not necessarily mean that more women have better employment opportunities.

**Table 17: Early school leavers according to gender, 1997 And 2008**

	1997		2008	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
<b>Finland</b>	7.0	9.1	7.7	12.1
<b>France</b>	13.0	15.3	9.8	13.8
<b>Germany</b>	13.5	12.3	11.2	12.4
<b>Italy</b>	27.3	33.1	16.7	22.6
<b>Poland</b>	N/A	N/A	3.9	6.1
<b>Slovenia</b>	N/A	N/A	2.6	7.2
<b>The Netherlands</b>	15.2	16.8	8.8	14.0
<b>UK</b>	N/A	N/A	15.6	18.3
<b>EU-27</b>	N/A	N/A	12.9	16.9

Source: Eurostat; Extracted on 23-04-2010

### 2.1.2 (Im)migration<sup>1</sup> and education

In April 2008 NESSE network has submitted a report to the European Commission titled “Education and migration strategies for integrating migrant children in European schools and societies”. Key findings of this report are (2008: 75-77):

- Migrant pupils are disadvantaged in terms of enrolment in type of school, duration of attending school, indicators of achievement, dropout rates, and types of school diploma attained. The degree to which migrant and ethnic minority student achievement is related to social origin depends much on national education system context. The educational attainment of migrant pupils is comparatively higher in countries with lower levels of economic inequality, high investments in childcare and a well-developed system of preschool education.
- The educational attainment of migrant pupils is better in comprehensive systems with late selection of pupils to different ability tracks and worse in systems of high selectivity.
- Integration into the culture of the immigration country is a major function of schools in immigration countries. Therefore, the relative absence or distorted presentation of migrants in the curriculum, in textbooks and on other school materials and in school life

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<sup>1</sup> Immigration and migration refer to the geographical movement of people into and within European countries. While terminology varies according to the countries there is the assumption that many of these pupils are among those considered as disadvantaged in education systems. This section mainly refers to migration/migrants which encompasses movements induced by labour or economic reasons and emergency situations as well as to specific ethnic minorities (e.g., Sinti and Roma) or from former colonies (such as particular groups in the Netherlands, the UK, and in France).

harms the self-image and self-esteem of minority group children and youth, negatively affecting their chances of school success.

- The single school matters. Quality of school research supports the hypothesis that schools of good general quality are also good for migrant children and their educational opportunities.
- Peers have a substantial influence on the achievement of migrant children. Concentration of migrant children in schools hinders their academic performance. Minority children exposed to classmates with better performance and higher educational aspirations tend to increase their own.
- There is an over-representation of migrant children in schools for children with special needs.
- Discrimination is a major factor affecting the achievement of migrant pupils. Research shows that withheld support is the most significant form of discrimination in the education of migrant children.
- Strengthening the support function of schools with large numbers of migrant pupils will need specific and additional financial resources.
- The teacher-pupil relationship is central in any school and system of education. Low teachers' expectations towards minority pupils generally have a negative influence on their performance.
- Teachers of a migrant and minority background have a positive influence on migrant achievement in schools.
- Parent involvement is positively associated with achievement of children in school. Immigrant parents generally do not seek contact with schools.
- Mentoring in different forms and by different actors can substantially improve school attainment.
- Weak family resources and activities for the socialization of children in migrant and low-income families can be somewhat compensated by different kinds of early childhood programmes. They support general development and learning the language of the immigration country. Many programmes have been scientifically evaluated and proven effective.
- Apart from compensatory policies and programmes diversity policies and 'soft' forms of affirmative action can contribute to raising educational opportunities of migrant children.

- Language issues are a core part of educational policies and integration processes in immigration societies.
- Foundations and other civil society actors have begun to create programmes for very talented and engaged migrant pupils. This will contribute to upward social mobility of migrants, create role models and help to change the image of migrants as primarily a problem group.

Referring to key measures on school integration of pupils of migrant background in Europe defined by the European Commission (Eurydice 2009b), two aspects are of particular importance: (a) improving communication between schools and the families of pupils and (b) teaching the heritage language of the immigrant children. To promote communication between schools and families three (policy) measures are emphasized: (1) Publication of written information on the school system in the language of origin of immigrant families; (2) the use of interpreters in various situations in the school life; and, (3) the appointment of resource persons, such as mediators, to be specifically responsible for liaising between pupils of migrant background, their families, and the school. Thus, as compared to most other European countries that use all of the measures, Germany installed two measures to promote communication between schools and families (1 and 2). Apart from that, new arriving migrants have to attend integration courses to secure their ability of supporting their children in school. At present, there is a controversial debate whether religious instruction – which in some Länder is a compulsory subject – needs to be extended to Islam (in addition to protestant, catholic and ethics without confessional binding).

### 2.1.3 Gender and education

It is characteristic of late modernity that reigning discourses and social forces, which surround and shape growing up and what it means to be gendered, allow multiple gender denoted patterns of growing up. Although there is no doubt that institutional conditions in individual countries, such as access to education, employment and economic independence, importantly influence the position of girls and young women; their realization, however, is in the range of a state and its policies. The position and social opportunities of girls reflect internal insufficiency of systems, where the educational system is most important. On the one hand, openness of schools for both genders gives girls opportunities to learn in various courses and offers them various working qualifications and an independent professional career. But on the other hand, the roles that are prescribed to them by culture, society, and the media particularly in the economic sphere, limit their perspectives (Ule 2010). Girls can exceed these limits but with great efforts and risks such as alienation.

Gender specific scenarios are preserved in such a way that they are transferred from open to covert forms of socialization and educational practices, which are reflected in gender specific educational trajectories and transitions, in particular the choice of subjects they can study. The problem is however that gender differences become visible and limiting for young women only in the transition from education to employment, when educational trajectories are already defined or concluded. Likewise, it would initially appear that girls have gained much more from the 'new neoliberal economy' than boys. It seems that they better exploit the opportunities to enter into higher education. They outperform boys at all levels of education.

**Table 18: Students (ISCED 1-6) by gender as % of Population aged 15-24, 1998 and 2007**

	1998		2007	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
<b>Finland</b>	67.5	60.4	74.0	67.9
<b>France</b>	63.3	60.3	60.5	56.7
<b>Germany</b>	61.6	61.7	65.4	65.5
<b>Italy</b>	49.2	43.6	59.8	53.0
<b>Poland</b>	59.5	55.9	72.2	68.4
<b>Slovenia</b>	57.8	49.7	76.5	64.1
<b>The Netherlands</b>	59.6	63.3	67.8	67.3
<b>UK</b>	49.7	47.4	49.9	44.9
<b>EU-27</b>	54.3	51.1	61.6	57.3

Source: Eurostat; Extracted on: 4.3.2010

Girls have begun to surpass boys in obtaining the graduation degree on secondary level of education. Regarding the sex disaggregated data the education is no more male privileged. But segregation according to sex and field of education is very persistent. The traditional stereotyped gender roles are solidified by the traditional believes and practices of schooling, study and job occupation. The persistent prejudice of sex differentiated talents and capabilities are reflected already at the secondary level of education and this could be indicative of many girls' life choices.

Regarding graduation rates, girls are generally more successful in accomplishing their secondary and post-secondary schooling of pre-vocational and vocational programmes. Surveying the last three years of statistically available data on graduating from upper secondary education (level 3: 15 to 19 years olds), it has emerged that boys had better score than girls in graduation ratio only in Bulgaria, Cyprus (with the exception of the year 2004 when girls did better in school), Romania and Slovakia. In Greece boys prevailed among

graduates only in the year 2005. In the post-secondary non-tertiary education (level 4: 15 to 19 years olds) the ratio is not as good for girls as for boys in Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Luxemburg, Netherlands and Slovakia. Bulgaria had more girls who graduated from institutions at that level in 2005 as well as Sweden and Slovenia. In these three countries the trend turned in favour of the girls. The opposite is true in Ireland and Luxemburg, when in the last year boys had the significantly higher score. But in general the education accomplishments of girls on these two levels are superior to that of boys.

**Table 19: Woman ratio: women per 100 men graduating from ISCED levels 5-6, 1998 and 2007**

	1998	2007
<b>Finland</b>	157.9	171.4
<b>France</b>	124.6	122.6
<b>Germany</b>	92.8	130.7
<b>Italy</b>	128.9	149.4
<b>Poland</b>	140.8	187.2
<b>Slovenia</b>	130.4	161.6
<b>The Netherlands</b>	108.9	129.8
<b>UK</b>	113.7	138.7
<b>EU-27</b>	121.7	N/A

Source: Eurostat; Extracted on: 7.3.2010

Table 19 above shows that in all GOETE countries in 2007 there were considerably more women tertiary graduates than men. The ratio of woman graduates is the highest in Poland (187.2), followed by Finland (171.4) and Slovenia (161.6). It is lowest in France (122.6) and even here there is almost a quarter, 22.6 more women graduates per 100 men. In all countries with the exception of France, the ratio grew considerably from 1998 to 2007. Because there are more women tertiary graduates in all countries and their ratio is increasing every year, it can be suggested that tertiary education in the aforementioned countries is becoming more and more feminised.

This overview of girls and boys education relation changes with the data disaggregated by field of education/training. In traditional male fields the boys prevail with some slight exceptions. In engineering, manufacturing and construction there is no exception, boys prevail by far in all countries. In agriculture and veterinary girls are over represented in Latvia, but there are only four countries with higher proportion of girls in this field: Czech Republic, Finland, Slovakia and Sweden. On the level 4 of education – vocational training in science, mathematics and computing the girls have better scores only in Bulgaria and

Denmark. In engineering, manufacturing and construction girls are underrepresented. In agriculture and veterinary they have better scores only in Estonia and are equal to boys in Lithuania.

The data of Eurostat shows that almost in all countries boys prevail in traditionally male areas of studies. Fields of studies that boys and girls 'choose' are not linked to talents or their abilities. As the PISA study (2006) illustrates, girls are better than boys in average for 8 points in scientific literacy. At the same time girls only represent a minor proportion of the population, (4.8%), who have finished education in the fields of mathematics, science and computer science. Also the European average is very low. There are only 11.8% of girls in science and mathematics, although their knowledge of science is better than boys in quite a few EU countries. A completely different picture from the gendered perspective shows a review of education in social sciences, economics and art academies. Here, in almost in all EU countries, girls prevail.

It is clear girls and women are not able to express their abilities and talents adequately in both their choice of study and profession. The gap between talent and choice is simply too big to be significantly attributed to some endogenous factors or random external factors. Evidence for unbalanced gender attribution or prescribing of roles is a fact that dominant choices of study precisely correspond to prevailing conceptions about "women suitable" education subjects and professions. There are also related prejudices about alleged directions and professions that are suitable for men, but not to the same extent.

Similar relationships were revealed in research examining the education of girls and women in Europe in 1994 prepared for UNESCO report on the education of girls in Europe (UNESCO 1994). This report has highlighted a hypothesis as to why there is such a large disparity in the representation of girls and boys in studying science, engineering and math on the one hand, and in humanities, social sciences and other studies on the other. Expectations of environment and other covert social expectations about traditional gender roles can affect education choices. These expectations limit the diversity of study and professional desires and possibilities that otherwise exist among the population of girls. Girls can choose a direction of study that is contrary to their will because they are not able to counteract stereotyped expectation of their parents, and society, about their future professional roles as well as to their own internalized gender stereotypes (UNESCO 1994, p. 15). In addition to expectations and demands about 'women' suitable areas of study and professions, there also exist similar problems for men. Such gender unbalanced 'guidance' can be further strengthened by hidden curriculums, which are reflected in stereotypical teaching contents, choices of cases, teaching methods and the general climate in the classrooms. These data point out to something more, namely, to a kind of pseudo interest of

society, educational institutions, counselling services, and parents for the education of girls. Scholars from the 70s have forewarned about this problem, namely that girls have more open access to high levels of education, but not to appropriate high levels of professions (i.e. managerial roles, fields of business and commerce, the public sector).

Remaining in education is therefore not necessarily an emancipator of young girls. It could even lead to regression and infantilization of young girls. These kinds of regressions are further promoted and strengthened by contemporary consumption and entertainment industry. Market and market appeals address girls with symbols and metaphors, which are renewing stereotypical conceptions about typical female roles and femininity, deepening and strengthening gender differences that operate to the detriment of women.

Employment statistics show similar trends. For many girls their prolonged education is more a reflection of lesser opportunities for them as women in the labour market than of more opportunities in the education. Moreover, after graduation many young people today make a transition to types of employment that are well below their educational level. It is significant that once again the most affected groups are the lower classes, ethnic minorities and women. Who gets employment suitable of their education level among those who are equally qualified, depends greatly upon family background, class position and gender: "University degree is a ticket, which allows entry to the path to success, but is certainly not a ticket for success" (Côté & Allahar 1994, p. 40). For those who cannot get even this ticket, these credentials are a cruel game. The reality is that many young people, particularly girls, have to face with this disillusion of their life plans.

While it is true that a percentage of employed women in the European community is growing steadily, more women than men are employed in unstable forms of employment; for short term period; in low paid and low status service (private sector) employments; in part time work; and what some economists call the 'other labour market'. In addition, women have less assured professional careers and are less likely to get the better-paid jobs. This is especially dangerous for girls in times of social crisis. When education becomes too much of a burden for families, aspirations for education of their female children are lowered first. When employment market is shrinking, women have more problems gaining, and retaining, employment.

We can conclude that 'new power' of girls is apparent and that new, more covert pressures over girls and young women are strengthening, while old, sexist forms of limiting and subjection are maintaining. Young women today are trapped in the situation, where formal barriers of equality are removed, but many subtler, covert barriers in the form of sexist attitudes and ideologies of gender roles persist. At the same time it seems that mere personal choice and individual ability determines the faith of individual women in these

conditions. Gender differences in educational trajectories, which we have highlighted in this text, show that these choices are not free from constraint, Today, a hidden educational curriculum operates affecting the educational transitions and choices of vocational directions for women, which are sharpened on the tertiary level of studies.

## *2.2 Distribution of students over different school types*

So as to understand the educational trajectories in the different countries, we can focus on the rate of participation in general and technical (professional and vocational) courses.

**Table 20: Rate of participation of students in upper secondary education (ISCED 3) 2008 in %**

	<b>General</b>	<b>Technical/Vocational</b>
<b>Finland</b>	32	68
<b>France</b>	56	44
<b>Germany</b>	43	57
<b>Italy</b>	40	60
<b>Poland</b>	54	46
<b>Slovenia</b>	35	65
<b>The Netherlands</b>	33	67
<b>UK</b>	69	31
<b>EU-27</b>	49.7	50.3

Source: Eurostat, 2008<sup>2</sup>

At European level there is a relative balance between pupils in vocational and general education, nevertheless high variations exist between individual countries. In the Netherlands, Slovenia and Finland vocational education pupils account for more than 60% of all pupils in upper secondary education, while less than a third in the UK (31%). In Germany, more and more pupils attend Gymnasium (general course) and vocational training has a decreasing number of pupils.

The crisis of vocational education in these countries is partly linked to educational system foundations. Most of vocational education was developed during a period of economic growth with a low unemployment rate and an important need of qualified worker. Nowadays, educational systems established in relation with structure of former work market are losing relevance while the service sector tends to recruit school leavers with higher general education qualifications.

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<sup>2</sup> Note: The Italian vocational rate of participation includes pre-professional course which only exists in Italy

### 2.3 Distribution of school leavers according to types of qualifications

Table 21 below shows the distribution of pupils over types of qualifications and rate of school leaving in the GOETE countries. For European countries with available data, participation rates decline at different rates at the end of compulsory education. Participation rates decline particularly slowly in Ireland, Poland, Slovenia, and Finland: in these countries, they still exceeded 85% in the second year after the end of compulsory education. In contrast, in Germany and the United Kingdom less than 50% of young people are still enrolled in education two years after the end of compulsory education (Eurydice 2008a).

In 2006, almost 19 million pupils were enrolled in tertiary education (ISCED 5-6) in the European Union, representing a little more than 17% of those enrolled in education (at ISCED levels 0-6). Over the recent period, this percentage has been increasing from 15.6% in 2002 to 17.4% in 2006 (Eurostat).

European average of early school leaving is 14.4 % of pupils. Italy (20%) and the United Kingdom (15.7%) have higher rates than Europe (at 27 countries), Germany, Finland and the Netherlands have a rate more important or equal to 10%. Poland and Slovenia encounter less early school leaving with a rate around 5%.

**Table 21: Distribution of students over level of qualification and rate of early school leaving in %**

	ISCED 0	ISCED 1	ISCED 2	ISCED 3	ISCED 4	ISCED 5 & 6	Totals ISCED 1-6) (in 1 000)	Early School leaving
<b>Finland</b>	10.5	25.6	14.5	25.7	1.6	22.1	1 251	9,9
<b>France</b>	17.3	27.9	21.8	18.1	0.3	14.6	12 264	12.3
<b>Germany</b>	14.6	19.6	30.4	17.7	3.5	13.6	14 065	11.1
<b>Italy</b>	14.8	25.7	15.7	25.5	0.2	18	9 510	19.2
<b>Poland</b>	9.6	26.3	16.3	20.7	3.1	24	8 168	5.3
<b>Slovenia</b>	10.4	22.9	15.5	24	0.5	26.7	388	5,3
<b>The Netherlands</b>	10.5	34	20.4	18.9	0.2	15.9	3 380	10.9
<b>UK</b>	8	32.4	17.8	24.6	0.2	16.9	12 670	15.7
<b>EU-27</b>	13.4	26.3	20.6	20.5	1.4	17.7	93 116	14.4

Source: Eurostat, 2008

### 3. Summary

Education substantively determines life and professional chances in modern societies. Successful formal educational trajectories therefore represent the crucial requirement for individual and societal wellbeing and welfare. Against this background the equitable participation of the different social groups in education constitutes a central issue for European knowledge societies. The category of *access* in GOETE points at the importance of addressing social inequalities in educational trajectories.

Research on educational disadvantage and inequality in GOETE countries revolves around similar themes and topics. For instance, the concept of 'meritocracy', the degree of differentiation and selectivity of the particular education system as well as the interaction of ascriptive criteria such as gender, class, and ethnic origin are recurrent themes in research on educational inequality. Two main perspectives may be distinguished in inequality research: an *aetiological* and an *institutional* perspective. Currently, research designs that combine both perspectives are becoming the norm. It also becomes clear that the topic of inequality in education has experienced a 'revival' during the past ten years or so – even if the current discussion is dominated by economic concerns. Also, insight into the cumulative nature of educational inequality is increasingly being recognised and recent research on early education and on non-formal education is highlighting the importance of focusing on educational trajectories.

Young people are among the most vulnerable groups in society. Their social position of young people was discussed along the different dimensions: (a) *socio-demographic characteristics*, where it becomes clear that the number and proportion of young people in Europe is decreasing. In terms of household and family structure (b), declining birth rates and decreasing marriages influence the average size of household while the age of first marriage and the divorce rate have been rising. At the same time, the transition from parental home and new household formation is delayed. The reasons for this are difficulties in attaining economic independence, unemployment, shortage of housing, delayed completion of education, etc. The economic position of young people (c) is first of all heavily determined by the economic position of their parents or family, but also by their own employment opportunities. Young people from economically weak families are sometimes forced to leave education and enter labour market at a very early age and also face bigger risks of poverty. Differences among GOETE countries are big and we can presume that conditions for schooling of young people are more unequal and worse in countries with higher shares of children living in jobless households. In most EU countries unemployment rates of young people are approximately twice as high as the rate of general unemployment.

The at-risk of poverty (d) rate after social transfers of children aged 18, among GOETE countries in 2008 was lowest in Slovenia and Finland, 12 per cent, followed by the Netherlands 13 per cent and the highest in Italy, and in the UK (25% and 23%, respectively). The at-risk-of- poverty rate is relatively stable over time in all the countries. We can presume that children who are at risk of poverty face more difficult situations in the course of education. While in the countries under analysis only in a few cases these young people may be forced to leave education for employment at an early age, poverty may result in a lack of support, self-confidence and motivation needed for protracted educational trajectories.

As what concerns the patterns of participation of young people in education, at the European level there is a relative balance between students in vocational and general education, nevertheless high variations exist between individual countries. In the Netherlands, Finland and Slovenia two-thirds of pupils can be found in vocational and technical education whereas in the United Kingdom, Poland and France between a third and half of pupils attend vocational and technical courses. Nowadays, educational systems established in relation to close linkages to the labour market are losing their relevance, with high rates of unemployment and job insecurity there may be a developing preference for general courses.

For European countries with available data, participation rates decline at different rates at the end of compulsory education. Participation rates decline particularly slowly in Ireland, Poland, Slovenia, and Finland: in these countries, they still exceeded 85 per cent in the second year after the end of compulsory education. In contrast, in Germany and the United Kingdom less than 50 per cent of young people are still enrolled in education two years after the end of compulsory education

The European average of early school leaving is 14.4 per cent of pupils. Italy (20 %) and the United Kingdom (15.7 %) have higher rates than Europe (EU-27), Germany, Finland and the Netherlands have a rate of more or equal to 10 per cent. Poland and Slovenia encounter less early school leaving with a rate around 5 per cent.

In order to sum up, the life situation of children and young people is today accompanied by increasing social and cultural uncertainty, particularly in terms of the future. The transition from education to the labour market, which is a turning point in the life of an individual, is changing in all European countries, since more and more young people continue education at tertiary level. The duration of this transition is becoming longer and more uncertain and young people remain dependent on their families for a longer time. The main aspects of the process of growing up which are causing socio-economic and institutional inequality of young people are: increasing moves away from traditionally paid work and employment as a central sphere of values of an individual to a world of consumption, free time and fun; changed gender roles, pluralism of family forms; increasing equalisation process of different kind of

family unions; new styles in consumption and in mass culture, which is transferred by the mass media, increasing meaning of personal experience, values, ideals (quality of life, self-realization, high valuing of personal experiences).

The risk associated with the transition to adulthood compels young people to search for flexible strategies that are able to lead them to their somewhat uncertain goals through the maze of the education system, work, entertainment, family, and peer relations. Education is increasingly assuming the character of a genuine work process. On the other hand, it is increasingly dependent on the assistance and support of close social networks, especially parental support and protection which perpetuates old and generates new social divisions depending on parental support – not only between classes but also within classes.

Young people have found themselves suspended between instrumentally oriented life areas, on the one hand, and expressive areas, on the other. The former include school, work and the markets of knowledge, jobs and commodities, the latter include privacy and leisure time. Owing to the tendency to carry on schooling far into the 'traditional' period of adulthood, the socially critical and new effects of extended educational processes do not manifest themselves only during youth, but are prolonged across all stages of life – young people are no longer a privileged group with innovative or socially critical potentials. Young people are not a pressure group exerting pressure on adult society. The protests of young people once again elicit paternalistic response of contemporary society, which ignores or neutralizes them in some way or another. These factors force young people to rely on their own resourcefulness and 'personal projects' when having to make far-reaching decisions. The former decisive role of peer groups and youth cultures in the process of growing up and in the shaping of identity has been diminishing. Their place is now occupied by a new phenomenon of inter-generational fusion and solidarity (Ule 2002).

Young people respond differently to these changes in line with their possibilities and local opportunity structures. While those who do not have economic or socio-cultural capital risk ending up as early school leavers – although this is not fully predetermined by their social background – it rather contextualises their subjective motivation and decisions-making processes in a different way from those from middle class families. Most young people work their way by coping with varying degrees of severity of these problems (prolonged economic dependence combined with ever-earlier psycho-social independence and the fragmentation of referential frameworks that could enable them to assess their own experiences against the backdrop of the wider context). Consequently, young people see the social world as incomprehensible, unpredictable and full of risks. The new feature is that they perceive these risks as individual crises rather than the effects of processes outside the reach of their influence. The loss of one's job therefore appears as individual failure, failure at school as

the lack of effort or skills, and youthful deviations as the lack of firm family upbringing or values. From this perspective, the experiences, motivations, orientations, decisions and strategies of young people towards education need to be seen as one factor in re-producing access – and subjective accessibility – into education and thereby social integration. Rather than being a fixed property of education systems access needs to be seen – and analysed – as being constantly processed. Insights into the subjective and institutional arrangements/arrangements influencing access are needed, as are insights into how teachers and other school personnel are trained to handle issues of inequality, into their knowledge of inequality and of educational disadvantage.

## C. Coping and Support

Another aspect of the social dimension of education apart from the regulation of access is the perspective on education as embedded in social relationships and evolving in terms of an interactive process. In this regard, a crucial question is how children and young people manage to deal with the different demands of the education system and how they mobilise support. This includes further examining the social and living conditions of children and young people in order to take the other demands into considerations they are confronted with as well as the risks and resources connected to this. Finally, an attempt is being made in mapping different provisions of school-related support in the GOETE countries. It needs to be said that the available information in this regard is scarce and therefore only an indicative overview can be given.

### 1. International research and theoretical concepts on the relation between education, coping, and support

Mechanisms and measures aimed at reducing the negative effects of social reproduction do not influence young people's educational decisions and achievements directly but are mediated through social interaction and individuals' subjective interpretation (cf. Giddens 1984). Success or failure in education can be interpreted in terms of coping with educational demands. Traditionally developed in the psychology of stress and critical life events (see Lazarus & Folkman 1984; Zeidner & Endler 1996), the concept of coping has been applied to coping with everyday life and to biographical coping under conditions of uncertainty in de-standardised life courses (Böhnisch 2005; Walther et al. 2006). The concept of coping refers to both subjective relevance and available resources in dealing with concrete social situations such as problematic education or uncertain biographical transitions. Combining learning and education with coping, as we do in GOETE, reflects the increasing educational demands arising from technological change, alongside the inflation of educational credentials arising from extended participation in education. Furthermore, the growing market for private schools, homework classes etc., suggests that pupils need more support in meeting school demands than they get in formal education (Biggart 2005a; Biggart & Kovacheva 2006). The coping perspective refers to pupils' and pupils' experiences of alienation and demotivation with regard to formal teaching, rather than empowering their subjective needs and identities (du Bois-Reymond 2004; Walther et al. 2006; Hodgson 2008). Indeed, it reveals that for pupils school is about far more than education. It is about managing their belonging to peer cultures as well as dealing with pressure and competition, bullying and many other elements of school life. The dominant school culture often neglects the youth cultures for which the

school is a key meeting point and arena where youthful life and values are acted out (Willis 1977; Dekleva 1999; Bottrell 2007; Helve & Bynner 2007; Hodgson 2008; Foljanty-Jost et al. 2008). Biographically, education needs to be reconciled with other areas of everyday life like family obligations, basic and life style related financial needs, expectations of peers, personal friendships, love relations and so on, which at times may be experienced as being as or even *more* important than education (Walther 2009). Only limited comparative information is available on how pupils perceive educational demands, on the support they mobilise and what support they find useful in this regard.

Coping in school is gendered and ethnicised. Both school assessment research and findings from qualitative research on subjective strategies in difficult transitions to work suggest that young women are more reflexive in balancing their motivation and identities than young men (Stauber 2007; Hodgson 2008). School failure ascribed to ethnic origin or peer pressure associated with ethnic discrimination implies a need for coping strategies among migrant and ethnic minority youth in terms of accepting, rejecting or managing stigma offensively (Mørch et al. 2008).

Learning and education need to be understood as social practices, which are embedded within social life worlds, informal networks, everyday life and youth cultures. It is in these contexts that the meaning of education is negotiated and experienced which – as Sally Power documents in her review of EU educational research – is often neglected by educational measures and policy reforms (Power 2007, p.6). In fact, social reproduction through social capital requires lived relationships in which subjective identities are reworked into relationships of belonging and recognition, and in which learning habits are internalised (Bourdieu 1990; Wenger 1998; Field 2005; Helve & Bynner 2007).

In the first place, these are the *families* where children experience norms, values and practices with regard to social relationships and from where they are encouraged to or prevented from exploring their wider social, cultural and natural environment. In the second place these are *friendship, peer networks and youth cultures*. In the third place, there are *neighbourhoods* and *communities* characterised by different informal and formal networks that provide support and/or imply problematic challenges. Fourth, there are *informal work or side-jobs* undertaken after, or sometimes instead of, school lessons, although this has different meanings, functions and consequences in individual biographies, across different socio-economic contexts and regions across Europe (Ball et al. 2000; Raffo & Reeves 2000; Liegle & Treptow 2002; Walther et al. 2005; Bottrell 2007; Danic 2007; Tagliaventi 2007; Foljanty-Jost et al. 2008; Invernizzi 2008; McCoy & Smyth 2008; Hungerland et al. 2008).

In the discourse of lifelong learning this is addressed by the differentiation of formal, non-formal and informal contexts and sites of learning which are also *lifewide*, i.e. occurring in all

life areas. However, there is little acknowledgment of learning outside formal institutions (Coffield 2000; Young 2007; Bekerman et al. 2006; Jarvis 2009). While the rhetoric of the knowledge society claims that informal and non-formal learning are resources that must not be wasted, few examples exist in practice. Apart from securing this knowledge in terms of human capital, a perspective towards education and learning as social practice needs to take into account that all formal learning, especially in school, can only be appropriated in terms of a learning biography if it is compatible with informally and non-formally acquired skills and knowledge. For example, second chance measures rely upon transversal motivational effects when they provide disadvantaged pupils with experiences of success in non-formal learning contexts. But pupils also learn informally in school – with regard to ‘hidden curricula’, or to discrepancies between rhetoric and reality of participation, or when they compare the promise that upper secondary education leads into safe and attractive careers with the destinations of peers in their communities who are either unemployed or have to compromise with ‘bad jobs’ (Colley et al. 2002; Walther et al. 2006; Machacek & Walther 2008). Addressing disadvantaged educational trajectories therefore needs to embrace wider social contexts in which formal, non-formal, and informal learning are embedded and connected in order to understand the dynamics of individual learning biographies (Bloomer & Hodkinson 2000; cf. Kobolt & Zsorga 2006).

Including wider social space and cultural patterns into the analysis is also a requirement for comparative analysis. Comparative educationists show that differences between particular forms of education can only be understood through analysing their specific function within a concrete societal system, their interaction with other sub-systems and the specific cultural meaning they have in wider society, in everyday life and in individual biographical orientations (e.g. Liegle 1988; Bynner & Chisholm 1998; Schriewer 2000; Walther 2008; Robertson 2009b). As Sadler notes:

“If we propose to study foreign systems of education, we must not keep our eyes on the brick and mortar institutions, nor on the teachers and pupils only, but we must also go outside into the streets and the homes of the people, and try to find out what is the intangible, impalpable, spiritual force [...] upholding the school system and accounting for its practical efficiency. [...] The things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside.” (Sadler 1964, pp. 308-309)

In sum, there are considerable knowledge gaps as regards the embedding of school and formal education into their social contexts, not in terms of general social structure but in terms of direct interaction, especially with regard to comparative analysis.

## *1.1 Gender differences in coping*

Although some inconsistencies in gender differences in coping strategies exist in the literature, several consistent findings have emerged. Research has shown that girls are more likely to endorse ruminative responses and seek social support in response to stress, whereas boys are more likely to employ avoidant coping strategies (e.g. Eschenbeck, Kohlmann, & Lohaus, 2007; Hampel & Petermann, 2006; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1994; Petersen, Sarigiani, & Kennedy, 1991). In one study, gender differences in the use of certain coping strategies, were stronger when in response to a social stressor than to an academic stressor (Eschenbeck et al., 2007).

However, findings on gender differences in the effectiveness of engagement coping (e.g. emotional expression, seeking social support, problem solving) in childhood and adolescence have proven to be inconsistent (e.g. Sontag & Graber, 2010). One study found, that for girls only, engagement coping buffered against the negative effects of family stress on conduct problems (Gonzales et al 2001), whereas another study found, that greater use of engagement strategies was associated with higher peer-related withdrawal in girls but not in boys. Studies examining the effectiveness of disengagement (i.e. avoidant) coping in response to peer victimization have found, that strategies such as denial and avoidance, may provide some protective benefits for boys, reducing the risk for low peer recognition, whereas disengagement coping may increase risk for loneliness and social problems for girls (Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner 2002).

## *1.2 Coping with school failure and how to support school achievement*

Motivational variables are considered crucial in stress and coping research. Lazarus (1999) model of stress and coping, describes goals as important personal factor. The relation between goal orientation and coping with stress has received some attention in education related research (Boekaerts, 1999, 2002; Lemos 2002; Rijavec & Brdar, 2002; Brdar, Rijavec, Loncaric, 2006; Grant & Dweck, 2003). Setting specific goals is important to focus on problem solving behaviour, while personal goal valuing is an important antecedent for organized, active and adaptive response to difficulties. Adequate coping is associated with challenging but attainable goals. Poor coping, avoidance behaviour and extreme levels of emotions, are associated with very easy and unrealistic goals, but most maladaptive coping, overwhelming emotions, anger, confusion and high frustration, are related to unattainable goals.

Most of the research considered in details just some aspects of goal orientation and coping. Some authors investigated relation between goal orientation and social support, as one aspect of coping with tasking situations. Tanaka et al (2002) found that mastery and performance-approach goals are positively related to help seeking. While performance-avoidance goals, were related to perceived threats and avoidance of help seeking. Other authors related coping to some aspects of goals, like goal specificity, goal difficulty and goal personalization (Lemos 2002). Boekaerts (2002) suggests, that current models of coping with stress, neglects coping goals ('restore well-being' or 'resolve the conflict' goals) and predicts that the way pupils frame the coping goal, would affect their choice of strategies. Grant and Dweck (2003) explored the relationships among different goal orientations, their ability to predict intrinsic motivation and performance, under highly challenging or difficult circumstances, and the mechanisms through which they may bring about those effects. They found, that learning goals were associated with active coping, and a wide range of positive, mastery-oriented indicators. Performance goals, (ability, normative goals and outcome goals), were negatively related to positive re-interpretation, and positively related to behavioural disengagement and denial. Children, employing positive coping strategies, tend to have an internal locus of control, motivation towards mastery, and higher achievement.

All these findings suggest, that successful coping with school failure may have a necessary condition for self-regulated learning and academic success. It may be hypothesized that goal orientation is indirectly linked to school achievement through coping strategies. Pupils with dominant learning orientation would choose problem focused coping in case of failure, which will in turn result in better school achievement. On the other hand, pupils with dominant work-avoidance orientation would choose mainly emotion-focused coping that is less effective in improving school achievement. The situation with performance-oriented pupils is less clear. Pupils, who adopt performance-approach goals, may be motivated to achieve success as well as avoid failure, so they may work hard enough to achieve their goals, performing well relative to their peers. In a set of empirical studies it has been found, that in learning goal framework, children interpreted failures as opportunities for getting information about how to change strategies in order to learn. On the other hand, in a performance goal framework they interpreted failure as a reflection of inadequate ability and were susceptible to helplessness (Bandura & Dweck, 1985; Elliott & Dweck. 1988).

### *1.3 Coping by migrants and how to support them*

Education plays an essential role in preparing the children of migrants for participation in the labour market and in society. Giving these children opportunities to fully develop their potential is vital for future economic growth and social cohesion in OECD countries. In most

OECD countries, migrant pupils tend to have lower education outcomes than native pupils. Often their access to high quality education is restricted by a range of factors, including residential segregation, selective mechanisms and resource inequality. In addition, their participation in schools is often interrupted, as they tend to drop out and leave school early more frequently than their native peers. PISA studies have consistently shown, there are significant performance gaps between native and migrant pupils in most OECD countries, with first-generation migrants lagging on average about 1.5 school years behind their native counterparts (OECD 2007). Research described the range of factors influencing the educational success of migrant pupils. While broader societal conditions such as immigration, housing and social policies may influence migrant education outcomes many factors of disadvantage are in the remit of education policies (for a review, see for example Brind et al 2008; Heckmann 2008). First, structural features of education systems such as school choice, tracking, selection mechanisms, and resource inequalities may contribute to segregation and have disproportionately negative impacts on migrant pupils. Second, features of each individual school, such as teacher expectations, classroom environments and school organisation, contribute to shaping migrant pupils' learning experience. Third, individual student characteristics, including socio-cultural background and language proficiency are also important determinants of migrant pupils' educational success.

Migrant pupils from families with low socio-economic status (SES) are likely to face a double disadvantage in education related to their own immigrant status and to the educational and / or financial handicap of their parents. These two disadvantages are often closely intertwined as many migrant groups experience higher levels of poverty than the mainstream native groups. While all OECD countries have recognised the importance of providing language support and integrating intercultural approaches into course content and teaching strategies, research shows that there are great variations in the degree to which these policies are actually implemented at the school level. There is room for improvement in providing targeted support, to bridge the school and home environments of migrant pupils and to make classrooms more responsive to their needs. To ensure that all children have access to good quality schools, many countries have introduced school choice arrangements. School choice aims to ensure the right of parents to decide, which school their child will attend, independently of the area they live in. Results from PISA 2006 indicate, that student performance is higher in systems with a higher degree of school choice and competition, but this positive effect is no longer significant when other factors related to student performance are included into the estimation (OECD 2007 as cited in Nusche 2009). Empirical studies conducted in different countries often report mixed results, showing that some types of school choice have a positive impact on certain groups of pupils, but other types do not (Björklund et al 2004; Mickelson et al 2008).

Education systems can also consider providing financial incentives for oversubscribed schools to enrol migrant pupils (Field et al 2007). For example, school funding may be weighted according to socio-demographic characteristics of the student population. The idea is that good schools will seek to enrol migrant pupils from low socio-economic backgrounds, because they know that with the additional money provided, they will be able to provide additional support for the child, to show improvement trends and reach performance levels (Hoxby 2001). A third strand of the literature stresses the importance of providing information and logistical support to migrant parents in order to strengthen their capacity to exercise informed school choice. Field et al (2007) point out, that pupils with weaker parental support are likely to be disadvantaged by school choice, because their parents may be less well informed about the available options. Schneider et al (2000 as cited in Nusche 2009) find that while choice policies increase the level of information of all parents, the quantity and quality of information seems to be highly correlated with parents' level of education. Hastings et al (2005), find that parental preference attached to a school's test score level is lower for low-income pupils.

A recent OECD study on equity (Field et al 2007) revealed that some migrant and minority groups are more likely than native peers to be diagnosed as having 'special needs', which results in their placement in separate institutions providing special education. Studies show, that the overrepresentation of migrant and minority children in special needs schools can partly be explained by factors such as language difficulties, culturally different behaviour, lack of early childhood support and negative stereotyping (Donovan and Cross 2002).

Some countries highlight the need to implement funding strategies designed to meet the specific needs of migrant pupils. In Switzerland, for example, the *Quality in Multi-Ethnic Schools* (QUIMS) programme focuses explicitly on ethnic and cultural diversity. It provides extra financial resources and professional support to schools with 40% or more pupils from migrant backgrounds. The funding is targeted for particular fields of school development in ethnically and culturally diverse schools. The fields include language instruction, adaptation of assessments to the needs of linguistic and socio-cultural diversity, and an inclusive and non-discriminatory school ethos (Gomolla 2006). In Switzerland, the QUIMS strategy aims to provide attractive incentives and professional support for participating teachers and schools, and highlights the importance of cooperation between schools and the local administration. Participating schools are provided with structured schemes for school improvement and additional support from the local administration, including advisory services, professional development, materials, handbooks, local networks and evaluations (Gomolla 2006).

Teachers are arguably the most important resource input shaping student learning outcomes. Research has shown that teaching quality is one of the most important school-

level factors influencing student outcomes, regardless of student socio-economic and demographic background factors (OECD 2005). Yet, while migrant and disadvantaged pupils stand to benefit the most from high quality teaching, they are often the least likely to receive it (Field et al 2007). Teacher preferences may direct the more qualified and more experienced teachers to schools enrolling mostly native pupils (Hanushek et al 2001; Karsten et al 2006). If migrant pupils are to succeed in education, their schools must be able to recruit high quality teachers, who are effective in the classroom and who stay on the job for several years. Policy options that might help improve teaching in schools with high proportions of migrant pupils include: (1) hiring more teachers, so that every pupil receives more individualised pedagogical support, (2) increasing teacher pay to attract and retain high quality teachers, (3) increasing the share of migrant and ethnic minority teachers, who might be more willing and capable in educating migrant pupils.

#### *1.4 Support measures*

Döbert and Skroka (2004) include support systems among the features of successful school systems. However, their concept of support systems is restricted to external school counselling and monitoring, in-service training of teachers and specific support for children from immigrant and ethnic minority background. The extension of this perspective to include other kinds of support aimed at improving children and young people's school achievements reveals an under-researched area and a lack of interdisciplinary research between education and social work or social policy, even in countries where 'social pedagogy' claims to be closing the gap (Bolay 2004; Kobolt & Dekleva 2008).

An overview of the GOETE countries provides a broad range of measures that is certainly not complete, even with regard to the countries concerned. These support mechanisms systems are implemented within schools, in cooperation with external actors, such as NGOs or youth services, or aimed at children, young people and their families individually.

**Table 22: Forms of Support for Pupils**

<b>Support</b>	<b>In-School</b>	<b>Mixed</b>	<b>Out-of-school</b>
<b>Individualised</b>	Counselling (FI, NL, SI, UK)	Work with parents (D, F, I, NL, PL, UK)	Language courses for immigrant children (D, I, FI, NL, UK) Private support lessons (D, I, PL)
<b>Combined</b>	Individual study plans (FI) Integration of special needs education (F, FI, I, SI, UK) Separate classes for immigrant children (D, F)	Connection of formal and non-formal education (SI, UK) Social work in school (D, FI, PL, SI) Cooperation with youth services (D, , PL, UK) Anti-bullying programmes (F, FI, I,NL, UK)	Monetary incentives for poor families (NL, SI, UK)
<b>Structure-related</b>	All-day school (D, F, I, NL, UK) Extra funding for schools in deprived areas (F, NL, UK)	Community schools (NL) All-day school (D, NL)	Centres for youth and family (NL)

## 2. Social and living conditions of young people in the GOETE countries

The social and living conditions of young people in Europe and the GOETE countries depend on a wide range of factors. Besides monetary aspects such as their socioeconomic background these are their health situation (that is not only depending on the quality of healthcare services of the countries), but also more multidimensional factors of disadvantage that are due to all sorts of living condition attributes such as migration background, gender or regional differences, as well as the lifestyles young people are shaping and living in the context of all these factors. All these conditions are important ones for young people, as all of them are possible reasons for success and failure in education that again depend on how children's and young people's learning in school is affected by problematic family life, housing conditions and poverty; on the support they can mobilise informally or get formally – through individualised teaching (or private lessons), special needs education, counselling and youth services – and informally through family and peer networks. One good example is the phenomenon of early school leaving, which shows how transitions into, within and out of education are affected by unequal starting positions, learning conditions and life perspectives according to class, gender, ethnicity, region and neighbourhood (EC 2008a; 2008c; cf. Walther & Pohl 2005; Jones 2008).

## *2.1 Risk of poverty*

Poverty is a complex, multi-dimensional issue and its dimensions are much wider than can be described solely by its material dimension. This is especially the case when considering poverty and the lives of children and young people. Poverty is reflected in various areas of young peoples' lives, from provision (social and economic security, food, health, housing), to protection (against abuse and violence, injuries or economic exploitation), to participation (in society, peer-groups and individual development). In social science this leads today to new forms of an understanding of poverty and social exclusion of young people.

An important emphasis in studying the poverty of young people is the fact that it differs from poverty of adults. It diverges in terms of the reasons for poverty (influence of social environment and family where individual influence is hardly manageable, e. g. the poverty risk of children and young people depends heavily on the labour force participation of their parents) and also on long term effects that poverty has on child development and in securing individual chances in the time of adulthood.

Education is one of the main factors that defines individual chances of social integration and securing livelihood and is also a one of the strongest predictors for being at risk of poverty. As young people with low socioeconomic background are more at risk of failing in school they are more vulnerable with regard to the reproduction of disadvantage within their family background. Hence, education can be seen as crucial in terms of broad life chances and future risk of poverty.

A similar picture can be drawn across Europe, where young people are more in danger of being in risk of poverty. The main reasons have to be seen in their dependence towards their parents and for some countries (such as France or Finland) in their limited access to welfare benefits. Children in lone-parent and couple households in which no adult is working are usually more likely to live in low income than those in which one or more adults are in full-time or part-time work. Single parent households are especially accounted to the affected risk groups throughout Europe. All these are basic characterisations of the specific situations in the GOETE countries that display general similarities. Having a closer look at the respective countries, one have to concentrate on hard data provided for example by Eurostat, that assess the risk-of-poverty following the concept of relative poverty adopted in the European Union, that in fact is showing certain differences in single countries especially in relation to the mean of EU27 countries (see table 23).

**Table 23: Risk-Of-Poverty Rate for People less than 18 years old in %, in 2008**

<b>Finland</b>	12
<b>France</b>	17
<b>Germany</b>	15
<b>Italy</b>	25
<b>Poland</b>	22
<b>Slovenia</b>	12
<b>The Netherlands</b>	13
<b>UK</b>	23
<b>EU-27</b>	20

Source: Eurostat database

Italy, UK and Poland have the highest rates for children and young people being at-risk of poverty that are even higher as the mean of EU27 countries. Regional differences within single countries can also be found, especially in Italy. In the south of Italy, where total fewer children are domicile, young people are three times more likely being at risk of poverty as those living in the north of the country. Although all three countries have a high rate of poverty in general for the whole population the situation for young people is much more crucial. If one looks at Poland for example, where research has shown that poor families with children have an income about 30% lower than non-poor families with children, one can get an idea of circumstances and living conditions young people that are at risk of poverty have to deal with. Of course, the poverty of young people today is on the agenda of governments across Europe, especially in countries where the rates in comparison are extraordinary, as in the aforementioned countries. For instance, governments have acknowledged the problem of child poverty in the UK. Although targets were set by the New Labour administration to half child-poverty in the UK by 2010 and while child poverty has reduced in recent years, the target is far from being achieved.

Both France and Germany have a slightly lower risk-of-poverty rate compared to other European countries, yet young people remain high on the scale, where in France they account for twice that of any other demographic. In both countries the situation is even more acute due to the high overrepresentation of migrant youth being regarded as socioeconomically deprived and therefore more likely being at risk of poverty than other young people.

Regarding welfare benefits, same situation can be found in Finland where, together with The Netherlands and Slovenia, there are the lowest poverty rates within the GOETE countries. But again, in Finland the connection of young people and the labour market is characterized by a higher unemployment rate among young people compared to older age groups; this is shown by contracts that are usually fixed-term and by a very limited right for unemployment

security what is not before the age of 25, just as in France. In fact, France recently created a specific welfare benefits for young people. Nevertheless, administrative conditions required to apply for it are so precise that it concerns only a very few young people. This shows that even for countries where the risk-of-poverty rates are low in comparison, the situation for many young people is nevertheless bad. Whereas regional differences, such as in the Netherlands, where especially eastern and northern provinces have the highest rates or in Slovenia where these are the eastern parts of the country, can be explained due to bad labour market conditions, it is very hard to identify specific groups (besides young people with migration background) that are in danger of poverty as there is very little systematic research or analysis done such as in Slovenia, for instance. On the other hand the main identified risk factors of poverty are well known: education, unemployment and unsolved housing problems. These factors begin to illustrate the complex multi-dimensionality of poverty.

## *2.2 Migration, gender, region*

In addition to traditional factors such as parental socio-economic status and its relation to social space (Bourdieu 1990), increasing attention regarding social and living conditions of young people in Europe has been paid to gender and ethnicity. Researchers have also considered how these intersect with different degrees of mobility and flexibility.

All across Europe gendered boundaries between advantage and disadvantage tend to be blurred. While in most countries girls and young women perform better in school, in only a few countries, such as the UK and Northern Europe, the unemployment rate amongst them is lower than among young men. In Continental and Southern Europe young women's educational achievements are undermined by labour market segmentation and/or a lack of childcare facilities (Biggart 2002; Malmberg-Heimonen & Julkunen 2002; Smyth 2004; Walther & Pohl 2005). One good example for the GOETE countries is Slovenia: Young women between 15-24 years old are the most vulnerable group in Slovenia as they face the highest unemployment rates. Also, gender comparison shows that female students expect significantly more problems than male students in Slovenia (Ule et al 2008). One third more female students expect problems with employment because they are educated for a profession for which there is no (or not enough) demand. While this has not yet led to equal opportunities in young women's transitions to work, the decrease of low-skilled jobs in knowledge societies highlights a need for an understanding of the relationship between early school leaving and masculinity. Because at the same time poorly qualified young men increasingly come under the scrutiny of inequality research, educational policy, and

increasingly also of activation and law and order policies (Davies 2008; Murphy & Ivinson 2008; Jones 2008; Hodgson 2008).

The other key factor highlighted in current debates and EC reports is underachievement among cohorts of migrant and ethnic minority youth. According to existing EU research this is due to a complex interplay of factors such as social deprivation, spatial segregation, institutional discrimination and lack of language skills (GHK 2005; Walther & Pohl 2005; Heckmann 2008; Hodgson 2008; Jones 2008). Disadvantage in education and transitions to work are often associated with ethnicity and migration. The case of Italy is a good example here. Due to regularization laws there is an increase recorded in recent years that gave the opportunity to many foreigners already living illegally in Italy to amend their position. Within the increase in resident foreign population, the most rapidly growing element is undoubtedly represented in children, though in the years of regularization a slight relative decrease was recorded, since the regularization process concerned adults more than children. Therefore with regard to the various school sectors, primary schools contain the greatest influx of foreign pupils. This again confirms the concentration of foreigners in the early sectors of the education system what corroborate the 'youthful' nature and the spread of the migratory phenomenon.

However, there are only few data available for educational and labour market disadvantages of migrant and ethnic minority youth in Europe. This means that causal directions between educational disadvantage, parental education, language deficits, precarious living conditions and the anticipation of lacking career opportunities remain unclear. In his report for the European Commission, Heckmann (2008) refers to both the ethnicisation of social disadvantage as well as to discrimination through a lack of appropriate support for migrant children and youth that can be seen in different GOETE countries. For instance, in the Netherlands, where over the last years, Dutch government has taken measures to throttle immigration from non-western countries and it has become worried about democracy and democratic attitudes of its citizens. But instead of a civic identity based on support for diversity, justice and belonging the focus has shifted toward a more restricted shared citizenship anchored in Dutch values, beliefs and norms. So laws have straightened to enforce civic integration for newcomers and old comers alike (e.g. with language and social orientation tests as it also has been done in Germany some years later). On account of changes on the labour market, leading to severe (youth) unemployment in the 1980s, Dutch state policy now focused on social and economic integration of the individual, which led to far-reaching cultural isolation of some immigrant groups, Turks and Moroccans in particular. Except of Poland, where the society is homogenous to a large degree and therefore there are not too many focuses on ethnic minorities in youth research, this picture shows a common trend all over Europe. As research has shown in Germany, young people with

migration backgrounds particularly suffer institutional discrimination (e.g. due to a lack of language skills) especially in school and labour market as well as in public perception. Especially young people with Turkish and Russian (so called ethnic German repatriates) family background have the biggest problems in transition from school into work here. In France, as another example, even the native culture of immigrants is seen as the main reason for social rejection and disadvantage.

In fact, the PISA studies suggest that migrant and ethnic minority youth disadvantage needs to be primarily addressed as due to the failure of European schools in dealing with diversity – not only with regard to ethnic origin but also with regard to gender and individual learning styles and speeds (Karsten 2006; Dupriez et al. 2008; Gewirtz & Cribb 2008; Mørch et al. 2008; Jones 2008; OECD 2008b; Stein et al. 2008). The reality usually looks different. Roma children and young people in Slovenia for instance, experience both poverty and social exclusion, often live in deprived communities and consequently do not have access to adequate education leading to bad employment prospects in adulthood. Moreover, Slovenian research shows that second and third generation of immigrants have limited access to education and employment and are more frequently detained by the police or in touch with social services because of crime and violence.

Therefore, we can see that challenges to coping with and in school are gendered and ethnicised in Europe. Both school assessment research and findings from qualitative research on subjective strategies in difficult transitions to work suggest that young women are more reflexive in balancing their motivation and identities than young men (Stauber 2007; Hodgson 2008). School failure ascribed to ethnic origin or peer pressure associated with ethnic discrimination implies a need for coping strategies among migrant and ethnic minority youth in terms of accepting, rejecting or managing stigma offensively (Mørch et al. 2008).

### *2.3 Health*

First of all, it must be noted at this point that, compared to the other age groups, young people in Europe generally enjoy a good health. According to the report on the *State of young people's health in Europe* (2000), life expectancy at age 15 is 60.3 years for males and 66.4 years for females and is increasing for both groups. About 75% of young people self-rate their health as good.

One can emphasize that the issue of young people's health benefits from a growing process of agenda setting at all decision levels (from the European to the local decision making processes). The WHO's *European strategy for child and adolescent health and development* plaid for the commitment of European states in the improvement of young people's health and in the reduction of health inequalities. The European Commission, for its part, promotes

public actions in favour of health in general through its DG Sanco but also through youth action. As an example, one can refer to the on-going Youth in Action Programme that encourages projects concerning health problems (especially chronic health problems, severe illnesses or psychiatric conditions).

Nevertheless, young people's health appears to vary considerably across European countries and is strongly related to social and environmental determinants. As demonstrated by Dahlgren (1995) different layers of determinants may influence individuals' health status. They can be ranged from general socioeconomic, cultural and environmental conditions (such as food, education, work environment, housing, and health care services) to social and community networks and individual lifestyles. As a consequence, the struggle against health inequalities can be considered as a major stake for policy makers.

Without pretending to offer a complete overview of young people's health in Europe, several elements can be underlined:

- There is a lack of comparative information on young people's health conditions in Europe;
- Traffic accidents are the first reason of premature death; suicides account for one in ten premature deaths;
- Young males are three times more exposed to premature deaths than young females;
- Some chronic conditions such as asthma, allergic disorders, diabetes and obesity - are increasing.

Part of young people's health problems are related to their lifestyles and to risk behaviours that commonly appear as an attribute of youth or teenage. In this perspective, one can point out several problems typical from this age group: alcohol, tobacco and drug consumption could be considered under this issue as well as eating disorders, sedentary behaviour or violence.

A growing attention is currently paid to the question of mental health and wellbeing of young people. According to the WHO report on mental health: "Four per cent of 12-17 year-olds and nine per cent of 18-year-olds suffer from depression, making it one of the most prevalent disorders with wide-ranging consequences. Young girls are now diagnosed more frequently than in the past with mental disorders and particularly with depressive symptoms. Depression is associated with youth suicide, which is a major problem in many countries and the third leading cause of death in young people" (2005, p. 83).

Beyond mental health, the question of wellbeing is now increasingly examined. When questioned about their health, a quarter of young people and in particular young females

tend to declare that their health is poor (27.2% of the 15-year-old girls and 16.1% of the 15-year-old boys according to WHO 2005 p. 57). Factors like economic dependency toward families, failures in the education system or isolation seem to accentuate this “ill” being phenomenon (LMDE, 2007).

About the latter, the link between health and education works in a double sense: bad health conditions (physical or mental) of course may affect educational trajectories; on the other hand, the contents and methods of education may also have a negative or a positive influence on young people’s health (in particular regarding self-esteem and confidence). Schools seem to have more and more important commitments in the field of health promotion and health care and play a central role as they can reach a large proportion of one age group (Le Pape 2010).

Nevertheless, health prevention policies addressed to young people are often very top-down processes, take in charge by adults (without any considerations about young people’s lifestyles or attempt at promoting peer-prevention) and consequently, not very efficient. They are also often subject to moral panic, stigmatisation and based on the culture of fear (Peretti-Watel 2010). The cases of the struggle against youth risk behaviour such as alcohol or tobacco consumptions are very illustrative of this tendency.

Risk behaviour is a re-vitalised issue in European youth research. The discourse that labels young people as ‘at risk’ is dominant and discusses almost exclusively forms of behaviour in which young people act risky in relation to a rest of the society. The discourse of ‘youth at risk’ however is spurious as it is a fictional separation of a problematic minority and a non-problematic mainstream (te Riele 2006). That means youth becomes an issue if and when it is a problem (which accounts as well for the post-PISA perspective towards young people as (failing) students and vulnerable human capital). Understanding youth risk behaviour as a contextual frame and setting for agency to act in postmodern conditions of life, where other forms of self-sufficient ways of responsibility are likely to fail, are not that usual. One good example is the current phenomenon of heavy episodic drinking (so-called binge-drinking) that according to international representative studies increased dramatically in the last few years. This phenomenon is discussed as a serious problem while it almost ignores that the total consumption of alcohol by young people decreased in the last ten years as compared to the cohort of over 50 year olds. Additionally, recent qualitative studies could show that binge-drinking is subjectively a responsible leisure time event that integrates functional coping patterns by which young people deal with the demands of alcohol consumption and life in terms of identity building (Stumpp et al. 2009; Litau 2010).

For these reasons, if we examine prevention actions in the framework of GOETE project, it could be useful to take into account this last trend and to deconstruct what comes within real

problems of young people's health (and their supposed increases) and what comes within adult fears and representations.

#### *2.4 Dominant view of youth culture and youth lifestyles*

Coping with school needs to be reconciled individually with demands from other life spheres such as work, family obligations, or struggles for identity and recognition in youth culture. Success or failure in formal education needs to be related with informal and non-formal learning biographies (cf. Willis 1977; Chisholm et al. 2005; Bottrell 2007; Foljanty-Jost et al 2008; McCoy & Smyth 2008; Hodgson 2008; Hungerland et al 2008).

In that youth cultures are a kind of leisure-oriented style communities that give young people orientation in life and emotional stability. Youth cultures generates a space where young people can raise own issues separate from the demands of society respectively adults. Of course youth cultures do not come from nowhere but are a reinterpretation of social structures that are interrelationally connected to young people's agency (Giddens 1984; Emirbayer & Mische 1998; Pohl et al 2007). Youth cultures evolve out of societal change and development. The current structural separation of society due to failing integration processes is also mirrored in many different youth cultures and scenes that are however characterized by common identification patterns (e. g. clothing, music, film, sports, technics, etc.) organized in (informal) social networks. Today more than ever school life is a setting where youth cultures can be and are lived, experienced, transformed and rejected.

It reveals that for students, school is about far more than education. It is about managing their belonging to peer cultures as well as dealing with pressure and competition, bullying and many other elements of school life. The dominant school culture often neglects the youth cultures for which the school is a key meeting point and arena where youthful life and values are acted out (Willis 1977; Dekleva 1999; Bottrell 2007; Helve & Bynner 2007; Hodgson 2008; Foljanty-Jost et al 2008). Therefore, biographically, education needs to be reconciled with other areas of everyday life: family obligations, basic and life style related financial needs, expectations of peers, personal friendships, love relations etc. which at times may be experienced as or even more important than education (Walther 2009). Unfortunately only limited comparative information is available on how pupils perceive educational demands, on the support they mobilise and what support they find useful in this regard.

One frequently used strategy when researching youth lifestyles is to investigate how they participate in society. Participation patterns of youth in Europe correspond to socio-economic and cultural factors, but also to cultural and social changes that have affected modern society, like the crisis of major collective subjects, actors of social representation and the rise

of individualism. The experiences of youth participation are increasingly referring to the sphere of socially restricted to the detriment of collective. Youth participation is also an explicit policy aim. For instance in the Netherlands, every municipality has to develop measures to serve this aim. More than 80% of all municipalities have made youth participation part of their youth policy. It is up to the individual municipalities how to fill in participation. Some will establish a youth council; others will develop special programmes to activate their young people. All actors agree that it is difficult to attract children and young people to participate actively in municipality affairs, which pertain to their lives such as in and outdoor room to be together, more sport fields and cultural offers. The reason for that is simple and is connected to the different perspectives and resources of this problem: municipality employees need clear procedures and responsibilities and a long-term perspective in planning while children and young people want and need to act now, what is not in the future but in the present because they are inclined to lose interest if that is not possible. Usually the problem is even bigger as since the 1980 at the latest, youth cultural practices met public policies. But the aim of that was more on control and controlled way of socialization and less on a real recognition as a legitimate culture. The youth research by contrast focus on youth as actor of social change by trying to analyse their real practices, behaviours, identities and participation in collective action. In general all across Europe formal participation in clubs and associations has been declining whereas the interests of young people and their interest in participation have increased in in widespread forms. On this basis it is obvious that we need other and new forms and instruments to evaluate and research youth lifestyles and cultures systematically in Europe.

### 3. Provisions of educational support in the GOETE countries

In the following section, the main structures of support for children and young people with regard to educational problems and educational disadvantage are outlined. Six main issues are distinguished: Financial Support for Pupils' Families, general support mechanisms, school social work as an external support mechanism for schools, (mainstreaming) special needs education, special measures for pupils with a migration background and private support mechanisms. Due to the diverging competencies and responsibilities, a comparative historical overview is as difficult as a general outline of principles and procedures for the diagnosis of target groups, financing, and mainstreaming.

General educational support for all pupils usually includes guidance and counselling, social welfare services, cooperation between home and school, the use of the learning plan, remedial teaching, additional learning or educational facilities in or outside school. Organisation of educational support is very diverse in different countries. There are several

target groups mentioned and outlined in educational support in different countries. Sometimes these different groups are treated according to special action plans (e.g. pupils suffering from a speech disorder; pupils suffering from health disorders etc. in France or more general pupils with „learning or other difficulties,, or children with “special educational needs”). In different countries also mentioned are pupils from ethnical minorities are also mentioned, such as migrant pupils or Roma pupils (e.g. Slovenia). Special supportive measures are outlined for such groups. Pupils without familial support and young offenders are frequently overlooked in most of the countries as groups in need of additional support. They are mentioned in the UK, where the support for young prisoners has received some attention. Exceptionally capable pupils are also overlooked in most of the countries in terms of receiving the special attention that is clearly needed.

### *3.1 Welfare regimes*

Welfare has been one of the central areas of studies in social research. It is a relative and dynamic concept and it varies according to time and place. Important welfare components include education, employment, work environment, economy, housing, transport and communication, social relations, political resources, health, social mobility, safety and security. At the same time, as mainstream welfare research is broadening the scope of analysis towards individual agency; there is also a tendency towards finely textured welfare research on individuals to which institutional contexts are incorporated. With the expression ‘welfare state’ we define a body of public interventions, tied with the modernization process, aimed at achieving redistribution of wealth and granting protection, resources, and abilities through activation, assistance, insurance, and social security. These interventions are part of wider welfare systems, including other forms of resource allocation (market, reciprocity). Although, the welfare state, via the rule-of-law, does regulate the production and allocation of resources, introducing social rights and contribution duties. The balance of market, reciprocity and redistribution varies and is context-related, according to institutional differences (Esping-Andersen 2000; Alber 1982; Kazepov & Carbone 2007). The first forms of welfare in the modern sense of the term developed during the nineteenth century throughout European countries to answer to the twofold phenomenon of industrialisation and urbanisation (Ritter 1991). These measures were aimed at protecting workers against social risks (work accidents, maternity leave, and retirement) and, on the other hand, to address a new form of poverty discovered by social surveys – pauperism. Welfare was then organised through social assistance and mainly at local level by NGOs, workers’ organisations, and municipalities (Alber, 1982; de Swaan, 1988). In this period, youth benefited from protection through patronages or specific work legislation (Loncle, 1998). And yet, from the late

nineteenth century, starting with Bismarck's social insurance in Germany, welfare increasingly became a state issue, with centralized management that became greatest during the *Trente Glorieuses* (Brenner 2004; Kazepov 2010). After World War II, new forms of welfare were introduced by Western States and different national patterns and place-based types of social protection consolidated (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Besides their organizational, target, and coverage differences, they are all aimed at coping with social risks, from poverty to unemployment, from illness to care. In this framework, youth benefited from various national interventions, which had all in common to propose *ad hoc* programmes. Usually they were and still are less protective than other programmes (e. g. the RMI experience in France), which raise the question of youth social citizenship (Jones, 2005).

With the 1980s, the crisis of the Welfare state and the development of mass unemployment, changes have been introduced in national social protection systems. First, a general trend towards neoliberal measures (New Public Management, quasi-market arrangements, cost-efficiency and cost containment). Notably, there has been a shift from welfare to *workfare*. *Second*, there has been a relevant change in responsible authorities, within a general process of subsidiarization and demonopolization, with an increasing role played by territorial institutions, by non-state non-public actors and (less extensively) by supranational authorities (Ferrera 2005; Keating 2009). As a consequence, we can also see a resurgence of local welfare arrangements (Mingione et al 2002). In this context, youth appear particularly undeserving as they are often believed to cheat the system (Jones, 1997). Youth also tend to be the group of population whose protection depends less on national social protection and more on facultative and local forms of social assistance (Walther 2006; Castel 2003; Loncle forthcoming). These subsidiarization and demonopolization trends coupled with changed family arrangements call for a new and more balanced and interconnected role of policies to cope with problems of care and youth policies (Mahon 2005).

Taking the international perspective in GOETE, it is useful to consider differences in welfare regimes understood as specific arrangements among state, market, and family, different qualities of social rights and social stratification. Esping-Andersen arranges countries along three clusters – *liberal, conservative, and social democratic* – “each organized around its own discrete logic of organization, stratification, and societal integration” (Esping-Andersen 1990: 3). His typology uses the degree of de-commodification (i. e. the degree to which the state provides services (as of right) that allow its citizens to sustain a livelihood outside of the market system) and the degree to which the state fosters the reduction of social stratification (thus promoting social solidarity) to classify types of welfare regimes.

**Table 24: Esping-Andersen's Welfare Regime Types**

	<b>Liberal Welfare Regime</b> UK, IRE	<b>Social Democratic Welfare Regime</b>	<b>Conservative-Corporatist Welfare Regime</b> DE, I, F, FI, NL
<b>Purpose/Rationale of the Welfare Regime</b>	Freeing/encouraging the market and allowing individuals to optimise their potentials	State support for the common good	Maintenance of status quo in power structures between state and civil society and within civil society
<b>Degree of Decommodification</b>	Low level	High level	Medium level
<b>Degree of Social Solidarity</b>	Low level	High level	Medium level

Esping-Andersen's model is explanatory in character and includes both quantitative and qualitative aspects building up types or 'regimes' of welfare regulation and distribution. In Esping-Andersen's words:

"The concept of welfare state regimes denotes the institutional arrangements, rules and understandings that guide and shape concurrent social policy decisions, expenditure developments, problem definitions, and even the respond-and-demand structure of citizens and welfare consumers. The existence of policy regimes reflects the circumstance that short-term policies, reforms, debates, and decision-making take place within frameworks of historical institutionalization that differ qualitatively between countries." (1990: 80)

Thus the welfare regimes ground in different national/cultural contexts and have distinct logics of organizing social policy, but also different patterns of social classification and inequality as well as forms of social integration/exclusion. To be sure, Esping-Andersen's model was developed with Western Europe in view; it has been criticized for not accounting for other countries.<sup>3</sup> The welfare regime types are, of course, ideal typical models and states must not be pressed into one type; rather the types are useful in asking questions as to different patterns of welfare provision and as a means of coping with the complex national experiences. In the following paragraphs the main principles around which welfare is organised in GOETE countries are described. In the sequence the relation between education and welfare will be discussed.

Germany falls under the heading 'conservative-corporate type'. This model combines "compulsory state social insurance with fairly strong entitlements." (Esping-Andersen 1990: 22). Although Germany may be characterised as a strong welfare state, there is a relatively high level of social inequality as social security reconciles redistribution with status differentiation, which allows for a substantial degree of segmentation of individuals, e. g.

<sup>3</sup> Arts & Gelissen (2002) present an overview of different typologies of welfare states. See also: Leibfried 1992; Abrahamson 1999; Gough et al. 2004

labourers, employed workers, poor, etc. (Schmid 2002: 66f.). The main provider of welfare is the state while market and private insurance play only a minor role. A guiding principle has been preserving the status quo of social status differences and inequality. At present both aspects are undergoing profound changes whereby Germany can be characterised as longing for a liberal welfare model – in a way in which giving up the principle of status preservation even increases inequality – while being stuck in its corporatist roots (Lessenich 2005).

Italy may also be classified as a conservative-corporate type, like other continental European countries (e. g. France, Germany), it is characterized by two ideal-typical features: a) social protection is dependent on the individual position in the labour market, with a strong distinction between insiders (benefiting social protection, though there are differences due to categorization) and outsiders (left out from services); b) family plays an important role in supporting people in need, supplementing state intervention (principle of subsidiarity). In spite of these similarities, many scholars maintain that the Italian welfare regime should be placed in a specific model, called familistic or South-European (Ferrera 2005), in order to better understand differences to other continental countries.

Slovenia's current welfare system was set up in 1992, soon after independence. In recent years, Slovenia had to bring its social legislation in line with Europe and in the light of agreements for European inclusion. The welfare system in Slovenia (consisting of five fields/branches: (1) health care, (2) old age, (3) invalidity, and (4) unemployment contingencies that are covered by social insurance schemes) and (5) family protection (covered by a universal system). Social assistance is covered by a means-tested subsidiary scheme. Shortly after independence it was unclear in which direction the welfare state regime would develop – towards a more (neo-) liberal or more social-democratic type – (cf. Deacon 1998); currently it became clear that Slovenia's welfare state may be termed “an integral part of the Continental European, Christian Democratic type of welfare state regime” (Aspalter et al. 2009: 180), in which a corporatist system was adopted while at the same time including elements of the liberal and universalistic types (ibid.; see also: Szeleva & Polakowski 2008).

France displayed several of the classic attributes of an interventionist state: the fundamental position of the State in society, its disregard for local authorities, the supposed archaic voluntary sector and commercial interests; the belief in common interest, the superiority of the State and centralised socio-economic planning; the dependence of large companies on the State and their protectionist tendencies; the homogeneity and the voluntarism spread by the elite in the senior echelons of the civil service; the strong centralist tendencies and the relative historic weakness of trade unions and employer organisations. From the 1980s

onwards, the notion of State restructuring became the new mantra for policy makers and commentators alike. The French welfare state in its own way was also confronted with pressure for changes in the elaboration of social policies and in the relationships with local and regional authorities. As a consequence, decentralisation reforms were adopted in two steps: the first wave took place in 1982-1983 and the second one in 2004. They had for result a large withdrawal of the State in the field of social policy. In parallel with the decentralisation reforms of the early 80ies, the rise of local social policies and the development of social urban policy were related both with the rise of poverty and with the restructuring of the state. Decentralisation reforms paved the way for the growing role of departments and to some extent communes and regions in social policies. It increased the financial and legal room of manoeuvre of elected persons at different levels.

The United Kingdom is typically described as belonging to the liberal welfare state with its emphasis on individual rights. Taylor-Gooby et al (2004) argue that the UK is distinctive in EU, having the most liberal market orientated welfare system. While public provision is residual in terms of providing means-tested existential minimum, rather low pension rates and unemployment benefit of short duration, the Beveridge turn in British welfare included some minimal social democratic aspects such as the universal entitlement of citizens to social benefits or job seekers allowance (the original age level of 16 years was raised to 18 under Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s) and the National Health Service. In the 1990s the so-called Third Way developed the liberal model further towards a Welfare to Work or workfare approach of activating social policy imposing self-responsibility and active job search by a mixture of personal advice and sanctions in case of non-compliance. Welfare is organised centrally for the main regions (with considerable differences between England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland) but implemented locally.

The welfare state in the Netherlands used to be classified as a social democratic regime, whereas it mixes elements from liberal, conservative-corporatist and social democratic welfare types (Schmid 2002 p. 182). Its development concentrated in the Post war period (Cox 1993), and a tradition was established where the three main parties – government, employers, and workers – negotiated consensus models (round table) as a compromise, with which all could live with as long as adjustments to new developments were necessary. The historical development in the Netherlands has led to a characteristic form of the welfare state: Despite the expansion of the beneficiary groups to the entire population the principle of insurance has not been discarded. There is a coexistence of national insurances (Volksverzekeringen), which are designed after the British National Insurance model, and the classic employee insurance, which may be traced back to Bismarck's social insurance. As the level of organisation and provision is concerned, there are general laws and principles established on state level, but execution is decentralised as far as possible to local

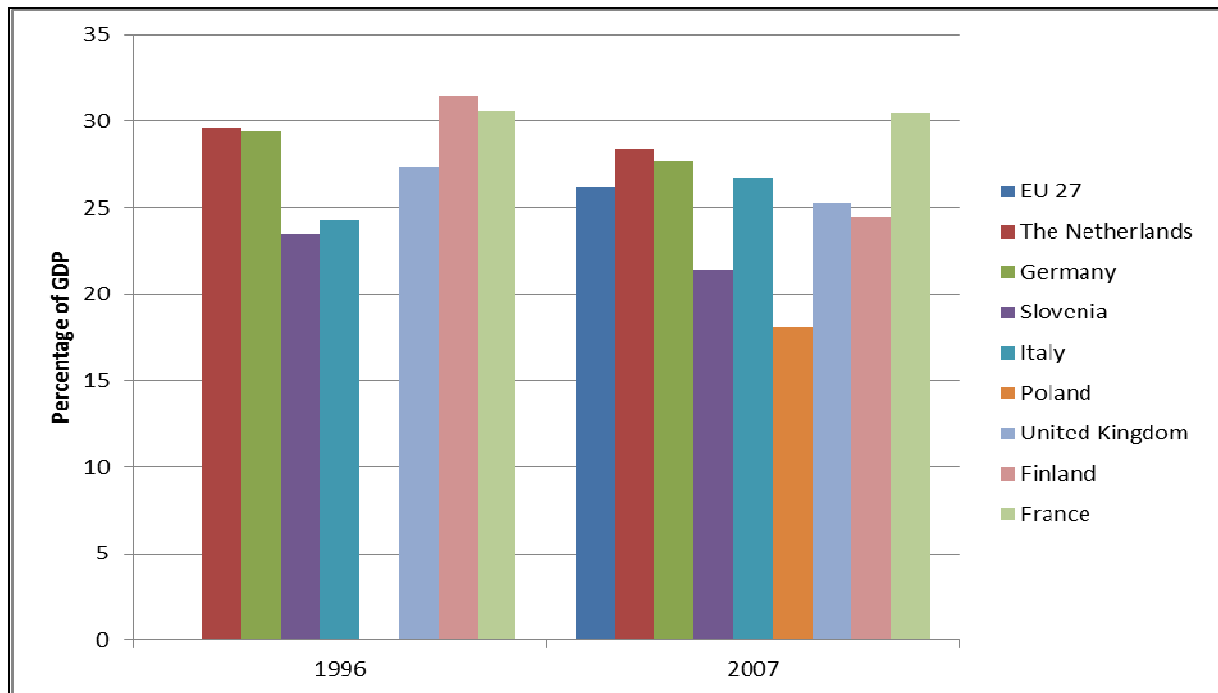
authorities. More recently, it is characterised more by a Conservative-Corporatist Welfare Regime.

Poland's welfare system underwent extensive decentralization and restructuring, and all parts of the system suffered from limited funding in the transition period that began in 1989. Poland's welfare spending is lower than in any other EU member state; according to Eurostat Poland spends as little as 0.8 per cent of GDP on welfare and family benefits, around a third of the EU average. More recently, Poland has implemented the most common model of welfare in continental Europe where institutions of the social insurance play the dominating role among the institutions of the social policy. Its main feature is a "notional defined-contribution" (NDC) social insurance system; it also has mandatory individual savings accounts for old-age benefits, as well as a social insurance system for disability and survivor benefits. The access to the basic social benefits is tied with participation in the labour market. Paying of employer and employee compulsory fees ensures access to the social insurance. One may conclude that, while the traditional Bismarckian welfare model serves as the base, the Polish welfare system has adopted much of both neoliberal and Universalist notions from other Western systems.

Finland may be termed a social democratic welfare regime. The Finnish system is geared towards social insurance but includes elements of social assistance. The main guiding principle is universalism, most evidently in the field of public health-care, which is open to everyone and financed by taxes as well as social services. Both flat rate and income-based elements are included. There are flat-rate, non-means-tested benefits which everybody is entitled to regardless of work history and which guarantee a minimum level of subsistence. These include national pension and basic unemployment benefit. In addition to the flat-rate benefits, in most areas there are earnings-related equivalents, the purpose of which is to not only maintain the minimum level of subsistence but also to maintain the previous standard of living; in the case of unemployment benefit or sickness benefit, for a limited time, and in the case of old-age and invalidity pensions, permanently. Conditions of access in insurance type schemes are based on legal rights defined in the various laws. The insured have also, more or less, contributed to the system in their working lives. Levels of compensation are generally fixed in the national/basic insurance schemes, whereas earnings-related benefits are based on previous earnings.

Graph 10 shows the level of expenditure in social protection in GGOETE countries and the average of the EU 27

**Graph 11: Total Expenditure in Social Protection as GDP Percentage in GOETE Countries and EU 27**



### 3.2 General structures of youth services

Youth social services are a complex and very important field for today's Western societies. Although the field's goals are clear - providing a comprehensive education, employment and safety net for socio-economic emergencies, such as poverty and parent death - they differ greatly in their implementation in virtually every country, and often even on municipality level. The goal of this essay is to examine and compare the implementation of social youth services and policy in some countries of the EU, namely Slovenia, Poland, Great Britain, The Netherlands, Finland, Germany, France and Italy. The countries' implementations of youth social policy are compared on the following: preventive aspects, including youth centres and vision; the aspects comprising the safety net for youth (foster care, drug use rehabilitation etc.); education (training) and care and programmes for the unemployed; and various services that we sum up as day care (kindergartens, maternity and paternity leave, primary education etc.). In some cases, we will also examine the legislation concerning various above matters.

We will first look at the various preventive measures, as implemented in each country. Here, especially Germany and Finland deserve a mention: Germany as a country with a very specific and well-developed vision of what the youth should be doing, which is attending school. All legislation and institutions mainly support that one goal. The interpretation of this goal is very broad - for instance, all social hazards also fall under it, especially foster care in

all its varieties. All of this is state-governed and funded, and implemented by a plethora of government institutions. While in Germany parents are the sole persons responsible for their children, in Finland, this responsibility falls on the social worker, but parents have the ability to appeal the decisions made by the social worker. Finland's system might not seem to be very preventive at first glance, but the threshold at which the social worker gets involved is so low we can very well classify it as such - the police routinely send slips to the child protective services for intoxicated youths they discover. This early intervention system is very successful and also well funded, which might be a significant contribution. Germany, on the other hand, is, while successful in preventing social catastrophes, having problems on other fields, because keeping children in school is not the best way to tackle unemployment issues if your school system is as fragmented as it is in Germany. The inadequacy of their school system is in part caused by underfunding and per-province fragmentation, which is not catalytic to the labour market. Other countries in the context of GOETE do not fare nearly as well in this prevention aspect, although Slovenia, Italy and The Netherlands sport a variety of services that enable youth to spend their free time creatively and thus stay off the streets, which is a particular focus of Italian legislation. Italy is a bit of a special case - while it doesn't have a very institutionalised and well-funded organisation for preventive measures, its focus is clearly on the community, which is responsible for and is empowered to implement such preventative measures. In Italy, citizens are viewed as active participants in social matters, and not as mere recipients of social policy.

The Netherlands is also struggling towards an early preventative policy, but the implementation is confusing, with different organisations doubling functionality and responsibilities. It also has a very forward-looking program gathering statistics and tracking children in order to improve the quality of services. The Netherlands is also very particular because of a strong focus on early educational stimulation as main strategy of prevention (particularly for children with immigrant backgrounds), a problem not many other countries share or address, as is the case in UK. Regarding prevention measures, Poland stands out exceptionally as it seems not to care about prevention at all, but rather focuses on a very diversified safety net for those already in need. At least Slovenia also supports low-income students with stipends, furthering preventive measures. Other countries seem to only have bleak visions and lax legislation about these matters.

'Safety nets' have different priorities in the GOETE countries. In Finland, the previously discussed system of social workers takes care of very problematic cases, using the various organizations that exist for that purpose. In Poland, this safety net is very diversified with various schools and kindergartens for children with special needs, different child-rearing facilities such as upbringing centres, teenage addiction and socio-therapy centres, various

summer camps for low-income children etc.. The situation is different in Slovenia, Germany, The Netherlands and UK. The former two having a quite similar safety net implementation, although in Germany, the implementation strongly depends on the particular municipality. UK deserves a particular mention here, with two very forward-looking programmes – “The New Deal for Young People” and “Connexions”. Connexions is a state-wide program for 13-19 year old youth, that in theory encompasses the entire age group, but in practice, it focuses on the higher risk subgroups and, of course, the problematic cases. While it is supposed to be largely preventative in nature, it also helps in cases of teenage pregnancies and social inclusion in particular. Its focus on teenage criminality supposedly deals only with prevention. The more important part of the safety net is the New Deal, which is supposed to be a one-stop-shop for unemployment training etc. but is also a part of the larger social safety net. Most of the safety net is comprised of the usual social support money. In short, UK does not have a very good safety net for the socially endangered for various, especially non-economically problematic people. In France, the situation is very different, but just as bad: it has a very disorganised and fragmented structure of welfare services, mostly focused on housing for the variously endangered, be they children or young adults. There is a significant lack of uniform vision for institutions comprising this safety net. Fortunately, there exist some facilities for endangered children. This is in stark contrast with its preventative services, which are very well planned, but very poorly implemented. Both types of services are often not specifically focused on youth, but instead on the general population with a specific problem or need.

In the various countries, different facilities are provided for children that could be gathered under the term ‘day care’. All of the countries implement a maternity/paternity leave scheme, where the parents cannot be made redundant while off work. What differs is the duration of this scheme and whether both parents are eligible - in Finland, for instance, both parents have the ability to use this time. Paid maternity leave is 12 months in Slovenia, 39 weeks (due to rise to 52) in UK, 22 weeks in Italy, 16 weeks in the Netherlands and Poland. After this time, Germany, Slovenia, The Netherlands, Finland and France provide nurseries and then kindergartens. At least in Finland, Germany, Poland and Slovenia, these are heavily subsidised, while in other countries they exist, but are usually commercial. In Finland, day care is even considered a right, and parents can even get a government subsidy for care at home. Most of the countries also provide after-school facilities etc. In The Netherlands, there is a strong workplace-day-care connection, with day-care for the employee’s children usually being paid for by the employer and subsidised by the government. In UK, there is a strong presence of all-day schools, which also provide a variety of afternoon activities and extra

day-care from 2-years and up – some is state funded for most deprived areas, but many nurseries are private.

The variety of youth service approaches in the different countries might raise the question: Why so many models are needed to solve the same problems everywhere? The answer lies in subtle differences in each region. The Finnish model seems to be the most comprehensive and adaptable, but Finland has the GDP to implement the required services, even if it ends up costing them less in the long run. There is, for instance, no chance for Germany adopting such a model any time soon, since its school system is ill suited to such a task. Realising the causes of such differences may, however, be important on the path to the perfect model for child and youth services.

### *3.3 Educational support*

Under the title of ‘educational support’ the main structures of support for children and young people with regard to educational problems and educational disadvantage are outlined. Six main strands are distinguished, the first two within the education system, the next three are organised by the welfare system, and the last by families themselves: support with regard to learning and teaching in regular school; the system of special needs education; financial aids for families of school children; school social (or/and counselling) work; measures for youth with a migration background; and finally, the whole range of private support teaching.

Historical background, recognition, definition and “diagnosing” of different target groups differ substantially across countries. Also how countries deal with financial support to different categories of pupils varies from country to country, so does the general support (social work, counselling, and so forth) and mainstreaming. Countries differ in how they govern special measures for benefit of immigrant children/pupils and those from ethnic minorities, regarding the background.

#### **3.3.1 Target groups/countries**

General educational support for all pupils usually includes guidance and counselling, social welfare services, cooperation between home and school, etc. However, educational support is organised not only in a generalised way but also by focusing on special target groups. The main target groups in the GOETE countries are: poor achievers; early school leavers, socially disadvantaged, pupils with migrant background and ethnic minorities, exceptionally capable, minors or young prisoners.

### 3.3.2 Financial support/countries

The financial support within educational system is mainly based on two forms of public monetary benefits: parental allowance and child allowances. Allowances usually rely on meals, transportation to school and back; sometimes they are also linked to taxes. The financial support 'for everyone' is specially mentioned in some countries, for example in Finland, where the child benefit is paid to all children until the age 17. In basic education all pupils receive a free daily meal, free school health care, free dental care and all learning materials, pupils living more than 5 km from school are entitled to free transport. Starting from upper secondary level, students are entitled to student financial aid. On upper secondary level, daily school meals are free too. In Italy there are two types of aids: direct interventions (scholarships, allowances, grants aimed at supporting school attendance) and indirect interventions that foresee some free-of-charge services (transport, meals, textbooks, and teaching materials, etc.). Financial support is mainly spent in three areas: welfare expenditure, health care expenditure, expenditure for education and training. In UK child benefit is available to all families and tax credits and other benefits may be available.

In all countries also benefits for some special target groups are central. At first we have to stress support for children with special needs, which is mentioned in most countries: families whose children require special education can benefit for example from exemption from boarding expenses, accommodation and medical expenses, transport expenses. In Poland they can get free psychological, pedagogical assistance and participation in specialized courses, similarly in Italy. In most countries also financial support for pupils from lower income families are important. In Poland family benefits depends on the concerned family's actual financial situation. The school grant can be offered also to pupils who find themselves in a particularly difficult situation for a defined period of time. In Germany lower-income families can receive a monthly supplement on child allowance; pupils from grade 10 onwards are entitled to state financial support in a form of a grant. Families also benefit from a tax exemption. Financial support extends also to support in buying schoolbooks and other teaching aids, or their provision free of charge and subsidies for students transport and statutory accident insurance. In UK the main financial support available is the provision of free school meals, but school uniform grants are also available. This support in the UK is available also for asylum seekers and refugees. In Germany children who do not live with their parents can benefit from a tax exemption and in Italy there is also allowance for families with at least three children. The table below (table 25) shows a comparable approach to the financial support for pupils' families.

**Table 25: Financial Support for Pupils' Families**

	Everyone	Asylum seeker, refugees	Lower income families	Children who do not live with their parents	Children with special needs	Families with at least three children
<b>Finland</b>	+					
<b>France</b>			+		+	
<b>Germany</b>	+		+	+		
<b>Italy</b>	+				+	+
<b>Poland</b>	+		+		+	
<b>Slovenia</b>					+	
<b>Netherlands</b>			+		+	
<b>UK</b>	+	+	+		+	

### 3.3.3 Measures and Programmes in the GOETE Countries

The range of qualitative support measures is very wide and diverse across countries. It is due to the nature of this support, which is often organised by NGO sector and represents the answer to the actual needs in specific historical context. They usually represent especially delicate issues in certain country, on which public programmes, projects try to react (e.g. early school leaving, integration of pupils with different linguistic background, etc.). The aim of the support measures is individualised treatment on the one side and mainstreaming on the other; assimilation (emphasise on the national language) on the one hand or integration (recognising also 'community or minority' languages) on the other.

The table below (table 28) presents all different kinds of qualitative support. They vary from those provided by state and/or municipality, to those provided by NGOs. Their range is from much individualised ones to more general. In case of pupils with migrant background they first of all are related to language. In table 28 one also can see which type of support is available in which country and one can explain what kind of qualitative support under each category (target group) is performed and/or is available.

**Table 26: Measures and Programmes in the GOETE Countries**

	Poor performance/ early school leaving	Students with a migration background	Children with special needs	Juvenile offenders	Each pupil
<b>Finland</b>		+	+		+
<b>France</b>	+	+	+		
<b>Germany</b>	+	+			
<b>Italy</b>	+	+	+	+	
<b>Poland</b>		+	+		
<b>Slovenia</b>		+	+		+
<b>Netherlands</b>	+	+	+		
<b>UK</b>	+	+	+		+

For low achievers/early school leavers there are following qualitative support measures identifiable in the GOETE countries:

- In France: Relay classes and workshops, educational integration classes, priority education policy, encouraging social diversity, development of boarding schools and preparatory classes for ‘Grandes Écoles’;
- In Germany: All-day school;
- In Italy: Projects for areas at risk of early school leaving;
- In the Netherlands: Bridging classes;
- In the UK: ‘Getting connected’ for disengaged young people.

For pupils with a migration background these are following qualitative support measures:

- In Finland: National language and job skill training – responsibility of municipalities; extra help in the pupil’s own mother tongue; preparatory teaching; preparatory vocational training Finland;
- In France: In primary education ‘initiation classes’, in secondary education ‘admission classes’ for pupils with no prior school education and ordinary admission classes France;
- In Germany: Preparatory classes for migrants, remedial classes, improving communication between schools and the families of pupils, teaching the heritage language, culture of the immigrant children, integration courses for parents;
- In Italy: Specific courses and measures for learning language of the country promotion and encouraging initiatives for the reception, protection of the culture and language of origin;
- In the Netherlands Teaching at asylum seekers centres; bridging classes;

- In Poland: Interscholastic section, ethnic or minority language instruction;
- In Slovenia: Modified programmes for autochthonous ethnic minorities; additional support in Slovene language for immigrant children; adjustments of assessment and evaluation; mother tongue instruction – not always; NGOs – psychosocial support for refugees, language instruction support preventive programmes, workshops, leisure activities;
- In the UK: Additional national language support, English as a second language; school's race equality policy and arrangements; teaching in community languages; ethnic minority achievement grant; voluntary organisations provide additional support; 'Every School a Good School' – supporting newcomer pupils – Northern Ireland.

For Children with special needs following qualitative support measures can be listed:

- In Finland: Part-time special needs education, special group, class or school ;
- In France: Relay classes and workshops, educational integration classes; pedagogical integration units, personalized schooling project;
- In Italy: Personalized educational plan; ordinary classes as detached sections in rehabilitation centres and hospitals; home tuition;
- In the Netherlands: Split placements – one part of the syllabus in special schools another in regular, individual education plan; individualized program of assistance, support and interventions
- In Poland: Correction/compensation, social therapy, logaedics and other courses and therapies; psycho-educational courses for parents;
- In Slovenia: Individualized program of assistance, support and interventions;
- In the UK: Alternative education provision, Children and Young People's Plan.

For Juvenile offenders the only known case of qualitative support is 'Integrated educational and vocational training system' in Italy. For each pupil there are following qualitative support measures mentioned:

- Remedial instruction in a form of individualised teaching (Finland);
- Supplementary classes, individual and group support (Slovenia);
- Youth Matters: Next Steps, Youth Opportunity card – for youngsters between 13 and 19; Connexions service – holistic support to a young person through personal advisers; Careers Scotland – careers guidance (UK).

### 3.3.4 Private support mechanisms / countries

In the last decades an ever-growing market for private (support) teaching has developed, in forms of private schools and sometimes also other support mechanisms that vary from country to country. Private sector reflects increasing educational demands and individualisation. The market for such institutions has grown a lot in recent years in certain countries, while in others it is not mentioned. However, by now the area is not well researched. Commercial providers within the field of education are not so well represented across the countries as shown in table 29 below. There are different private support mechanisms across the GOETE countries that are addressed to very diverse needs. This development is in line with the trend of an ever-growing market for private (support) teaching as an answer to increasing educational demands. In some countries private teaching and guidance with regard to homework are the main measures, in others mainly out-of-school learning opportunities and courses, or help for pupils with learning and psychological problems are focused. There are different levels of schooling in which needs of help prevail. Numbers of pupils needing help increase with rising school level. Sometimes help is needed already in primary schools like in Slovenia and France, sometimes in last two grades of primary education like it is in the Netherlands or in Gymnasium, Hauptschule and Realschule what is the case in Germany. Apart from this, also projects against bullying in school, violence, exclusion, use of intoxicants among youths or others, may be offered on a private basis.

**Table 27: Private Support Mechanisms**

	<b>Private teaching, guidance with regard to homework</b>	<b>Out-of-school learning opportunities and courses</b>	<b>Help for students with learning and psychological problems</b>	<b>Level of schooling when help needed</b>	<b>Policy projects</b>
<b>Finland</b>					+
<b>France</b>	+			+	
<b>Germany</b>	+	+		+	
<b>Italy</b>					
<b>Poland</b>	+				
<b>Slovenia</b>	+	+	+	+	
<b>Netherlands</b>	+	+	+	+	+
<b>UK</b>	+				+

### 3.4 Labour market policies for young people

Another policy area in which education and welfare are interconnected is the sector of labour market policies for young people. On the one hand, they tend to address primarily young people with low qualifications, on the other hand because additional and/or remedial

**Table 28: Overview of Labour Market Policies for Unemployed Youth**

Country	Key concepts	Key actors	Single most important measures			
<b>Finland</b>	“Guarantee”	Labour Force Service Center (one stop shop)	Career planning and guidance	Coordination of services	Work experience and/or training	Wage subsidies
<b>France</b>	“Insertion”	Missions Locales	Apprenticeship contracts	Graduate contracts	Wage subsidies	
<b>Germany</b>	“Trainability”	National employment service	Improving professional orientation in school	Pre-vocational education and training	Creating apprenticeship training inside and outside companies	Subsidised precarious work for benefit recipients (1-Euro-Jobs)
<b>Italy</b>	Conservative Familistic model or Flex-insecurity	Regional employment agencies	Wage subsidies for employers	Apprenticeship contracts (low standards)	Fixed-term and temporary contracts	Assistance for self-employment
<b>Poland</b>	Welfare to work”	Public employment services (Local Labour Offices), Voluntary Labour Corps	Training schemes	Graduate contracts	Employment in the social economy	(training allowance, scholarships for graduates in training or internship
<b>Slovenia</b>	”Individual counselling” “Training”	Employment Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs	Training schemes	Work experience schemes	Student jobs	
<b>The Netherlands</b>	“Guarantee”	Centers for Work and Income; Municipalities	Under 18: back to education and training Above 18: back to education and training, otherwise no state benefit	Pressure on job search	Youth development and experience plan	Work experience schemes
<b>UK</b>	“Welfare to work” Entry to Employment programme	Job Centre	Connexions: combining youth services, educational support and career guidance	New deal: gateway and options (employment, training, voluntary, environment)	Apprenticeship schemes	Job Grant; Job Grants are available for those who are moving directly from benefit into work of at least 16 hours a week, Working Tax Credit: Working Tax Credit is a weekly payment to help towards living costs.

education and training are seen as core requirements for the integration of so-called 'disadvantaged' young people.

The constantly high level of youth unemployment has lead all EU member states to develop policy measures for unemployed youth, as well as more preventative measures for those seen as most disadvantaged in their transitions to the labour market. In most countries such policies cover a rather broad range. However, at the same time labour market policies for young people are subject to mechanisms of path dependency and therefore their main orientations are in one line with the fundamental traits of the respective transition regime and the concept of disadvantage youth it relies on. Table 28 displays the most relevant policy measures applied in the countries involved in the analysis:

The overview shows that to some extent labour market training and labour market deregulation apply in all countries, yet to different extents.

According to the Thematic Study on Policy Measures for disadvantaged youth commissioned by the European Commission in 2005, labour market policies for young people are distinguished with regard to their orientation towards adapting individuals to the labour market by influencing their skills and their job search behaviour compared to creating additional opportunities both in the education and training system and the labour market. Apart from this, measures can be either preventative or compensatory (Walther & Pohl 2005). Table 29 shows how the most common policy measures distribute over the resulting four-field-matrix:

**Table 29: Concepts of and Measures against Youth Unemployment**

	<b>Compensatory</b>	<b>Preventative</b>
<b>Individualising</b>	Workfare policies (UK, NL) Labour market training (DE, FR, IT, NL, PL, SI)	Choice-based activation policies (FI) Access to further education and training (FI, UK)
<b>Structure-related</b>	Subsidies (FI, FR, IT, PL, SI) Support for self-employment (IT) Employment schemes (PL) Public sector (FI)	Deregulation (DE, FR, FI, TI, NL, PL, SI, UK)

Since the 1990s there is much reference made to a shift of labour market policies towards the so-called activation paradigm. Activation implies a shift from paying benefits to job seekers towards facilitating employment, a greater emphasis on the responsibilities of job seekers in terms of training and active job search combined with tying benefit entitlements to such activities – in sum: a trend towards individualising measures. However, research also reveals that – following the mechanism of path dependency in public policies – activation is interpreted and implemented differently. Table 30 shows a continuum ranging from a Nordic (universalistic)

*flexicurity* approach to a British (liberal) workfare approach. Most EU member states are located in between these two extremes – especially because the transition systems lack of key pre-requisites of activation:

- open access to the labour market either through labour market deregulation – which is increasingly on the agenda in most countries – or a broad public sector which is mainly the case in the Nordic countries while Poland is the only country with a broad publicly funded social economy;
- individual and universal entitlements to social benefits which is only the case in Finland, the Netherlands and the UK – however increasingly tied to the obligation of participating in training or work experience measures and accepting any kind of job;
- a broad and decentralised system of employment services which is accessible as well as active and efficient in contacting all potential addressees; this is especially lacking in Italy and partly also in Poland;
- an inclusive and permeable education system which provides low qualified young job seekers with the alternative of staying in and/or returning to further education and training; this is not the case in Germany, Netherlands and Poland.

**Table 30: Types of Activation Policies across Europe**

Type of activation	Countries	Benefit entitlements	Form and function of 'individual action plans'	Options	Long-term unemployment <sup>4</sup>
<b>Activation as supporting life planning</b>	Finland (partly Slovenia)	Individual and universal	Holistic and continuous life planning	Variety of choices	Low to medium)
<b>Activation as 'Workfare'</b>	UK, The Netherlands	Universal (but low, short term, high pressure)	Control and recruitment for schemes	Limited	Low to medium
<b>Activation as recruitment</b>	France, Germany, Poland (Slovenia)	Limited (acc. to age, employment status and family)	Profiling and recruitment for schemes	Limited	Medium to high
<b>Activation without institutional basis</b>	Italy	De facto no entitlement	Low coverage	De facto no options	High

<sup>4</sup> low = < 10%; medium = 10-25%; high = > 25% of registered unemployed (< 25 years) in 2009 (Eurostat)

### 3.4 Relation welfare and education

The policy discussions of the past ten to 15 years have recurrently emphasised the importance of education; the arguments include its relevance for a 'knowledge-based' society and economy, thus crucial for national competitiveness and long-term wealth and its being crucial to preventing social exclusion. Social policies, in particular, have been discussed in terms of the importance of 'activating' individuals – mainly through education and training – to enable them to play a productive role in society. These discussions imply a shift from redistributive to activating social policy.

The relation between welfare and education, or more specifically, education and social policy, has been interpreted differently according to national traditions. For instance, in the UK the term 'social policy' is not narrowly associated with social security and social insurance. There, education was always understood to be integral part of social policies (Marshall 1964). Conversely, in Germany education has not been viewed as part of social policy, and both policy fields were strictly separated – not least as the consequence of class assumptions.

The traditional role of initial education – equipping children and youth with life chances and providing them with social (and economic) status through qualifications – has been challenged by the notion that education and training have to accompany individuals throughout the life – *recurrent education*, *éducation permanente*, and *lifelong learning* have been the key words in these discussions over the past 40 years. Against this background, there has been much effort to reshape the relationship of these two important policy fields, integrating education and social policy. Nevertheless, the relation between education and welfare still varies substantially in GOETE countries.

Marshall's statement (Marshall 1964) that education in most Anglo-Saxon and Nordic countries is seen as part of social policy is not true for most of the countries. In most countries education and welfare are divided on the administrative level and also governed at different levels.

In Germany, institutionally (and legally), education and welfare are strictly separated (Allmendinger & Leibfried 2003). This applies for the political and administrative level where education and welfare issues are dealt with in different ministries, both at the Länder (region) and federal state level. Apart from this, education and welfare are governed at different levels: welfare legislation, health and labour market policies at national level, delivery of social and youth services at local/municipal level, education at Länder level (i. e. sub-national). At national level, the Ministry for Families, Elderly, Women and Youth integrates welfare and educational tasks inasmuch as it sets guidelines for early childhood, family services and non-formal education through youth work. At the local level, school social work implies cooperation with education, which is however not reflected by an institutional integration. Apart from special

needs education, support is largely provided not within the education system itself but by the corporatist *welfare state*, especially child and youth welfare services. This means that support is *subsidiary and compensatory and conditional upon assessment of individual deficits*. The most important support mechanism *within school is school social work*, which however is limited to the Hauptschule and primary schools in disadvantaged areas.

In terms of a fragmented, residual and passive subsidiarity-based welfare, *Italy* suffers from a relevant mismatch between education, training and labour market access. Last reforms at secondary and tertiary education and training level and in active labour market policies have been largely aimed at reducing this gap, but effects seem at the moment quite limited.

Education and welfare policies are not formally linked neither in Poland. Communes run public kindergartens, elementary schools, and junior high schools, while public high schools (general and voluntary) are run by districts. There are no formal links between social help institutions and schools. The strategies for education development, designed at the commune and district level, should be coherent with the premise of other documents (including those from the social policy field), concerning solving problems in the given region.

Education and welfare system are not integrated in the Netherlands; there are only some bridges that connect the two. The interconnection can be categorised into three: youth care related to pre-school, integrated measures to prevent dropout, and extended schools. Extended schools are the prime examples of increased cooperation between education system and youth services. Extended schools also relate to social policy in the Netherlands. These schools at primary level cooperate with preschool facilities, and other partners from the neighbourhood. They are meant to serve a network for enhancing social interactions in the neighbourhoods, and non-formal activities are offered to supplement the formal curriculum.

Education and welfare policies are not formally linked in France. The historical French welfare state has known a lot of changes since 1980. Decentralization reforms (1982/83 then 2004) paved the way for the growing role of local authorities (Régions, Départements, Communes) in social policies. The rise of local social policies and the development of social urban policy have deeply modified public intervention. Furthermore, there is no real youth national policy (at least under a unified point of view) and youth social competencies are the responsibility of local authorities. The central issue is partnership and local governance in order to guarantee a better consistency and to struggle against territorial inequalities. They shared some particularities: they appeared to struggle with each other to dominate youth. Nevertheless, they contributed together to the creation of the *éducation populaire* movement, which founded the main social and cultural services and establishments in the sixties.

Also in Slovenia there are relatively few coordinated activities between education and social services in the local level, past the statutory procedures and past the usual workload of school

counselling service. On national level inter-sectoral integration and coordination is often weak in *Slovenia*. At local levels the cooperation between educational, social security institutions and offers of youth work is usually relatively low, except in cases of treatment of individuals, where law frameworks demand cooperation and where coordinators of such cooperation are specialized institutions, for example, centres for social work or courts. Concrete examples of coordination amongst welfare and education (or other sectors on national level) are various national programmes and strategies or resolutions, which are related to more sectors and explicitly or objectively bind these sectors (also in the field of youth). Examples of strategic documents which are obviously inter-sectoral connected and interdisciplinary and are the result of coordination on the national level are, for example: National Programme on Drugs, National Programme on Social Security, National Programme on Mental Health, National programme for Children and Youth, or Programme of Fighting Poverty and Social Exclusion. Poland reports on similar strategic inter-sectoral attempts.

Exceptions in this regard are UK and Finland, where education and welfare are linked.

In Finland education politics and policies are said to have generally gone hand in hand with the developments in the social welfare sector. Lately though there have been different kinds of pressures toward market oriented policies in both fields (UK also reports on that). General educational support in Finland includes guidance and counselling for all pupils, social welfare services, cooperation between home and school, the use of the learning plan, and remedial teaching. There are relations between education and welfare in both directions. The welfare state functions as help which remove or decrease the financial obstacles for education. On the other hand, supplementary education and training aims at improving the labour market position of those under the risk of unemployment. Social work in Finland is organised on a municipality basis, although there are private enterprises and NGOs also involved. Social work is divided into Services for Families and Children, Adult Service and Elderly Services. Within this division of work, social workers take care of all possible issues within their client group, including guidance, financial support and alcohol and drug treatment issues, for example. The number of children and young people who had been the subject of child welfare interventions in community care has been continuously growing.

In the UK, in terms of the recent history, education was considered as one of three pillars of the welfare state and central to social construction. The period from 1944 to 1979 was based on a social democratic consensus that education should provide redistributive justice and equal opportunity (Tomlinson 2001). However, from 1979 the radical restructuring of public service during the Thatcher years and successive Conservative governments introduced market principles and competition into education and training. This saw an erosion of power of local authorities, with central government funding a quasi-market system in education, with an

emphasis on parental choice, but increased centralisation of the curricula. This ultimately, at least in the English context, led to the destruction of a state education system moving in the direction of egalitarian structures, to one that was competitive, fragmented and divisive (Tomlinson, 2001). New Labour came to power in 1997 with its aim of welfare reform through a programme of welfare to work policies and was concerned to address poverty and social exclusion. In particular, it had pledged to remove the large number of young school leavers who were unemployed. The so-called *New Deal for Young People* became the first of a series of active labour market policies to get people off welfare benefits and into paid employment. They did not abandon the market in education, and like the previous Conservative administration education and training were seen as subservient to the needs of the economy, with the promotion of human capital seen as essential for competing in a global economy. Greater resources were, however, targeted at addressing some of the problems of local deprived communities, including Education Action Zones and Sure Start early intervention programmes.

#### 3.4.1 Non-formal education

Non-formal education, youth work, social youth work or leisure activities centres are issues that are important in several countries. Mostly What they have mostly in common is a conceptualisation of youth work trying to compensate or even to claim to have a complementary role to education.

In Germany the concept of education in child and youth services refers primarily to non-formal education. In social youth work, non-formal education in contrast is much more compensatory, related to provision of basic social and personal skills – biographical reflexivity. But there are no bridges between formal and non-formal education according to which non-formal education can be recognised in order to overcome educational disadvantage.

In the Netherlands the youth sector (offered to schools by semi or fully profit oriented organisations) is connected with schools for leisure activities to be organised outside of schooling hours.

In France the role of so called ‘leisure centres’ is central. They are placed under the legislation relative to childhood care. They depend on the supervision of the Ministry of Youth and Active Solidarities. The establishments of *accueil de loisirs* – former *centre de loisirs sans hébergement* until 2006 – have been created to provide a local access to leisure for children and young people (from 3 to 17 years old) and a solution of occupying children between the end of school and the end of parents’ works. Leisure centres propose a large range of activities (cultural activities, sports, plastic arts, etc.) in a pedagogical project, which grants a lot of importance to the place of the child in the group. Most of them are driven directly by municipalities or delegated to associations under the authority of municipality.

In Slovenia 'Nefiks' is a recent initiative whose main purpose is to give greater value to informal education; to provide better conditions of financing informal programmes; to enable free time activities become a part of compulsory school contents.

### 3.4.2 Financial support

In several countries financial mechanisms are connected with welfare and education. In Germany, financial support for students and their families is only partly referred to in terms of welfare. The law on educational and training assistance is one of the most important policies geared towards remedying socio-economic disparities in the educational field.

In Poland, social support benefits are available to poor pupils in all kinds of schools. Local authorities on the basis of local regulations endorse these benefits. School grants can be offered to pupils who find themselves in a particularly difficult situation for a defined period of time. It is aimed at covering expenses linked to education or purchase of educational aids.

In Finland there is this general educational support for all pupils including guidance and counselling, social welfare services, cooperation between home and school, the use of the learning plan, and remedial teaching.

The United Kingdom is the only country where financial support is emphasised as for school leavers issue: In terms of benefits, up until the 1980's young people in the UK had access to adult levels of welfare support from the age of 16 and those leaving school at the minimum age could claim adult levels of benefits in relation to unemployment and also assistance with housing costs. Successive reforms have however eroded these rights for school leavers, in particular the 1988 Social Security Act, which removed 16 and 17 year olds rights to social assistance and replaced it with a youth training guarantee. As a result, except in cases of severe hardship, those under 18 are no longer entitled to welfare benefits and while 18 year olds are entitled to claim unemployment benefits and other forms of social assistance, such as housing costs if they live away from the parental home, they now get a reduced rate until the age of 25.

### 3.4.3 Initiatives

There are different unique initiatives in the GOETE countries:

Since the PISA studies, the relation between education and welfare has been intensified in Germany, yet without reversing the subsidiary position of welfare and support. The introduction of all-day schooling has aimed at integrating education and support especially for children and youth from disadvantaged families as well as formal and non-formal education.

In the Netherlands there is an interesting approach that can be understood as linkage of welfare and education (within broader frame of empowering underprivileged communities). The neighbourhood policy and a recent project of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment exemplify the linkages between social policy and education. There are some neighbourhoods in the Netherlands in which the quality of the living environment is falling behind compared to other neighbourhoods in the country. These neighbourhoods are characterized by a number of problems and shortcomings, including high unemployment, outdated housing and deteriorating public spaces. Assuming that it is the people who make the districts, the national government, together with residents and social organisations, proposed plans to improve the living environment in these neighbourhoods. The government has opted for strong neighbourhoods approach to turn the problem areas back into attractive neighbourhoods. In 2007, the 'From Problem District to Show District project' was proposed to the cabinet and a campaign was initiated to transform problem districts into show districts. The project has a broad approach and aims to involve various stakeholders. Municipalities, housing corporations, the business community, police, welfare workers and schools are setting the goals and also will jointly allocate funds and other resources (Leidelmeijer et al 2009).

In Slovenia, a counselling service is a common practice. A large part of association between education and social security is taking place through school counselling service, as the first level of implementing "social principles" in education and has often the role of a gatekeeper at directing young people and parents to more specialized institutions of assistance. These services are institutionally and systematically placed in and operate within kindergartens, basic schools and secondary schools, as well as in pupils' dormitories and in various forms of residential care. Also various civil associations (which are more or less related to school issues) often operate in schools and provide young people with different offers for leisure time activities, informal education and youth work. In Slovenia there are also local youth offices that can offer co-financing of programmes, which should fill the gaps or uncovered needs on some 'intermediate white spots' or empty places of activities, i.e. work with pupils from minority communities. In some areas, often in drug issues, there are so-called local action groups for preventing of drug addictions (LAS), which have a distinct unifying and coordinating role. Similar newer forms of integration are crises teams for dealing with violence, which are usually organized by centres for social work.

#### 3.4.4 Addressing vulnerable groups

Only in some such as Finland or Slovenia, 'special education' is covered and discussed in the context of vulnerable groups. In Finland for example, special needs education is provided primarily as part-time special needs education in conjunction with mainstream education, if

learning difficulties are minor. Slightly over one-half of the pupils transferred to special education, are fully or partially integrated into groups attending general education. The rest is admitted into a separate special education group, class or school.

In some countries there are certain vulnerable groups. In Germany, Italy and Slovenia pupils with migratory background are such special group, mostly in terms of vulnerability and difficult social mobility through the educational system. In Germany the trend is intensified support while at the same time educational disadvantage and lack of vocational orientation of school leavers is being ascribed individually. In the case of children and youth with a migration background and their families, this is often interpreted as a sign of a lack of will for integration into German society.

In Italy disadvantage seem to cumulate frequently and social mobility is weak, both for traditional categories of disadvantage (e. g. social class) and for more recent ones (e. g. international immigration) (Kazepov et al 2005). Recent studies also note that the descendant of mass internal migration that took place more than 40 years ago in the 1960s and 1970s still suffer from a relevant disadvantage in the access to tertiary education and in the social mobility (Eve 2009). To support the integration of migrant pupils, the presence of support teachers is not foreseen, unless pupils are disabled, in which case all the measures foreseen for disabled pupils are applied (the same applies to Slovenia). However in Italy, the presence of cultural and linguistic mediators is very widespread, often provided by local authorities as well as by associations and organisations working at territorial level, to help teachers and school staff communicating with pupils and their families. For the less integrated (Roma minorities, immigrants, inhabitants of underprivileged neighbourhoods with high levels of unemployment, criminality and family problems) school dropouts and early school leaving is more likely to be endemic.

In Slovenia current research shows that the already 40-year existing school internal supportive mechanisms (already mentioned counselling service in each kindergarten and each general and also secondary school) cannot give enough attention to the pupils who are in need for it – pupils with immigrant origin, pupils with special needs, and pupils from socio-economically poor environment (among them also Roma children). The gap between the children in the general education has been growing larger in recent years, also regarding their further educational path.

In the UK, the participation in education of ethnic minorities is claimed high and the problem of early school leaving and low levels of attainment is seen as a particular issue for white working class males.

In Poland there are no significant minorities or they are very hardly identifiable. But poverty of the family significantly influences the educational chances of children. Research result shows that growing up in poverty limits the access to education - in Poland about 10% of students

stops their education with completing of lower high school (gymnasium), but in case of students from poor families this number raises to 28%.

#### 4. Summary

Education is seen as a resource for coping with uncertain life courses while at the same time young people have to cope with the rising demands of education. The trend towards individualised learning processes has raised the awareness for the stress resulting from increasing demands, competition and uncertain destinations. Apart from this, learning in school is closely connected to other biographical processes in children's and young people's lives, which may function as resources or stressors (Bloomer & Hodkinson 2000). This accounts especially for the rising share of children and young growing up under conditions of poverty and marginalisation. In fact, youth research across Europe points to increasing signs of stress and bad health among young people while certain life styles categorised as deviant risk behaviour are ascribed to young people being overburdened by the demand of coping with education and uncertain careers. The foci of societal awareness and risk discourse vary across countries and time between early pregnancy, binge drinking, drug taking or violence while increasingly early school leaving itself is being addressed and individualised as risk behaviour.

Across European countries an increasing variety of (informal, non-formal and formal) support mechanisms is evidence for these growing demands children and young people are facing and the limited capacities and preparedness of schools to support their pupils and students in a comprehensive way. The analysis of support mechanisms will have to distinguish between private and public, institutional versus not institutionalized and professional versus not professionalized support

Individualised approaches towards teaching and learning in many countries (but not in all) tend to coincide with integrating special needs education into mainstream education under the term of *inclusive education*. Thus flexibilisation, individualisation and management of diversity emerge as basic principles of any pedagogy that avoids singling out problem groups and targeting groups such as migrant and ethnic minority youth, or boys and young men displaying deviant behaviour. However, the progress towards inclusive education varies, especially in Germany where special needs education is still largely segregated in special schools.

Apart from learning oriented support, increasingly measures of social support are developed such as health prevention, anti-bullying programmes, conflict mediation and social skills training, counselling with regard to social problems and/or educational decisions or measures aimed at facilitating transitions into the labour market. While some of these forms of support may be seen as traditional competencies of youth services, youth work or social work, in many cases the boundaries between teaching and social support are blurring, for instance in the case

of counselling, working with parents or social work in schools. Even in Germany, where social work in school is widespread, there is an absence of empirical data on different organisational models, competencies and professional profiles.

Boundaries are also blurred with respect to whether support takes place inside or outside schools, for instance in the development of full-day school in those countries without such a tradition, where debates and at times struggles are carried out over the combination between formal and non-formal education, and on the cooperation between school and external actors. Another example is working with parents, which is at the top on the agenda across different European contexts as the key to connect school to children's and young people's life worlds.

Research will have to analyse different constellations of learning and social support, of formal and informal support inside and outside schools and how subjective needs of children and young people are assessed and addressed. The question to what extent support can compensate for social disadvantage and what constellations of support are more effective in this regard will include the analysis of the relation between access and support. It is assumed that the perceived accessibility of education increases with the availability of individually tailored support mechanisms for students.

## **D. Relevance of education**

This chapter deals with the collective and individual meanings and functions of education in different contexts. This refers to the meaning individual learners ascribe to their own educational process which has consequences for their subjective motivation. It also refers to parents' expectations for their children's life chances, which have consequences for the educational decisions they take for or with their children. At the same time also employers' demands in terms of skills, knowledge and qualifications of the future work force have consequences for how school leavers can spend their education with regard to occupational careers (see especially section A.2). Apart from this, actors of the civil society value and/or claim specific educational content as societally useful – or not. Finally, the educational system itself implies assumptions of relevance both by translating demands of societal actors into curricula and by linking different educational outcomes to each other in terms of admission requirements to further or higher education. After, a selective review of recent scientific debate regarding the relevance of education, this chapter focuses on the way in which the education systems involved in the GOETE project institutionalise societal debates of the relevance of learning in terms of curricula development and teacher training. This will be confronted with some findings of international research on students' motivation as reflections of the subjective relevance of education for young people.

### **1. International research and theoretical concepts on the relevance of education, knowledge and competence**

Chapter A outlined the different concepts and discourses of education that are relevant in international educational research and theory and their relation to the life course. Three main dimensions have been discerned: education as process of subjectivation, education as a functional means of social reproduction and education as a social interaction. All these concepts imply assumptions of the relevance of education, yet on different levels and from different perspectives. In order to fulfil societal functions as qualification, allocation and integration (Fend 1974), education needs to provide skills, knowledge and competencies deemed relevant by all societal actors: teachers and school representatives responsible for providing them, students and their parents who base educational choices on their subjectively perceived relevance, and employers and labour market representatives who depend on job seekers disposing of skills and knowledge which are necessary for the production of goods and services. Curricula and qualifications represent institutionalised agreements on relevant education that are differentiated according to age groups, occupations and levels in the occupational hierarchy (Reid 1992; Doll 1993).

Social and technological change produces changes in how the various elements of education are held as relevant with regard to the contents and direction of certain occupations, as well as the level of qualifications required. While many occupations in crafts and manufacturing rely on distinct technical skills and knowledge, this is much less the case in the service and information economy (Castells 2000; CEDEFOP 2008a). However, in the Fordist period, qualifications played different roles in national labour markets. While in *organisational* labour markets entry was characterised by learning-on-the-job and internal and external career mobility, *occupational* labour markets relied on the relevance of standardised vocational qualifications and their acknowledgement through employers (Shavit & Müller 1998; Müller & Gangl 2003).

While taking these institutional differences into account, standardised sets of technical skills have lost relevance for more and more occupations due to the flexibilisation and acceleration of production during Post-Fordism (Piore & Sabel 1986; Brown & Lauder 1998). The introduction of concepts such as technical, social, and personal key competencies and transversal skills can be interpreted as an attempt to shift from narrow qualifications targeted to specific occupations, towards foundational skills and knowledge which can be adapted to specific needs and environments (Rychen & Salganik 2003), and that are easier to update because they are less tied to internalised professional or vocational identities. Competence-based lifelong learning strategies can be interpreted as a step-by-step withdrawal of state institutions from defining what is relevant in education, leaving it to the individuals and their competition on the labour market (Mørch & Stalder 2003; Robertson 2009a).

Individual disorientation coincides with general uncertainties about what skills and knowledge and what key competencies are needed in knowledge societies. The coincidence of early school leaving and youth unemployment on the one hand, and the forecast of skills shortages on the other, suggest a growing mismatch between education and the labour market. Inasmuch as global competitiveness calls for innovation, economic development towards 'new jobs' requires 'new skills' and creativity (CEDEFOP 2008a; EC 2008d). Technological change has led to an increase of high skilled jobs requiring transversal skills, ICT skills and social skills (Castells 2000; Jung 2003). At the same time, employers complain that school leavers lack basic skills of reading and calculating, while in manual and manufacturing work key competencies tend to be interpreted in traditional terms: compromising own aspirations, accepting hierarchies and standardised routines. It is no longer self-evident what skills and competencies are and what makes them relevant for *social integration* and for meaningful working and personal experiences – and for whom (Robertson 2009a). Social and technological change produces changes in what in education is held as relevant with regard to the contents and occupational directions as well as the level of qualifications. Competence-based lifelong learning strategies can be interpreted as a step-by-step withdrawal of state institutions from

defining what is relevant in education, leaving it to the individuals and their competition on the labour market (Mørch & Stalder 2003; Robertson 2009a).

While such lifelong learning strategies have been primarily advocated by supra-national institutions (Butcher et al. 2002), at national level the situation is less clear. Local and national employers may welcome the possibility of justifying non-recruitment of school leavers by referring to official skill assessment (in the context of the German dual training system this is reflected by the term of (lacking) „trainability which accompanies the term employability (Pohl & Walther 2007). In a series of countries discourses claim a re-orientation in terms of ‘back to basis’ due to the observation that reading and mathematical skills are declining. But many remain sceptical towards vague categorisations of competence (Brockmann et al. 2008).

With regard to school, it is not so clear how far the rhetoric of curriculum innovation is actually put into practice. In vocational education and training (VET) three ideal typical developments can be discerned (Green et al. 1999; cf. Walther & Pohl 2005; Pohl & Walther 2007; CEDEFOP database):

- Introduction of national qualification frameworks based in response to a transversal skill and key competence approach and allowing for the integration and recognition of informal and non-formal learning within educational trajectories (UK, Slovenia, partly Finland; cf. EC 2008a);
- Innovation of standardised vocational curricula by reshaping occupational, professional and vocational profiles upon consultation with social partners; for instance, some basic skills have been broadened in order to facilitate later specialisation and change (Germany, Netherlands);
- Minor changes in school-based VET by including practical elements while introducing additional VET programmes and courses often using European Social Fund (Italy, France, Poland).

As regards forecasting future needs in terms of skills and competencies a comparative study by CEDEFOP distinguishes: coordinated holistic models integrating quantitative and qualitative methods (found in Germany, Netherlands, UK); countries that are on the way towards coordinating holistic systems (e. g. Italy, Poland); coordinated non-holistic systems primarily applying quantitative methods (Finland); and countries in which skill forecasts are not coordinated but occur exclusively at sector level (Slovenia) (CEDEFOP 2008b). Interestingly, in all these countries worries related to future provision of skilled workforce have not abated, as forecasts cannot necessarily be translated directly into VET provision. Obviously, neither bureaucratic nor managerial approaches to VET can succeed in involving all relevant actors, or combine skills forecast, curriculum development, teacher training and educational planning models. For example, the anticipation of skill needs does not necessarily ensure employers’ active engagement in training provision. Overall, little comparative data is available on the

mechanisms of curricula development– who is involved what way, in what information and knowledge is being used, how key competencies are broken down and integrated with technical skills and subject-related knowledge. For general education, Sweden is an example of involving various actors in public debate on curriculum reforms (Resnik 2005) while in VET the UK model is an example of a dialogue on skill needs, though it is undermined by the traditional reluctance of employers to accept training standards (Biggart 2005b; Brockmann et al 2008).

While non-transparent and uncoordinated mechanisms undermine the effectiveness of education and training, they also imply a democratic deficit insofar as education and training are public institutions. This explains an increasing reluctance of schools and employers, teachers and trainers to be subjected to PISA assessment which relies on competence definitions resulting from decision-making processes which – although formally not beyond democratic control – have not been achieved through public debate (Fuchs 2003; Resnik 2005; Kallo & Rinne 2006; Amos & Radtke 2007).

Yet the relevance of education is not restricted to labour market demands. In democratic societies the relevance of education is by definition related to citizenship and the need to provide young people with an understanding of their role as citizens (Dewey 1966). But de-standardised life courses make the meaning and prerequisites of *active citizenship* unclear.

In order to fulfil societal functions as qualification, allocation and integration (Fend 1974), education needs to provide skills, knowledge and competencies deemed relevant by all societal actors: teachers and school representatives responsible for providing them, students and their parents who base educational choices on their subjectively perceived relevance, and employers and labour market representatives who depend on job seekers disposing of skills and knowledge which are necessary for production of goods and services. Curricula and qualifications represent institutionalised agreements on relevant education that are differentiated according to age groups, occupations and levels in the occupational hierarchy (Reid 1992; Doll 1993). In summary, questions as to whether education is *relevant* in providing the kinds of skills, knowledge and competencies that are necessary for the labour market and the individual biography is still an open one. Moreover, answering these questions depends largely on the perspectives of particular interest groups. Thus, the classical concept of 'Bildung' understood as subjective reflexivity, is still relevant even within the 'new educational order' of lifelong learning (Field 2000). In the sense of reflexive educational science (Lenzen 1996) the GOETE project connects the question of whether education still contributes to social integration to the question of whether education is still socially integrated

## 2. Curricula, evaluation, teachers and teacher training in the GOETE-countries

This chapter describes the current changes in curricula development and regarding the evaluation of schools within the GOETE-countries. In a second step, basic statistical data about teachers and teacher training is provided and reflected due to the question of relevance.

### 2.1 Curricula development and evaluation of schools

In all GOETE-countries procedures regarding school-curricula development are diverse, often lacking transparency while external expert commissions are the main tools of the input of expertise. Around year 2004 – as a reaction to the PISA-shock – most curricula have been reformed shifting from input-based curricula describing contents of teaching to output-based systems of educational standards (what students should be able to know and to do). This transformation differs from a strictly definition of obtainable standards in the United Kingdom and in Germany to a more implicit catalogue of standards within a core curriculum as in Poland or Slovenia. Besides the strictness, all educational systems have in common, that national standards have been set. Germany with its federal structure of 16 Länder and the United Kingdom with differences between England/Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland are characteristics. In Germany there are more general educational standards on national level and precisely defined standards on Länder level – according to the national guidelines. In the United Kingdom, every country has its own curriculum – there are no general guidelines for the whole state. The responsibility for the development and legislation of core curricula lies in most GOETE-countries directly by the ministry of education (France, Italy, Poland). Other countries have a special board acting under the ministry (Finnish National Board of Education, National Curriculum Council and Professional Council of Republic of Slovenia for general education). A third group has more autonomous institutions that care about curriculum development after consultation with the ministry (Netherlands Institute for Curriculum Development (SLO), England/Wales: Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency (QCA), Northern Ireland: Council for the Curriculum Examinations and Assessment (CCEA)). In recent years, initiatives have been taken in order to develop measures for assuring the quality of education at both, the level of the school system and the level of the individual schools, classes and students.

Basic idea of educational evaluation is to give account for the current situation of the education system in general and the school system in particular to provide school principals and teachers with the information they need to improve the efficiency of their work. Evaluation has two dimensions. On the one hand it covers what happens in classroom (students learning, teaching, diagnosis and counselling etc.), on the other hand evaluation means the monitoring of the whole

education system (structural data about assessment, dropouts, promotions, gender etc.) as well as (international) comparison, e.g. between classes, schools or school types.

The evaluation of education is compulsory by law in all GOETE-countries, but the range of this duty differs (Table 31). External evaluation is recognised as an inspection by the administration, while self-evaluation is experienced rather as support to an optimised acting as teacher in everyday work life. In some GOETE-countries there is an established authority (like OFSTED in England) that has the monopole in external evaluation efforts. Other countries have a broader understanding of the accountability for evaluation and gives primarily support for self-evaluation-processes (e.g. Netherlands). In a broader sense, statistical information is also part of the evaluation of the school system. Within most GOETE-countries this information is open to the public (e.g. number of students, classes, schools; number of students passing different exams; information about the budget of schools). In some countries even the results of the whole evaluation process is freely available on the web (e.g. OFSTED-data in England).

**Table 31: Status and Focus of Evaluation**

	<b>External evaluation</b>	<b>Self-evaluation</b>	<b>Main focus</b>
<b>Finland</b>	compulsory	compulsory	educational results, curricula, accessibility of education, financial accountability
<b>France</b>	compulsory	not widely in use	educational institutions, teachers
<b>Germany</b>	compulsory (not in all states)	compulsory	educational standards, student assessment, teachers, lessons, school life (depending on state)
<b>Italy</b>	compulsory	compulsory	students, classes, teachers, pupils' flow, promotions, failures and dropouts
<b>Poland</b>	compulsory	compulsory	curriculum, student assessment
<b>Slovenia</b>	compulsory	optional	teaching, ways of instruction, educational outcomes, learning difficulties, curricula
<b>The Netherlands</b>	Compulsory (school inspection)	compulsory	educational standards, school life, students learning, learning difficulties
<b>UK</b>	compulsory	TBC	outstanding, good, satisfactory, inadequate

Since the late 1980's in some GOETE-countries began a decrease of centralised governance of education (Finland, Germany, Netherlands) while other countries still have a centred education system (France, UK). In the first case, the accountability of local administration and schools has increased. This process is accompanied by a growing autonomy of the individual school, the development of school-specific profiles, the promotion of inter-school cooperation as well as the strengthening of the advisory functions of the school supervisory authority. Instruments for self-evaluation have been developed and the national administration helps the local institutions by evaluating themselves. In the second case, national administration controls the system widely on its own. These contexts lead to a system of quality management that is primarily based on external evaluation. In the end both ways of monitoring have to ensure an effective operation of

the school system and have to guarantee a successful students learning. The position and importance of evaluation became stronger, although experience in the US shows negative effects of standardisation and evaluation (such as ‘teaching to the test’) as well.

Table 32 shows the overall responsibility for evaluation, as well as responsible authorities on the national and regional/ local level. Usually the Ministry of Education has the overall responsibility for evaluation of schools. The evaluation process itself is organised by different authorities, most often under coordination of the Ministry. In some states special evaluation commissions were established (France, Italy, England). Those commissions are usually responsible for the external evaluation, while self-evaluation is a duty that the schools mostly have to cope with on their own.

**Table 32: Responsibility for Evaluation**

	<b>Overall responsibility</b>	<b>National authorities</b>	<b>Regional/ local authorities</b>
<b>Finland</b>	Ministry of Education; Evaluation Council; Finnish National Board of Education	Ministry of Education; Evaluation Council	Municipal educational administration
<b>France</b>	Ministry of Education	Inspection générale de l'Éducation nationale (IGEN); Inspection générale de l'Administration de l'Éducation nationale et de la Recherche (IGAENR); Inspection générale des Bibliothèques (IGB)	Inspecteurs de l'Éducation nationale (IEN); Inspecteurs d'académie – Inspecteurs pédagogiques régionaux (IA-IPR)
<b>Germany</b>	16 ministries of education on the level of states	no national evaluation but educational reporting and support by the Institut für Qualitätsentwicklung im Bildungswesen (IQB)	different institutions in the 16 federal states (e.g. Landesinstitut für Schulentwicklung in Baden- Württemberg); self- evaluation by the schools
<b>Italy</b>	Ministry of Education	National Institute for the Evaluation of the Education System (Istituto nazionale per la valutazione del sistema di istruzione – INVALSI)	self-evaluation by the schools
<b>Poland</b>	Ministry of Education	(System of Educational Information) Schools superintendent	(community accreditation); self-evaluation by the schools
<b>Slovenia</b>	Ministry of Education	National Council of Experts	self-evaluation by the schools and Regional School Boards
<b>The Netherlands</b>	Ministry of Education	Education Inspectorate	self-evaluation by the schools
<b>UK</b>	Department of Education	England: Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (OFSTED)	Local Education Authorities

The Dutch Situation shows – as an example – how even the results of self-evaluation could be used to report the achievement of the whole system. Every school must regularly assess its own performance. This information forms the basis for a school plan, which must be approved by the participation council. Through this document, the school renders account to the Inspectorate for its policies. The school prospectus contains information for parents and pupils. It is updated every year on the basis of the school plan and describes in more detail what goes on in the school, its objectives and the results achieved. It thus serves as a basis for discussion between parents and the school about the school's policy. The school sends a copy of its prospectus to the inspectorate, to which it is accountable for its policy on quality. The Inspectorate may decide to verify whether the statements made in the prospectus accurately reflect the situation in practice. Additionally independent external inspections and evaluations are also carried out.

In Poland, internal evaluation – so called self-evaluation – is carried out by school by appointed teachers or a director, while external evaluation is carried out by team of school inspectors appointed by the schools superintendent. The outcome of an evaluation procedure is a report prepared by evaluation team. In this report the degree of meeting requirements by school or other educational institution is assessed.

## 2.2 Teachers and teacher training

**Table 33: Number of Teachers (ISCED 1-3)**

	2005		2006		2007		2008	
	All	Female (%)	All	Female (%)	All	Female (%)	All	Female (%)
<b>Finland</b>	66 559	68.7	68 633	69.4	68 442	69.0	67 821	69.0
<b>France</b>	744 473	64.9	712 441	65.7	707 609	65.9	697 992	66.2
<b>Germany</b>	829 742	63.8	832 324	64.4	835 980	65.0	837 029	65.5
<b>Italy</b>	691 707	77.5	691 201	77.8	723 870	77.9	673 353	76.4
<b>Poland</b>	531 979	75.9	520 933	75.9	521 037	76.3	518 325	76.2
<b>Slovenia</b>	22 329	78.4	22 546	78.4	22 290	78.9	21 942	79.0
<b>The Netherlands</b>	240 213	65.5	242 566	66.3	245 876	66.9	251 467	67.7
<b>UK</b>	778 676	67.9	753 628	67.8	788 575	68.5	798 047	68.7

Source: OECD (<http://stats.oecd.org/>) and own calculations

**Filters:** Year: 2005-2008; Level of education: primary and secondary education; Programme orientation: all educational programmes; Type of institution: all types of institutions; Intensity of participation: full-time and part time; Age groups: all ages; Gender: total and females in %; Personal category: classroom teachers and academic staff.

Due to very different populations of the GOETE-countries, the number of teachers differs as well (Table 33). Germany and the UK have most primary and secondary teachers, followed by France, Italy and Poland. Countries with a smaller population have less teachers (Netherlands, Finland and Slovenia). In some countries the number of teachers stayed almost constantly during the last four years (Finland, Germany, Poland, Slovenia), while in other countries the number was decreasing (France, Italy) or slightly increasing (Netherlands, UK). Being a teacher is a career for women. At least 66% (Germany, France) up to 79% (Slovenia) of teachers are female. Comparing population and number of teachers is not a valid indicator of the supply with teachers, because not every nation has the same population-students-ratio. In some countries more young people related to the whole population are living, in others less.

This is why the student-teacher-ratio has been established as an indicator of the amount of supply with teachers in schools (Table 34). It is one of few international statistics available regarding teachers and it provides information how many students are taught by one teacher. Today, the best support is given in Slovenia, followed by Finland and France. Ratios of UK, Italy, the Netherlands and Poland are close; students in Germany have by far the weakest quantitative support of teachers. In some countries the supply with teachers was getting better and better during the last eight years (Finland, Italy, Slovenia, UK), in Germany slightly worse. In a third group of countries, the ratio stays more or less constantly (France, Netherlands). A significant exemption is Poland, which had an increasingly low ratio until 2008, when it escalated up to a worse level.

**Table 34: Student-Teacher-Ratio (ISCED 1-3)**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
<b>Finland</b>	15.0	14.8	14.4	14.3	14.3	14.7	13.7	13.8	13.9
<b>France</b>	14.6	14.5	14.3	14.2	14.2	14.3	14.2	14.3	14.4
<b>Germany</b>	16.4	16.3	16.1	16.0	16.1	17.2	17.2	16.9	16.7
<b>Italy</b>	17.0	17.2	16.5	15.9	15.9	16.1	15.5	15.6	15.8
<b>Poland</b>	13.8	13.9	13.4	12.5	N/A	12.3	12.1	11.7	16.1
<b>Slovenia</b>	13.4	13.4	13.1	13.5	13.7	13.5	12.9	12.7	12.5
<b>The Netherlands</b>	15.8	15.6	15.5	15.9	15.9	16.1	15.5	15.6	15.8
<b>UK</b>	19.6	19.3	20.1	19.6	16.7	N/A	15.6	15.2	15.7

Source: Eurostat (<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>)

**Filters:** Year: 2000-2008; Level of education: primary and secondary education.

**Remark:** The student-teacher ratio should not be confused with average class-size. It can be a difference between the number of hours of teaching provided by teachers and the number of hours of instruction prescribed for pupils. More than one teacher can be teaching in a class at the same time. Special education teachers can work with small groups or in one-to-one teaching, which not affect the class size but the student-teacher-ratio.

Another meaningful international statistic is the age distribution of teachers between the countries (Table 35). Most countries have an almost equal distribution of teachers to age groups (Finland, France, the Netherlands), others have a disproportionately high number of older teachers (Germany, Italy), other a lot younger teachers (Poland, Slovenia, UK). Besides demographics, this might be an indicator that countries with a lot of older teachers might have a higher demand of new teachers in the next years, while countries with few teachers that are about to retire might go forward to a hiring freeze. In all countries the percentage of teachers older than 60 years is relatively low. This could be an indicator of job-related stress factors in the teaching profession.

**Table 35: Age Distribution of Teachers (ISCED 1-3)**

	<=24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	>=65
<b>Finland</b>	1 242	4 949	8 745	9 720	10 543	9 673	10 062	9 169	3 561	157
<b>France</b>	7 425	71 580	107 543	115 178	98 468	89 467	95 180	96 810	16 123	218
<b>Germany</b>	0	33 666	77 391	102 582	91 192	109 809	164 554	185 791	69 258	1 285
<b>Italy</b>	167	5 060	26 474	58 370	94 280	120 200	144 053	131 624	34 617	3 427
<b>Poland</b>	14 544	73 907	87 298	87 276	93 552	78 317	49 786	22 613	8 238	2 794
<b>Slovenia</b>	76	1 960	3 392	3 377	3 840	3 874	2 877	1 737	420	40
<b>The Netherlands</b>	11 507	29 863	26 865	23 158	26 273	36 914	45 173	37 157	14 110	447
<b>UK</b>	34 103	125 854	109 963	98 354	94 552	96 721	115 047	94 073	27 594	1 449

Source: OECD (<http://stats.oecd.org>) and own calculations

**Filters:** Year: 2008; Level of education: primary and secondary education; Programme orientation: all educational programmes; Type of institution: all types of institutions; Intensity of participation: full-time and part time; Gender: total and females in %; Personal category: classroom teachers and academic staff.

Teacher training usually is organised under consideration of the different levels of schools (primary, lower secondary, upper secondary). Table 36 shows these levels and the corresponding type of school (e.g. primary school, complementary school, grammar school). Most often, students holding a qualified teacher status for lower secondary level are allowed to teach in lower secondary and in the corresponding grades of upper secondary, so there are typically no 'lower-secondary-teachers' or 'upper-secondary-teachers', but secondary-teachers with different profiles and status.

In all GOETE-countries, teacher training is academic. Most often students have to complete a master or correspondent degree at universities or special professional academies comparable to universities (Finland, Germany, Poland, Slovenia). In some countries a Bachelor is sufficient to achieve a qualified teacher status (Netherlands), or there is an additional training of one or two years after graduating with a bachelor (France, UK). The additional training leads to a higher degree than bachelor only, but is not comparable to a masters. The admission criteria to

begin a teacher-training program are the highest secondary-school examination (e.g. A-Level, Baccalauréat, Abitur, Matura). In some countries there are additional entrance examinations that help to choose the best or most eligible candidates (e.g. Finland). In France, a national competitive examination regulates the entrance to the second part of teacher training after graduation.

Most common is that teacher candidates are enrolled in all subjects corresponding to the school subjects if they chose training for primary schools. Future secondary school teachers are enrolled in only one or two subjects, while courses for special-needs-schools usually has an emphasis of one field of physical or psychical disabilities (e.g. for teaching deaf people).

**Table 36: Initial Teacher Training (Primary and Secondary)**

	type (corresponding school)	level	training institution	enrolled in	duration (years)	final degree	tuition (year)	fee	admission criteria
<b>Finland</b>	Peruskoulu	primary	university	all subjects	approx. 5 (varies)	Master's degree  (in vocational teachers' education, depends on previous education)	no tuition fee		Admission criteria into university; matriculation examination or 3-year vocational degree + entrance examination
		lower sec.		two subjects					
		special needs class teacher		all subjects					
		part-time special needs teacher		emphasis					
	Lukio	general upper sec.	university	two subjects					
Ammattikoulu	vocational	university/ polytechnic (or equivalent professional knowledge + pedagogical studies)	at least one subject						
	vocational school special teacher								
<b>France</b>	École Élémentaire	primary	IUFM	eight subjects	5	CRPE	430 €		Baccalauréat (UNI); national competitive examination (IUFM)
	Collège	lower sec./ vocational	university + IUFM	one subject	3 (UNI) + 2 (IUFM)	CAPES			
	Lycée/ Lycée Professionnel	upper sec./ vocational	university + IUFM	one subject	3 (UNI) + 2 (IUFM)	CAPES/ CAPET/ CAPLP			
	SEGPA, ITEP, IME	Special Education	IUFM + CNEFEI	emphasis	5 (IUFM) + 1 (CNEFEI)	CAPSAIS			
<b>Germany</b>	Grundschule	primary	university/ PH <sup>1</sup> + teacher academy	two subjects	4-5 (UNI) + 1.5 (TA)	1 <sup>st</sup> State Exam/	0-1000 €		Abitur; aptitude test <sup>2</sup>
	Hauptschule/ Realschule/ Mittelschule	lower sec.		two subjects	4-5 (UNI) + 1.5 (TA)	Master (university/ PH);			
		upper sec.		two subjects	5-6 (UNI) + 1.5 (TA)	2 <sup>nd</sup> State Exam			
	Gymnasium	special Ed.		emphasis <sup>3</sup>	4-5 (UNI) + 1.5 (TA)	(teacher academy)			
	Sonderschule	vocational		two subjects	5-6 (UNI) + 1.5 (TA)				
Berufsschule									
<b>Italy</b>	Scuola Elementare	primary	university	all subjects + education	5 (master degree)	Master	a minimum fee for enrolment is foreseen by law.		Higher education diploma + entrance examination
	Scuola secondaria inferiore	lower secondary	university	specific subjects + education	3 (Bachelor) + 2 (Master) + 1 (TFA)	Master			Bachelor (subjects) + entrance examination
	Scuola secondaria superiore (Liceo; Istituto Tecnico)	upper Secondary	university	specific subjects + education	3 (Bachelor) + 2 (Master) + 1 (TFA)	Master			Bachelor (subjects) + entrance examination
	Formazione professionale	vocational	university	specific subjects + education	3 (Bachelor) + 2 (Master) + 1 (TFA)	Master			Bachelor (subjects) + entrance examination

<b>Poland</b>	Primary school Gimnasium Lycee Technikum	primary lower secondary special education school vocational school	university * academy	all subjects	3 (Licencjat)/ (Magister)	5 Licencjat/ Magister	1,200 - 4,300 PLN per year , i.e. 300 - 1,075 EURO).	matura, no special recruitment test
<b>Slovenia</b>	Osnovna šola	primary	university	all subjects	5	Master	(2364 €) <sup>5</sup>	Matura; no special recruitment test
	Gimnazija	lower sec.		two subjects			(1600-2856 €) <sup>5</sup>	
	Šola s prilagojenim programom	upper sec.		two subjects			(1600-2856 €) <sup>5</sup>	
	Srednje strokovne in Poklicne šole	special Ed.		all subjects			(2641 €) <sup>5</sup>	
		vocational		two subjects			(1600-2856 €) <sup>5</sup>	
<b>The Netherlands</b>	Basisschool/ Basisvorming	Primary <sup>4</sup>	PABO	all subjects	4	Bachelor (HBO)	1672 €	
	MBO, VMBO and first 3 years of HAVO and VWO	secondary education	HBO-grade qualification	two one subject	4	Bachelor (HBO)	1672 €	MBO level 4, HAVO/ VWO diploma / alternative entrance exam (age 21+)
	MBO. VMBO, HAVO and VWO (all grades)	All levels of secondary education	HBO- grade one qualification university	one subject	3 (only part-time) 1	Bachelor (HBO) Master	1672 € 1672 €	Grade two qualification in the subject to be studied. VWO diploma
<b>UK</b>	primary school/ high school/ comprehensive school/ grammar school <sup>6</sup>	all levels	Higher Education Institute (HEI)	education (B.Ed.); education + subject (B.A./ B.Sc.)	3-4 (Bachelor) + 1 (PGCE/ PGDE)	B.Ed./ B.A./ B.Sc. (Hons) + PGCE/ PGDE	3872 € (Bachelor) + 3796 € (PGCE) <sup>7</sup>	Advanced Level; Advanced Higher Grade); no special recruitment tests

**Footnotes:**

<sup>1</sup> Pädagogische Hochschulen (PH – Universities of Education) exist only in Baden-Württemberg. PH do not offer courses for higher secondary level. Because every of the 16 Länder in Germany has their own education system, all data only approximately fits the general situation.

<sup>2</sup> Aptitude tests are more and more used as a compulsory self-screening, but not as criteria for admission.

<sup>3</sup> Special courses with emphasis on one field of physical or psychological disability

<sup>4</sup> Preparation for SEN is implemented in the given courses.

<sup>5</sup> Fee only for part-time students; full-time-studies are free of tuition.

<sup>6</sup> Working with students with SEN: candidates with QTS must obtain additional qualifications if students have visual and/ or hearing impairments.

<sup>7</sup> PGDE is free of tuition for Scottish domiciled students.

**Abbreviations:**

B.A. = Bachelor of Arts (Hons; UK)  
B.Ed. = Bachelor of Education (Hons; UK)  
B.Sc. = Bachelor of Science (Hons; UK)  
CAPES = Certificat d'aptitude au professorat de l'enseignement du second degré (France)  
CAPET = Certificat d'aptitude au professorat de l'enseignement technique (France)  
CAPLP = Certificat d'aptitude au professorat de lycée professionnel (France)  
CAPSAIS = Certificat d'aptitude aux actions pédagogiques spécialisées d'adaptation et d'intégration (France)  
CNEFEI = Centres d'études et de formation pour l'enfance inadaptée (France)  
CRPE = Concours de recrutement des professeurs des écoles (France)  
HAVO = Hoger Algemeen Voorbereidend Onderwijs (Netherlands)  
HBO = Hogescholen voor Hogere Beroepsonderwijs (Netherlands)  
Hons = Honours (a bachelor that is a precondition for QTS (UK)  
IME = Institut Médico-Éducatif (France)  
ITEP = Institut Thérapeutique, Éducatif et Pédagogique (France)  
IUFM = Institut Universitaire de Formation des Maîtres (France)  
LA = Lehramtsstudiengang (teacher-education-course in Germany)  
MBO = different vocational degrees (Netherlands)  
PABO = Pedagogische Academie voor het Basisonderwijs  
PGCE = Postgraduate Certificate in Education (England, Northern Ireland, Wales)  
PGDE = Postgraduate Diploma in Education (Scotland)  
PH = Pädagogische Hochschule (Germany, Baden-Württemberg only)  
QTS = Qualified Teacher Status  
SEGMA = Sections d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel Adapté, (France)  
SEN = Special educational needs  
TA = Teacher Academy (provides compulsory post-graduate practical training in Germany)  
TFA = Tirocinio Formativo Attivo (practical training in school; Italy)  
UNI = University  
VMBO = Voorbereidend Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs (the Netherlands)  
VWO = Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk (the Netherlands)

Duration of the teacher training programmes is at least four years (Netherlands, UK), usually they last five years (Finland, France, Slovenia). Some courses in Germany will even take up to 7.5 years of training. Most GOETE-countries have set up tuition fees for teacher training. Only training in Finland and some courses in Germany are still free of charge. The range of tuition varies from 430 Euros (France) up to 3882 Euros (England) a year.

The number of graduates in teacher training could be related with the number of graduating students in all fields of tertiary education (Table 37). This leads to the information, to which amount teacher training is part of the academic culture and how big the need of hiring new teachers within a specific GOETE-country might be. In the UK and in Finland still every 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> student was enrolled in a teacher-training program – in Germany, France and Italy they are less than 2% of all graduates. Obviously the smaller countries have a bigger need of trained teachers and the teacher training programmes are a more important part of academic life than in the GOETE-countries with a huge population.

**Table 37: Number of Graduates in Teacher Training**

	2005		2006		2007		2008	
	graduates in teacher training	% of students in all fields	graduates in teacher training	% of students in all fields	graduates in teacher training	% of students in all fields	graduates in teacher training	% of students in all fields
<b>Finland</b>	2 044	5.2	1 836	4.5	2 091	4.8	3 162	5.3
<b>France</b>	1 179	0.3	3 569	0.8	4 627	1.1	3 921	1.0
<b>Germany</b>	3 832	1.6	7 403	2.4	7 840	2.3	7 294	2.0
<b>Italy</b>	2	0.0	13 876	3.7	25 159	6.4	2	0.0
<b>Poland</b>	50 830	10.3	20 107	4.0	18 827	3.6	N/A	N/A
<b>Slovenia</b>	1 246	16.7	1 244	15.4	1 183	15.1	1 149	13.9
<b>The Netherlands</b>	15 423	14.5	15 542	13.2	15 382	12.5	15 190	12.2
<b>UK</b>	37 638	7.6	38 264	7.4	38 616	7.4	32 177	6.0

Source: OECD (<http://stats.oecd.org>) and own calculations

**Filters:** Year: 2005-2008; Level of education: tertiary type A and advanced research programmes; Programme destination: total; Programme duration: all educational programmes; Programme orientation: all educational programmes; Field of education: teacher training and total over all fields of study; Gender: total.

### 3. Subjective relevance: students' learning motivation as reflection of user value of education

In chapter B on access to education and in chapter C on coping with education the issue of early school leaving has been introduced as a relation between structural and individual factors. Motivation is one of the concepts most widely referred to in addressing individual factors of learning. According to an OECD study from 2000, early school leaving is one key indicator for the learning motivation of students in lower secondary education (OECD 2000). Although a rational choice approach according to which continuing or dropping out of education results from an quasi-economic assessment of investment and returns (Breen & Goldthorpe 2000) appears much too one-dimensional for capturing the biographical dilemmas young people in their transitions through and from education to work are facing, it is plausible to start from the assumption that individual educational decisions – and the motivational processes behind them – are influenced among other factors by the relevance students ascribe to education for their lives. Psychological motivation theory highlights two key factors in explaining motivation: the incentive of a particular goal according to subjective motives and the feeling of self-efficacy in terms of feeling in control of achieving subjectively relevant goals by own agency (e.g. Heckhausen 1991; Bandura 1997). Although subjective motivation is not merely individual inasmuch as both subjective motives and the feeling of self-efficacy emerge from experience with own agency (or learning) in given social contexts – providing or inhibiting access to subjectively meaningful goals as much as to the resources needed to achieve them; i.e. also motivation is affected by social inequality (Walther 2009).

In Chapter B it has been shown that early school leaving varies between 5% in Poland and Slovenia and up to 20% in the UK and Italy. What does this tell about the learning motivation of students and the relevance they ascribe to education? In the transformation societies the marketization has coincided with the decrease of the employment system. In this constellation education represents a safe place, which at the same time increases later employment prospects in the modernised economy – at home or abroad. In Italy and the UK traditionally educational credentials played a minor role in securing labour market entry. And in Italy leavers from upper secondary and higher education – at least in the first years – are as much concerned by unemployment as early school leavers. As regards the countries with medium early school leaving rates and more differentiated education systems a hypothesis would be that the early age of selection means that students in the lower educational tracks get the message that education is not their route towards a socially recognised and subjectively satisfying future – in contrast to the other ones whose options are held open due to average or above average marks.

The EU-funded study “Youth Policy and Participation” (YOYO) has analysed motivational careers of young people in transition between school and labour market. In this study from the GOETE countries Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the UK were involved while Denmark represented the ‘universalist’ regime type and Romania was the only post-communist country. By relating the analysis of individual motivational careers with project case studies in the context of national transition systems key prerequisites of motivation in transition were elaborated: possibilities of choice, space for self-experimentation, trustful relationships and support mechanisms that refrained from channelling young people into predefined directions. It revealed that in the universalist transition regime type in Denmark these conditions were more likely to be met by the mainstream transition system than in the other countries where young people experienced less possibilities of choice, higher pressure to lower aspirations and to adapt to ‘realistic’ career options, stigmatising conditions of support or the absence of any support. However, the research has also shown that experiences of participatory and self-motivated learning are much more evident in contexts of informal or non-formal learning – either peer networks, contexts of self-employment or youth work – than in formal education (Walther et al. 2006; Walther & Pohl 2005).

#### 4. Summary

Challenges regarding the relevance of education are defining necessary skills, knowledge and key competencies to be capable of acting in a knowledge society. Social and technological change produces changes in what in education is held as relevant with regard to the contents and occupational directions as well as the level of qualifications. However, early school leaving and youth unemployment do not only show the mismatch between education and labour market but also the alienation of students from formal education.

In order to fulfil societal functions as qualification, allocation and integration, education needs to provide skills, knowledge and competencies through its institutions (e.g. schools). But the question whether education is *relevant*, in providing the kinds of skills, knowledge and competencies which are necessary for the labour market and the individual biography is still an open one and is especially depending on its perspective of observation. This is why the GOETE project connects the question of whether education still contributes to social integration and whether education is still socially integrated to the question how different actors involved compromise on what education is held as relevant.

In all GOETE-countries procedures regarding school-curricula development are diverse, often lacking transparency while external expert commissions are the main tools of the input of expertise. Around 2004 – as a reaction to the PISA-shock – most curricula have been reformed shifting from input-based curricula describing contents of teaching to output-based systems of

educational standards. These standards are evaluated to give account for the current situation of the education system in general and the school system in particular to provide school principals and teachers with the information they need to improve the efficiency of their work.

The quality of education depends on the infrastructure of educational institutions. In this regard, teachers and their training are crucial to the quality of an educational system. Referring to student-teacher-ratios, the best support for students by teachers currently should be given in Slovenia, followed by Finland and France. Ratios of UK, Italy, Netherlands and Poland are close; students in Germany have by far the weakest quantitative support of teachers.

In all GOETE-countries teacher training is 'academic'. While the level and duration of studies are similar, it needs to be analysed to what extent contents of teacher training do differ and to what extent this applies to the social aspects of learning such as students' motivation.

While there is some comparative knowledge about how educational institutions define and implement relevant education much less is known how the learners, children and young people, manage to link their own subjective motives and interests to institutionalised curricula. While there is some evidence that participatory education – i.e. a dialogic negotiation on what makes education relevant – may enhance processes of identification on the side of young people, there is little comparative knowledge on the different scopes of participation in formal education.

## E. Governance

This chapter deals with structures and discourses of educational governance inasmuch as they influence the educational trajectories of children and young people. First an overview over recent research debates is being given. Second, an overview over the key steering mechanisms of the education systems involved in the GOERTE project is given. Third, the most important recent educational reforms in the countries concerned are highlighted.

### 1. International research and theoretical concepts on educational governance

In political analysis, outside of the Anglo-American countries, the term *governance* is of quite recent origin having emerged during the 1990s. It results from the assessments of the failure of traditional governments to cope with the problems with which they are confronted and to adjust to new forms of social, economic and political organisations. In 1993 Jan Kooiman defined governance as “patterns that emerge from governing activities of social, political and administrative actors. The patterns form an ‘emerging’ outcome as well as a more abstract framework for day-to-day efforts at governing” (Kooiman 1993 p. 2). Currently, it is defined as:

“...a coordination process of actors, social groups and institutions that aims at reaching collectively defined and discussed objectives. Governance then concerns the whole range of institutions, networks, directives, regulations, norms, political and social uses as well as public and private actors which contribute to the stability of a society and a political regime, to its orientation, to its capacity to lead, to deliver services and to assume its legitimacy” (Le Galès 2004).

Another succinct rendering of the origins and developments of the term in the respective academic disciplines, i. e. in sociology and political science, has been provided in a short paper by Renate Mayntz (2004; see also 2009). There she delineates the respective perspectives and characteristics of the different disciplinary contexts mirrored in the differences between actor-centred and institution-centred meanings; she also emphasizes that governance and steering are not identical concepts. She insists that governance is broader, encompassing not only narrow questions of steering, but also broader issues of regulation. The discussion of governance is also linked to the changing relations between the national and international levels, where the adoption of the term governance in international relations follows its own disciplinary traditions. A landmark of the use of governance in this context certainly is the 1992 publication by Rosenau and Czempiel, *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, which triggered a widespread concern with issues of global governance. In this

context, International Regime Theory should be mentioned (Hasenclever et al 1997) as well as its appropriations in comparative education (Parreira do Amaral 2007; 2011).

As a general definition of governance, a distinction can be made between a broad and a narrow sense. In the broad sense governance refers to different means of coordination of actors, by adaptation, negotiation, order, and hierarchy; in a narrow sense, it refers to the different forms of purposeful acting of collective concerns (Mayntz 2009 p. 8). The network-like structures of governance, the shifting area of specific actor constellations in social and educational policy has raised many questions concerning, for example, issues of legitimacy and authority (see Radtke 2006; 2009). Governance includes symmetrical as well as asymmetrical relations among actors on different levels. Also, much attention has been paid to a shift in regulative media in the context of governance. According to Willke (2001) three regulative media may be discerned, namely power, money and knowledge, whereas knowledge and expertise have become the crucial instruments of governance in the field of education policy (for a detailed discussion see: Ioannidou 2007, 2010; see also section E.4).

The reason why governance has become an important term in educational policy and educational research is related to profound changes in the area of education. These changes concern specifically the instruments and ways of steering, new forms of providing and organizing educational services, and the emergence of new actors in educational policy. In addition to this analytical dimension, there is a normative or ideological usage that could be useful to have in mind when we study and analyse educational governance in the GOETE project.

As underlined by Le Galès, at least four groups of theorists have mobilised and sophisticated the notion of governance: first, the advocates of the public choice and new management theories for whom the question of governance is a question of public action efficiency or of problem to solve; second, the neo Marxists theorists (from GB and the USA) for whom the question of governance is related to the growing influence of the market in the decision making process and to analysis of the development and evolutions of coalitions in the same process: for them the traditional government is characterised by processes of fragmentation, privatisation, and systematic weakening (Jessop 1998); a third range of authors comes from the Anglo-Saxon's tradition and focuses on the concept of negotiated governance: they study networks of public policies, the horizontal interactions between actors, the interdependence, the autonomy of sectors and networks vis à vis of the State (Kooiman, 1993; Rhodes, 1997); fourth, a last group is more orientated toward the regulations that take place in the governance process, they study contingency and local orders and recognise the diversity of institutional solutions on the question of collective action, of social and political order or of economic regulation (Salamon 2002).

In this context, the concept of governance has been widely used by educational analysts to describe the opening of the education field to new dimensions and actors. Roger Dale (2009) points out that governance concerns “a number of changes, many of which can be traced to the changing relationships (in both directions) between globalisation and Europeanisation”. According to Dale,

“...the culmination of these changes came in the Lisbon Agenda, where a set of implications and responsibilities for education were elaborated, with the proviso that they could be met at the level of the Union, not that of individual Member States. The content of the ‘Concrete Future Objectives’ for education systems enunciated at Lisbon may not have been especially dramatic or novel in itself, but the fact that it was accepted by Member States represented the beginning of a new stage in Europe’s involvement in education and training” (p. 30-31).

According to Nathalie Mons (2009 p. 2ff.), the last two decades can be characterised by the emergence of deep and large educational reforms in all the countries of the OECD. They are supported by three types of criticisms of the traditional educational system: the weakness of academic knowledge (revealed by standardised national and international assessments); of professional integration to labour market (through youth unemployment); of the socialisation processes (though the growing mediatisation of youth violence inside and outside of schools). Beyond these objections, one can also find a deepening gap between the organisation of the ‘teaching state’ and the new economical (market logic and market regulation) and social trends (individualisation, liberalisation, institutional decline). Despite strong national specificities, these reforms have several important elements in common.

The author distinguishes six main aspects of these reforms: the recognition of the necessary plurality of public and private provision of education, central and local actors, professional and non-professional (among which local authorities and parents); the apparent de-hierarchisation of public and private sectors relationships, which were for a long time dominated by the public sector; the differentiated approach of needs which leads to a localisation of policies geographically, socially and pedagogically; the horizontal processes in educational policies, no longer characterised by an exclusive vertical approach; the imposition of a regulation by the results; the growing importance of new values of efficiency and affectivity (and no longer the equality of treatment).

As far as the project GOETE is concerned, two dimensions of educational governance should be emphasised:

On the national dimension, beyond these common trends, each country develops its own way to practice educational governance. If certain of them choose decentralisation processes, others

will opt for devolution or will determine new state competencies (usually, the definition of programmes, of exams and assessment). In this context, the importance given to actors such as local authorities or parents may vary considerably from a country to another (Duru-Bellat and Meuret 2001);

On the international dimension, European institutions play a growing role by supporting the creation and the development of a European Education Space and of a European Education Policy. They also introduce new norms and values that influence largely national spaces:

- 'learning' rather than 'education';
- Competence not content;
- The key importance of its involvement of/with ICT;
- A specific, employment-related focus rather than comprehensive social policy, nation-building scope;
- A 'life-long' system of provision that is confined neither to specified age-defined stage of an educational career, nor to existing 'educational' institutions" (Dale, 2009, p. 138).

Against this background, the GOETE project sets out to understand the relation of international discourses on educational governance as well as their national adaptations and appropriations. The following section addresses this issue.

## 1.1 Current discourses of educational governance

A central paradigm in current research on educational governance that is closely linked to the shift towards post-bureaucratic outcome-oriented governance is *school effectiveness* (Scheerens & Bosker 1997; Daun 2007; Townsend 2007; EC 2008b; Fend 2008). The review of EU-funded educational research states that, "in recent years there have been concerns that national education systems are insufficiently flexible to respond to contemporary challenges" (Power 2007, p. 4).

The perspective of school effectiveness is widely seen as ambiguous. On the one hand, it contributes to the *relevance* of education for individual *life courses* in terms of providing life chances and without the impact of international organisations such as the EU and the OECD social inequalities within education and training would not have been taken on the agenda of national education policies. This says much about the media and forms of influence in educational governance. Research results on the relation between educational success and social origin were unambiguous and well known in academic circles, but did not exert political influence until the studies commissioned by International Organisations and the expertise residing in these institutions turned them into key players in national policies (Parreira do Amaral 2010; forthcoming). It is also due to this development that the one-dimensional focus on

individual school failure has been balanced by a perspective towards 'failing schools' although this results from measuring achievement of students rather than school activities (Stoll & Myers 1998; Amos 2006; MacBeath et al 2006; Holtappels 2008). In connection with increasing school autonomy single schools are made accountable, often without considering inequalities within education systems or society at large whereby teachers are overburdened by expectations of excellence and equity (Power 2007). On the other hand, the dependency on school effectiveness approaches on assessment leads to the fact that the societal negotiation on what skills, knowledge and competencies are necessary and worth learning is replaced by concentrating on measurable outcomes. This means not only that 'woolly' areas, such as personal fulfilment, cultural transmission and citizenship have lost ground but also that a managerial approach does not necessarily provide employers with school leavers equipped with both basic skills and transversal key competencies (Power 2007). This means that school autonomy and decentralisation show mixed results. They promise to provide spaces for flexibility which are needed to secure access, coping and relevance of education in concrete social contexts while at the same time lead to increasing standardization via competition and market principles that are the main means of communication and accountability of school effectiveness (Maroy 2004; Daun 2007).

## 1.2 Current reforms

It is unclear in how far debates and reforms around educational governance have actually reached and changed everyday school life. That does not mean that there have not been many changes at the level of everyday school practice; in all systems, it is hard to overlook the multiple measures and initiatives which have been taken at school, local, regional or national levels in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning and to ensure access, coping and relevance for pupils and students.

One main trend to be observed is the increase of individualised and self-directed forms of teaching and learning as a reaction to the diversity of students' learning rhythms. While the Nordic countries in particular introduced individual education plans relatively early, in continental and Southern European countries there is still a struggle for the right balance between open and structured forms of learning (which, especially in differentiated school systems, is linked to the assumption that learning is more effective in homogeneous than in heterogeneous groups) (Weinert 1995; Akker et al. 2004; Döbert & Sroka 2004; Bohl 2005; Cuconato 2007). This is connected to the fact that it implies a shift in the teacher's role from 'instructor' towards 'learning facilitator' (Wenger 1998). In fact, both the PISA studies and a Eurydice study reveal different professional identities and profiles across national education systems (Eurydice 2008b). In order to become effective such trends need to affect curriculum development (from narrow

curricula to broader standards) and teacher training. Little empirical knowledge is available about mechanisms connecting curriculum development with teacher training, even less in cross-country comparative perspective (Kuiper et al 2007).

Individualised approaches towards teaching and learning in many countries (but not all) tend to coincide with integrating special needs education into mainstream education under the term of *inclusive education*. Thus, flexibilisation, individualisation and management of diversity emerge as basic principles of any pedagogy which avoids singling out problem groups and targeting groups such as migrant and ethnic minority youth, or boys and young men displaying deviant behaviour (Nind et al. 2005; Dietz 2007; Dupriez et al 2008; Hall et al 2008; Heckmann 2008; Hodgson 2008).

Closely related to the trend towards individualised learning processes is an increasing awareness that learning in school is closely connected to other biographical processes in children's and young people's lives which may function as resources or stressors (Bloomer & Hodgkinson 2000). Across European countries an increasing variety of (informal, non-formal and formal) support mechanisms is evidence for the growing educational demands children and young people have to cope with and the limited capacities and abilities of schools to support their pupils and students appropriately.

While some of these forms of support may be seen as traditional competencies of youth services, youth work or social work, in many cases the boundaries between teaching and social support are blurring, for instance in the case of counselling, working with parents or social work in schools providing counselling, conflict mediation, social skills training or supporting transitions into vocational training. Even in Germany, where social work in school is widespread, there is an absence of empirical data on different organisational models, competencies and professional profiles (Bolay 2004).

Boundaries are blurred with respect to whether support takes place inside or outside of schools, too, for instance in the development of full-day school in those countries without such a tradition, where debates and at times struggles are carried out over the combination between formal and non-formal education, and on the cooperation between school and external actors (Coelen 2004). Another example is working with parents, which is at the top on the agenda across different European contexts as the key to connect school to children's and young people's life worlds (Gillespie & Primavera 2001; Contini & Mannini 2007; Fend 2008). The concept of parental or educational partnerships is not uncontended (Franklin, Bloch & Popkewitz 2003; Bloch, Holmlund, Moqvist & Popkewitz 2003). In a Foucauldian tradition, critics see in it an indication of the increasing governmentalisation of the state.

While these measures and initiatives provide a broad and deep reservoir for research on learning and education as social practice (Chisholm 2008), they share as a common denominator that they are in most cases restricted to schools with an over-representation of disadvantaged children and youth with all risks of stigmatisation attached to compensatory education.

In fact, the obvious need for social support in relation school reveals a clear ambiguity in current trends of educational and welfare governance. On the one hand, policies aimed at developing knowledge societies rely on activation and lifelong learning, and legitimise shifting public expenditure from consumption and social protection towards investment into human capital through education. On the other hand, education systems obviously are overburdened with this challenge and need welfare support. It is into this black box that the GOETE project aims to shed new light.

### 1.3 Communication and cooperation between schools and other educational actors

“Multi-faceted solutions are needed that will include legislation, monitoring targeted resource investment, and ‘softer’ approaches designed to tackle cultural discrimination [...]. If there is one over-riding lesson that can be learnt from research on education and exclusion, it is that schools, colleges and universities cannot tackle all the issues alone.” (Power 2007, pp. 6-7). This conclusion to a review of EU-funded educational research confirms one of the underlying assumptions of the GOETE project: the adequacy of education in the knowledge society cannot be defined in general terms but needs to emerge from communication, negotiation and dialogue among all actors involved with and concerned about issues of access, coping and relevance (cf. Julkunen & Korhonen 2008).

In this sense, research on VET and lifelong learning since the 1990s have focused on ‘learning cities’ or ‘learning regions’ (OECD 1998; Treptow 1999). Particularly with regard to school, current trends in educational governance, at all levels, tend to prioritise the local level. “Local school spaces” (Maroy 2004, p. 63) or “local educational landscapes” (German Children and Youth Report 2006) are seen as appropriate arenas for “social learning” (Percy Smith 2006), for communication and dialogue between educational actors, for providing bridges between school, non-formal education and social support (du Bois-Reymond 2009a). At the same time, decentralisation in many cases means devolution, for example if local governments get additional responsibilities, though this may mean they lack the necessary resources to fulfil them and departures from universal standards around which citizens can advance claims (Robertson 1993; Crouch et al. 2004; Kazepov 2005; Loncle et al 2008).

Comparing the level at which social support measures addressing children and youth in school are primarily implemented across Europe reveals significant differences. In the Nordic countries education is governed by a dialogue between local and national level. This has led to implementing counselling services and forms of non-formal learning within school in most contexts (Bechmann Jensen et al 2005; Julkunen & Öhmann 2005). This is similar in Slovenia, where education is a national competence (Polak & Ule 2005). In the Netherlands systematically 'community' or 'broad' schools are developed and formally integrated into a wider educational network (du Bois-Reymond 2008). In the UK, the former Connexions and present Youth Matters approaches have contributed to restructuring the relationships between school, youth services and careers service within local partnerships, using a top-down approach (Biggart 2005b; Hoyle 2008). In France, Germany, Italy and Poland measures and initiatives are either developed ad-hoc locally or follow particular local models of cooperation and coordination (cf. Bolay 2004; Jung et al. 2005; Kazepov et al. 2005; Kazepov 2006).

The GOETE study aims at identifying appropriate levels and spaces of educational governing in terms of dialogic communication and democratic decision-making. In particular, it will investigate under what conditions the local level allows for the development of educational governance from "school effectiveness to system improvement" (Fullan 2008) that can reconcile quality and equity in relation to access, coping and relevance of education.

#### 1.4 Participation of pupils and students

Cooperation and communication as principles of educational governance pose the question of power relationships between economy and policy, between national and local level as well as between school and other educational actors. This includes also the participation of students and their parents in planning and decision-making. In most school systems parents' councils have an established role, yet with varying competencies and influence. This is even more ambiguous with regard to students themselves. While in non-formal education, participation is a self-evident principle, in school students experience discrepancy between being taught participation in citizenship education classes limited rights for student councils. Student councils exist in most schools across Europe, with key activities restricted to issues related to school life, and excluding questions of curriculum, student assessment, disciplinary or management (Dubet & Duru-Bellat 2000; Becquet 2005; Ray & Pohl 2006; Karsten et al. 2006; Walther et al. 2006; Loncle & Muniglia 2008; Machacek & Walther 2008). An area of increasing concern is the issue of information and knowledge of parents with regards to the formal structure and decision processes in schools. A particular target group are parents with an immigrant background, but they are not the only ones.

Especially where school learning is individualised and expected to contribute to lifelong learning biographies, student participation has the potential to facilitate identification with, and motivation for, learning through constructing personal biographies – which might be seen as a modern interpretation of the classical German concept of ‘Bildung’, in terms of subjective reflexivity. Research into the motivational careers of disadvantaged young people and ‘trendsetters’ reveals that participation, in terms of choice of contents, forms and directions of learning, as well as spaces to experiment with own choices (and support in doing so) make a clear difference as regards intrinsic learning motivation (Diepstraten et al. 2006; Walther et al. 2006; Stauber 2007). Further, research on cooperation between school and external actors, especially youth work and third sector organisations concerned with non-formal education, reveals increasing participation in schools and in relation to school issues also (Power 2007 p. 36; cf. Holford & van der Veen 2003).

### 1.5 Educational Governance: Matters of Outcomes, Costs or Justice?

The term ‘governance’ is as multi-faceted as its composite ‘educational governance’. On the one hand, educational governance is primarily viewed as an affirmative concept in respect of developments and discourses on school effectiveness, efficiency and accountability whose central focus is assessment of outcomes, at the expense of reflection and debate about educational goals. While this does not mean that questions of inequality are neglected, it is less clear whether this is seen as a matter of recognising individual rights and equal opportunities within democratic societies, or of reducing the social and economic costs of school failure (Field et al 2007; Psacharopoulos 2007). On the other hand, it is used descriptively or analytically, either with an organization sociological or a political science perspective. In addition, there is an increased awareness of the international dimension of educational governance (Amos 2010; Parreira do Amaral 2011). The GOETE research has a reflectively normative perspective as it addresses the adequacy of education in terms of its contribution to social integration through providing individuals with skills, knowledge and competencies which they and other societal actors, especially labour market representatives value. Combining a life course perspective on education with the perspective of educational governance means bringing ‘the social’ back into education.

This means, first, to understand individual life courses as key mechanisms of social integration in which education and welfare – understood as life course politics (Leisering & Leibfried 1997) – influence the interplay between structure and agency (Allmendinger & Leibfried 2003; Esping-Andersen 2006; Stauber & Walther 2006). In a similar vein, comparative transition research concludes the necessity of integrated transition policies (Walther et al. 2002; du Bois-Reymond 2009b) This means, second, that educational research has to remind educational theory, policy

and practice that education is a social institution concerned with *both* individual processes of learning as such and the institutionalised arrangements aimed at facilitating learning of particular skills, knowledge and competencies. This means, third, re-embedding functions and outcomes of education into negotiations between individuals and society on the meaning of the common good as well as of 'good life'. The capabilities approach (Sen 1999) provides a fruitful theoretical perspective insofar as it allows us to relate education and welfare within a citizenship perspective (Robeyns 2006; Otto & Ziegler 2006; Andresen et al. 2008). This means, fourth, that educational governance – to maintain the social integrative potential of education – implies providing spaces of (public) dialogue involving all societal actors concerned, especially the learners themselves, in considerations about how they find access to education, what they need to cope with the demands of education, and what skills, knowledge and competencies they need for a life which is subjectively meaningful, economically productive and socially recognised (see Bauman 2001).

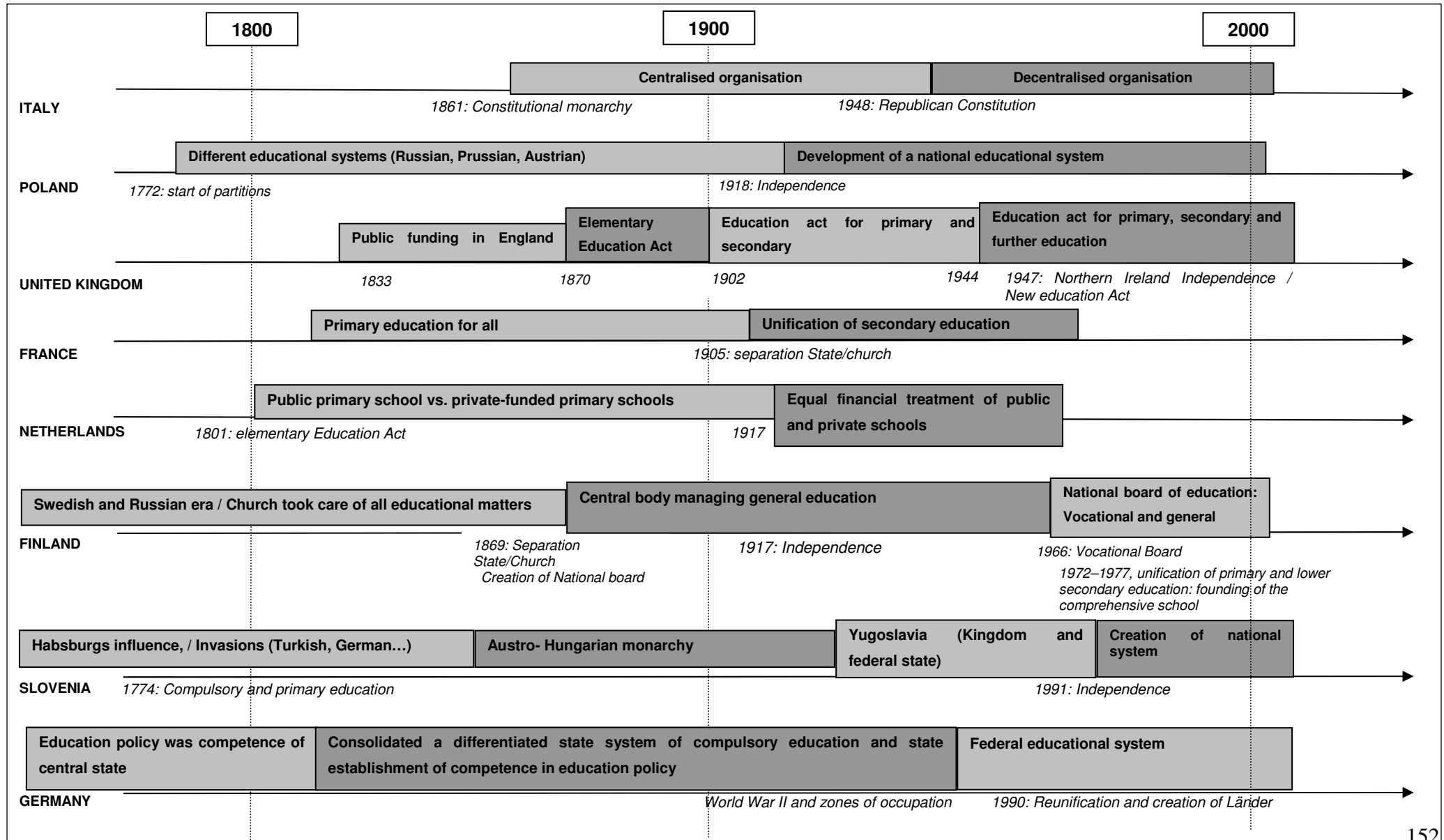
## 2. Structures of educational governance in the GOETE countries

### 2.1 Foundations

National systems were constructed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Construction of national educational systems is closely linked to social, political, economic and religious development of the country. In spite of the differences between studied countries (some are decentralised (England, Germany), some are centralised systems (France, Italy), most European countries have developed to varying degrees an institutional regulation of educational system based on the 'bureaucratic-professional model' (Maroy 2008). Christian Maroy enlightened the phenomenon of a widespread model that combines bureaucratic components of a nation-state responsible for the education of the people with professional components. The main common aspect is that the state first became an educator state because of the importance to successfully socialise young generations in the mode of the nation, disregarding their social class loyalties. So, this organisational form based on the standardisation of rules and conformity was justified for creating a nation-state able to guarantee the greatest universality, equal treatment and equal access to education. This bureaucratic and professional model goes hand in hand with modes of regulation based on the control of agents' conformity to general rules, socialisation and the spreading of norms, values and skills of teachers. This model is quite present in all European countries because of the rather general development of mass education, but also because of institutional mimetic processes (Meyer et al. 1997).

The following table provides an overview of the main historical foundations on the educational systems in GOETE countries.

**Graph 12: Main Historical Foundations on the Educational Systems in GOETE Countries**



## 2.2 Organisation of educational institutions

Based on the European research project 'Reguléduc' Christian Maroy (2004, 2008) describes many significant developments in the modes of institutional regulation in some European countries observed over the last 20 years, which are useful for GOETE analysis. They have often been fostered by important legislative texts in education policy (Education Reform Act of 1988 in England and Wales, laws of decentralisation and devolution in France in 1989 and 2004, etc.) or by major political turning point link to the fall of communist regime (Creation of Slovenia in 1991, German reunification, etc.). He analyses these changes as the birth of "post-bureaucratic" models (Quasi market regulation and the Evaluative State or "governance by results") and underlines the main evolutions. As regard educational governance in GOETE project, the increasing autonomy of schools and the search for a balancing point between centralisation and decentralisation are two essential points.

Indeed, *school autonomy* has come to be a widespread policy in Europe. Initially pursued as a basic principle in order to guarantee teaching freedom, to strengthen local school democracy and to complete the process of decentralisation, school autonomy has today, in most countries, become an instrument to achieve primarily educational goals: in other words, more freedom is given to schools and teachers in order to improve the quality of education. Although all countries now view the purpose of school autonomy largely in educational terms, there remain marked differences across Europe in the implementation of the school autonomy process as well as in the extent and nature of autonomy. Differences in the implementation of school autonomy policies also exist with regard to the body or individuals to whom powers are devolved (Eurydice 2007).

In the United Kingdom, most aspects of education and training fall under overall responsibility of the Department for Education in England the Scottish Executive in Scotland and in Northern Ireland the Department of Education (NI). (Also, the Welsh National Assembly is responsible for education in Wales, although this nation is not included in the GOETE project). The local administration of schools also varies across the regions in relation to state schools in England and Scotland most schools are administered by elected local authorities, while in Northern Ireland state schools are currently administered by government appointed Education and Library Boards. There is a vast complex and constantly changing array of non-governmental, charitable and private bodies across the UK.

### *Centralisation with attempts of decentralisation*

The governance of the educational system in Italy is passing through a reform period, started some 10-15 years ago. Actually, the Italian State used to be quite centralist and based on a hierarchical organization, with a system of ministries, prefectures and local branches that partly resembled the French bureaucratic model. At the same time, Italy is also characterized by a relevant intra-national differentiation that has been more and more acknowledged in the political and institutional arena, through different processes of decentralization and devolution of powers. As for the education system, a regime of autonomy has been introduced (Eurydice, 2009). Autonomy concerned both organization and curricula, though within a government control (through the Ministry of Education) that in the years has been used more or less extensively. As a consequence, autonomy in practice focussed more on the pedagogical side (with some degrees of flexibility in balancing and choosing offered training and education, curricula and timetables), while organizational autonomy is somehow limited by budget constraints (Eurydice 2007).

In France, notwithstanding certain decentralisation measures under which responsibility for the construction and maintenance of public-sector school buildings has been entrusted to the local area authorities, the central government has retained a decisive role in the area of educational policy. The ministry responsible for national education draws up in detail the curriculum for each subject and level of education, and provides guidelines for teaching without however obliging teachers to adopt a particular method. It administers the recruitment, training and management of teaching staff, determines the status and regulations of schools running, allocating them their appropriate quota of staff. The ministry also organises examinations and awards national qualifications. In order to implement this policy and accomplish its numerous management tasks, the ministry has 'external' administrative departments known as *académies*. France is thus divided into 30 such *académies* each headed by a rector acting directly on behalf of the minister. An *académie* is the administrative level enabling the regional application of education policies as defined by the government. It allows action to be taken according to local contexts in collaboration with territorial communities: *communes* for primary education, *départements* for *collèges* (institutions providing lower secondary education) and *régions* for *lycées* (institutions offering higher secondary education). Within the overall system established at national level, schools are to some extent independent as regards their administrative and teaching activity and, at secondary level (in *collèges* and *lycées*), their financial affairs too.

In *Poland*, there are two separate ministries in *Poland*: Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Science and Higher Education. The Ministry of National Education is responsible

for nearly the whole system of education, with the exception of higher education, which is under the supervision of the Minister of Science and Higher Education. Vocational schools, which in the past were run by other ministries, are now the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education. At present only a few schools (artistic – only with respect to artistic subjects, as well as correctional institutions) are under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Justice, respectively. Since the reform of the State administration system and the education reform assume that only the national educational policy will be developed and carried out centrally, while the administration of education and the running of schools, pre-school institutions and other educational establishments are decentralized. The responsibility for the administration of public kindergartens, primary schools and gymnasias has been delegated to local authorities (communes). It has become the statutory responsibility of powiaty (districts) to administer upper secondary schools, artistic and special schools. The provinces (voivodships) have the coordinating function, supervising the implementation of the policy of the Ministry and being responsible for pedagogical supervision.

In Slovenia, Administration responsibilities are distributed among the national authorities, local authorities, and schools. The Ministry of Education and Sport is responsible for the development of pre-higher education policies; inspection procedures; the allocation of funds; the implementation of laws and administrative decisions relating to pre-primary, compulsory and upper secondary education institutions. The Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology is responsible for the field of higher education, research, technology, metrology, development and promotion of the information society. Most of the responsibilities for higher vocational education (short tertiary education) fall within the authority of the Ministry of Education and Sport, while some belong to the higher education sector. Local authorities (občinski sveti) are responsible for setting up pre-school institutions and basic schools; they take part in their administration and co-finance their operation and the salaries of pre-school employees. Schools councils (sveti šol) composed of representatives of the founder, employees, and parents, are the central governing bodies with considerable responsibilities regarding management, finances, and the teaching process.

### *More autonomy*

In Finland, Education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. The Finnish National Board of Education (FNBE) works with the Ministry to develop educational aims, content and methods for primary, secondary and adult education. In addition, each of the six Finnish Provinces has an Education and Culture Department that deals with these issues. Local

administration lies in the responsibility of the local authorities (municipalities), which play a prominent role as education providers. Most institutions providing basic and upper secondary level education are maintained by local authorities or joint municipal boards (federations of municipalities). Responsibility for educational funding is divided between the State and the local authorities. Local authorities determine how much autonomy is passed to schools. The schools have the right to provide educational services according to their own administrative arrangements, as long as the basic functions, determined by law, are carried out.

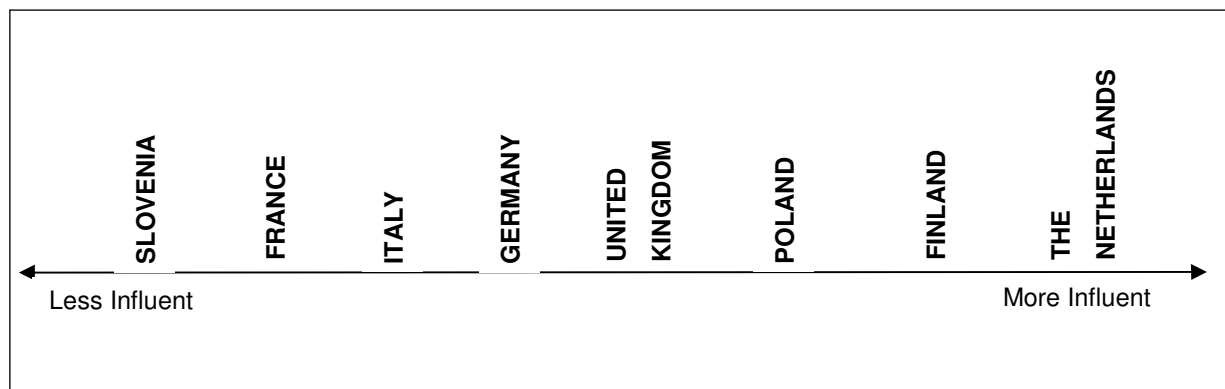
In the Netherlands, according to the Constitution people have the right to found schools and to provide teaching based on religious, ideological or educational beliefs. As a result there are both publicly run and privately run schools in the Netherlands. Some 70% of pupils attend privately run schools. Public and private schools are statutorily equal. This means that government expenditure on public education must be matched by spending on private education. The freedom to organise teaching gives private schools freedom to determine what is taught and in what way. This freedom is however limited by the qualitative standards set by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science in educational legislation. A distinctive feature of the Dutch education system is the combination of a centralised education policy with decentralised administration and management of schools.

In recent decades, there has been a growing trend in the Dutch education system towards greater autonomy and decentralisation, as many central government powers have been transferred to the level of the individual school or local authority (municipality). However, there is also a tendency that the autonomy of individual schools is restricted by educational measures which are taken on a higher level, by school boards for private schools and by municipalities for public schools. The central government has increasingly focused on defining the general outline of education policy, leaving the interpretation and implementation of this general policy outline to those directly involved namely the school boards and the schools. The expansion of autonomy pertains to both the schools/school boards and the teachers. The municipal authorities are responsible for all education in their area, whether publicly or privately run. Since 1997 municipalities are responsible for accommodation in primary and secondary education.

### *2.3 Participation of parents and students*

In addition to developing school autonomy, new educational governance also aims at involving more actors, especially pupils and parents. Nevertheless, effectiveness of cooperation is unequally achieved especially since countries do not own the same means and involvement on these questions.

**Graph 13: Global Influence of Pupils and Parents on National Educational System**



In Slovenia, main actor of changes in the field of education is Ministry of education; these are especially top-down changes, changes that occur through developing law, rules and guidelines, which are prepared by the ministry and its bodies. The consequence of this is shaping of the frameworks for the functioning of schools, which do not allow flexibility of schools and teachers that would be derived from their own specifics and this often leads to additional discrimination. Pupils and their parents feel pushed away from the decision making process (where people from lower layers are even more powerless), professional discourse is often used among experts, also with the goal of saving working places, where child's needs are often pushed aside.

In France, participation of parents and students is quite shy. Even if there are concentration council in schools and educational institutions, their voices are still under-listened. It is especially true for student participation, which is mostly artificial.

In Italy, parents can participate, after being elected, at the class council and parent-teacher association. The classroom council works on the general processes of the classroom, gives advice to school manager, talks about experimentation projects and introduces suggestions for an effective school-family relationship. Students' participation in different councils is only for upper secondary schools' pupils and students. They do not have a real power of decision.

In Germany, each of the Länder has developed its own approach of participation at school. Generally parents have the opportunity to participate at two levels: parental meetings at class level and through representatives at parents' school council. Parents' school council are also represented in the school board, then at regional and national level. The competencies are limited to an advisory function, but gradually a greater involvement of parents is being requested such as school-parent agreement. Currently, there are also attempts to include parents in school inspection (e. g. Hamburg).

Pupils have a formal way of student participation (representatives at school council) and are implied in the “students’ self-administration” which purports enriching every-day school life by exchanging opinions and discussing current questions or by organising special events. Nevertheless, students hardly have any influence regarding core teaching, education and management issues.

As regards the UK, in England from May 2007 schools have a duty to take account of the views of parents. All schools are encouraged to review their current arrangements in relation to this duty and to consider enhancing them by setting up a Parent Council. In Northern Ireland over half of parents (52%) feel very involved in their child’s school life, while a further 38% feel fairly involved. These figures compare closely to England, where 51% of parents felt very involved in their child’s school life and a further 41% felt fairly involved (Peters et al, 2008). In 2006, the Scottish Government passed a new law, the Scottish Schools (Parental Involvement) Act to get parents more involved in their children’s learning. The Act replaced the old School Boards with new Parent Councils, designed to be less formal and friendlier to encourage more and different parents to get involved in the life of their school.

In *Poland*, students and pupils are quite powerful. From the point of view of the parents, this Council has many important competencies i.e. it can address the director of the school and its other organs it can address the organ, which manages the school and the one, which supervises the school with conclusions and opinions about all matters pertinent to the functioning of school. It can for example formulate opinions about the curriculum, about the financial plan created by the director of the school. The pupils are represented by the pupils’ self-government, which has a number of rights. These include participation in the distribution of funding, the right to make motions and decision about the curriculum. It also has the right to present candidates for disciplinary commissions and organize student strikes and decide about other forms of student protest. In universities students have the right to support or block the candidates running for the office of Deputy Rector in charge of student affairs.

In Finland, the Basic Education Act stipulates that instruction must be conducted in co-operation with homes. In practical terms this is accomplished by parent-teacher meetings, various notices, participation in developing local curricula and planning their children’s studies. For pupils, there is no legislation governing pupils’ councils. In practice the influence of pupil councils probably concentrates on organising leisure activities, but in principle their influence can be broader. Likewise in universities there is always a student council.

In the Netherlands, the Education Participation Act 1992 governs participation of students and parents in decision-making in primary, secondary, adult and vocational education. Under this act, every primary and secondary school and every adult and vocational education

institution is legally required to set up a participation council. Participation councils' right to be informed has been strengthened in recent years: the board must provide and account for all relevant policy-related and financial information, both independently and at the request of the participation council. The latter also has more far-reaching powers. No important decisions can be taken without its assent or advice. In addition to a package of joint powers of assent, parents have been assigned a series of independent powers of assent relating to topics that particularly concern them (e.g. size of parental contribution).

## *2.4 Educational research*

This section asks questions as to the role of educational research in the governance of education in the different GOETE countries and relates them to inter- and transnational developments.

Knowledge *about* and *for* the education field – both practice and policy fields – is being perceived as crucial to governing the education sector. This fact has already been acknowledged by governance research, which relates to the claim to evidence-based research and policy in education (see the discourse about new governance E.4). In this section we focus on the topics addressed in educational research, the actors involved in producing knowledge deemed to orient policy and reform as well as the (new) tools for knowledge production.

The Finnish National Board of Education, subordinate to the Ministry of Education and Culture, conducts national evaluations of learning results in different subjects on regular intervals, in basic and in upper secondary education. The evaluations are based on legislation. The evaluations to be conducted by the Board are defined in the three-year educational evaluation plans made by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The schools/pupils taking part in the evaluations are chosen by random sampling and the evaluation tests are usually conducted for 4000–6000 pupils in 150–350 schools.

The Educational Evaluation Council and The Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council, both of which work in connection with the Ministry of Education and Culture, also conduct educational evaluation. The tasks of The Educational Evaluation Council are somewhat overlapping with those of the Finnish National Board of Education. The tasks include assisting the Ministry of Education and Culture in matters concerning educational evaluation and making action plans for external educational evaluation in accordance with the guidelines set by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council (FINHEEC) performs audits of quality assurance systems of higher

education institutions and various thematic evaluations in the field of higher education, themes being chosen based on their significance in regards to education and society. FINHEEC is also involved in choosing the so-called centres of excellence, which affects the performance-paid funding to these higher education units.

In universities, the field of educational research is fairly evenly divided between sociology of education, psychology of education and didactical research. The focuses of different departments and universities differ, however. As currently central topics, research revolving around the PISA study and research concerning disadvantaged pupils and exclusion can be mentioned. Some of the current popular topics include research concerning the availability of work force (e.g. research related to the duration of studies), life-long learning and gender-related research.

In France research on education is a cross disciplinary field. Researchers from different backgrounds aim at analysing Education or School. Sociology, Educational sciences and Psychology are the main fields that take 'School' as an object of their research. Other fields such as History, Economy and Political sciences have shared to some extent this interest and produced some materials about School and educational issues.

In sociology of education, most of the researches and works published focus on educational institutions and especially on school (primary, lower secondary). Although there is an increasing interest for methods mixing formal learning and informal learning, lifelong learning and other learning strategies are less scrutinized. Therefore one can say that in France sociology of education prevail over sociology of learning.

In the field of educational sciences, school is defined as an institution, where network positions are assigned to the actors and shaped in a way that social functions are fulfilled. It is difficult to define limits in which educational sciences fit. Thus, it is a recent field. About education, the specificity of educational sciences is to look at some specific topic such as pedagogy and didactic tools. Educational sciences also investigate youth development and learning skills thanks to psychology.

Most of the scientists that work on educational issues are affiliated to another field. In France, they are very few researchers that dedicate all their studies to education.

Beside the academic papers mentioned earlier, the Direction of Evaluation, Prospects and Performance (DEPP) in charge of collecting data on educational issues for the Ministry of national Education publish reports and analysis aimed at helping decision makers. This department leads statistical inquiries. It gathers a huge amount of data that are published in reports and notes. Furthermore this department is in charge of the evaluation of teacher

efficiency at local and state levels. Based on this evaluation it creates indicators of efficiency. It is the only public institution that gathers national statistics and makes them available to lead national research. Data are available through convention.

In France, at the end of the nineteenth century, Emile Durkheim addressed the issue of School, its role in socialization and in shaping society. After Durkheim's writing, there is almost a hundred years gap. No French sociologist wrote about school for half a century. In the sixties, sociologists dealt again with the topic of school and developed it as a relevant field of study. Statistics researches were led to understand the undergoing transformations of school restructured by massive reforms. These researches shed the light on inequalities in access and achievement in the French school system. It led sociologists to discuss whether school was a manufacturing plant of inequalities. From this point and given that inequalities have remained stable in a system that is claimed to be democratic and meritocratic, researchers have started questioning the educational system. They have studied different aspects in order to better understand the production of inequalities within the School system. Numerous questions have been investigated from syllabus to teacher pedagogy or training. Researches were mostly qualitative on these issues. Nowadays the researches tend to focus on local environment (actors, institutions) and its interaction with school.

Two main questions are at stake concerning educational sciences. First the focus on local environment and practitioners skills is discussed. On the one hand, it is presented as the solution to better understand school effects and local processes. It has been proven relevant to help decision makers to make choices. On the other hand, it is accused of leading research to concentrate only on School and to omit social variables that are shaping student school experience. (Poupeau 2003) Second the link between researchers and decision makers is blamed. According to Franck Poupeau, since 1980, researchers in educational sciences have been used to meet political demands. Researchers have become expert working on the behalf of National State. Indeed some researchers are frequently asked by government to take part in workshops, commissions and to publish reports. It raises the question of the link between researchers and policy makers.

In *Germany* the term 'educational research' (Bildungsforschung) is used with different meanings. In a narrow understanding educational research refers to the academic discipline of Educational Science (Erziehungswissenschaft) and its sub-disciplines. This includes theoretical, empirical and pedagogical scientific work. In a broader understanding the term refers to all research on education processes including that conducted by neighbouring disciplines while narrowing the respective activities to mainly empirical ones (Zedler & Döbert 2009: 24). While the understanding connected to Educational Sciences dominated until the

1980s, since the 1990s the wider but primarily empirical approach has gained ground and currently dominates the field, which has been renamed in terms of 'empirical educational research' (Empirische Bildungsforschung) with a strong bias towards evidence-based policy.

The diversity of institutional forms of educational research currently found in the country is a sign of the expansion and diversification of educational research. During the 1980s and the 1990s German educational research focused mainly on the economic and organizational aspects of the education system. In particular the Reunification of both German states has been a strong focus regarding issues concerning the organization of school systems in the Länder. More recently – reflected by the 'PISA shock' – the profile has become strongly influenced by psychological research on teaching and learning connected to issues of quality assurance (Tippelt & Schmidt 2009; Altrichter et al. 2007; Altrichter & Maag Merki 2010). Since the 1990s the share of school and classroom research (Schul- und Unterrichtsforschung) as well as research on learning and teaching (Lern- und Lehrforschung) has continuously increased; at the same time research on socialization and on youth welfare services (Jugendhilfe) has decreased (Zedler & Döbert 2009: 26). According to Zedler and Döbert the number of research projects counted as educational research (in a narrow view) has increased substantially since the year 2000: from 653 in 2000 to 2010 in 2006 (Zedler & Döbert 2009: 32). The quantitative increase in the volume of educational research has been accompanied by widespread public attention and political support – both the German federal administration and the administrations of the Länder have been fostering research that comply with their current policy of 'evidence-based research'. This has been largely criticized in academia (see for instance Radtke 2010), for while this has indeed led to an increase in research it has been geared towards a particular type of research, namely to research oriented towards the efficiency and effectiveness of educational processes (Zedler & Döbert 2009: 33f.) in the context of educational governance – governance by "what works". Certainly, it goes without saying that there is also a large share of educational research that can be called 'qualitative educational research' (Bohnsack, Marotzki & Meuser 2003; Prengel, Friebertshäuser & Langer 2010; Marotzki & Tiefel 2010; Fuhs 2007). While this strand is well established in Germany, it is not the one current (educational) research policy refers to in its programmatic initiatives. Educational research in Germany has concentrated lately also on education reporting systems (Avenarius et al. 2003 Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung 2006; Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2008). Also, in 2008 a national educational panel study (Nationales Bildungspanel) has been implemented and foresees a longitudinal assessment of individual competence development with regard to subject-related, professional and social

competencies. A further development is the production of reports on education systems by the Länder (e. g. Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg) and municipalities (among others Tübingen and Munich). It is worth noting that education reports in Germany have to be seen in the context of the new governance paradigm (output and outcome orientation).

In Italy, there are only few institutional actors really involved in research education at national level, these are:

- INVALSI: National Institute for Evaluation of Education System;
- INDIRE: National Institute for Documentation, Innovation and Research on Education;
- IRRE (former IRRSAE): Regional Institutes for Research on Education.

The National Agency for the Educational Development was introduced through the Finance Act 2007 and took over the INDIRE and the regional IRRE, in order to support education autonomy institutions in the European context. The Agency was established to promote:

- educational research and guidance;
- teachers training and retraining paths;
- cooperation with regions and local authorities;
- didactic and research activities.

INVALSI started monitoring the implementation of school's autonomy when the "autonomy process" was already in its third year of activities and disposed of a consolidated structure made up by local centres and regional institutes for educational research (IRRE and INDIRE). It aims to carry out representative sample-based surveys regarding the main school types at national level. However, this monitoring does not aim at intervention, assistance and support to school problem (as for other agencies involved in the national project coordination), but remains a sort of 'outside observer'. INVALSI has got the task to disseminate within the system the main quantitative data on school heads and teachers' attitudes towards the implementation of school's autonomy. The monitoring is carried out through surveys on independent samples created on specific aspects that are important to follow up the implementation of the autonomy reform as regards the attitudes of those taking part in it.

The Regional Teams of the National Agency for the Development of Education (IRRE) represent Educational Research Institutes with regional competences and support's task to the local schools. Each IRRE is located in the chief regional city and collaborates with the

regional school office and others educational services. For over 14 years, IRRE has been partnering with schools, states, and districts to develop more personalized, engaging, and rigorous learning environments in struggling secondary schools. Firmly grounded in adolescent development, IRRE seeks to improve youth life in the present and the future.

As what concerns the Italian research situation and the use of research for policy making, in Italy research on education has been traditionally remained far away from governance commitments. Actually, school policy seems to be deaf towards educational research findings. The previously mentioned Research Institutes' outcomes have been scarcely taken into account in the educational policies: On the contrary to what happen in other European countries, PISA findings seem to remain meaningless for Italy, country with a very poor annual expenditure for education in comparison with the European average investments in this sector. Nonetheless, during the last decades, a consolidated topic of school policies was an experimental attitude, which was never based on theoretical reflection and grounded on scientific evaluation processes, but used as flag for superficial and government's oriented reform's attempts. This occurred, for example, for the final secondary education examination (*esame di maturità*) that was introduced as reform's attempt for this kind of examination and lasted 18 years, before being erased without any proper scientific reflection at its very beginning and during its application. The gap between education research and educational policy making represent achieve a structural aspect in Italy: the public debate on education and school policies scarcely uses scientific knowledge and, on the other hand, scientific research appears inadequate to represent or solve school issues and problems.

Currently, INVALSI conducts national researches on several school topics: learning and teaching processes; use of ICT in education; teaching of Italian as second language. One of the last is the so-called PON "Competences for the development" and "Learning environments", regarding the problem of early school leaving, particularly affecting some Southern regions (Sicily, Campagna, Calabria and Puglia).

Educational research in the Netherlands has a long tradition and a high standing internationally (two of its main scientific journals are on the Social Science Citation Index). Dutch educational researchers rely more than in other countries (e. g. England and Germany) on positivism and prefer large-scale, quantitative research strategies. Both basic and applied research is driven by this quantitative orientation. Funding of these types of research is organized in different streams in and outside universities. Much research is focused on micro-processes of learning and teaching, but there has always been a rather strong tradition in the sociology of education with subject as ethnicity and educational inequality (Peperts et al, 2009). Moreover, Dutch youth research is characterized by a

conspicuous discrepancy between on the one hand, a wealth of statistical data and on the other fragmented theory building and interpretation of data. Sociological youth research is scarce (du Bois-Reymond et al 1995); more is done in the field of behavioural psychology with recently strong emphasis on biological and genetic research (Vollebergh 2008). Studies of non-Dutch born youth is usually separated from that of Dutch youth which does not mean that there is scarcity; on the contrary, much work is published, preferably on educational matters and identity problems and there are studies which compare non-Dutch and Dutch-born youth (Verkuyten 2006; Vedder & Van de Vijver 2003). But there is hardly any attempt to arrive at an integrated empirical and theoretical model about youth in (post-) modern society, which comprises all groups of young people. Social Sciences of University Utrecht is for that project the best-equipped faculty in the country.

In Poland the main actors of educational research are Ministry of National Education, Educational Offices and Educational Research Institute (IBE). Their major educational surveys and studies comprise: Teaching quality and school effectiveness - building tools for research Priority III framework of the 'Operational Programme Human Capital PISA PIACC Civic Education Study – CivEd The European Survey on Language Competences (ESLC) Apart of major actors, there are other units and institutions, dealing with monitoring of educational system. Among these are: The Teacher Survey Team. The research activities of the Teacher Survey Team are rooted in the belief that teacher quality is critical to an education system. The Teacher studies survey demographic and socio-economic factors, attitudes, beliefs and lifestyle. Future surveys are planned to cover the education employment market, the profession, and teacher-specific skills and will be undertaken by the 'SUEK' (Factors Determining School Effectiveness) Unit. The principal research objective of the Unit is to identify key school-specific factors determining school effectiveness. Longitudinal studies of achievements of students and their biological, psychological, social and school-related determinants constitute the principal element of the research project in question. The results of the above mentioned surveys and monitoring programs are bases for discussion on educational policy. PISA results are extensively used in publications. As most of these programs are still relatively new in Poland, there are no formal requirements to use these results as reference.

Educational research in Slovenia has been in the past (from 1960s onwards) primarily connected to the researches of the Pedagogical Institute. Later, especially after 1990, researches were also conducted at the Universities, Office for Youth and at Slovenian School Board (Zavod za šolstvo). Institute and Faculties carry out mainly empirical and quantitative

research, while Slovenian School Board is engaged mostly in the research on implementation of new projects and evaluation studies. Since 2000 the research of educational field has been strengthened by target-oriented programmes (CRP), which are promoted by the Ministry of Education and Sport and by the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology. The latter also finances research work of faculty institutes within the framework of programme research groups (for instance, programme group "System aspects of strategies of education and promotion of social inclusion in upbringing and education" at the Faculty of Education). Even before joining the EU, Slovenia (especially Pedagogical Institute) participated in the research on assessment of pupil attainment, and now this cooperation is continual. Thus, Slovenia participated in the TIMSS, international research of teaching and learning from 2003 onwards, in the research TALIS 2008, in ESLC (European Study on Language Competences), as well as in the PISA studies (from 2006 onwards). OECD has just (2011) issued a report, which also covers development and performance indicators of the efficiency of the school system in Slovenia. Initial results indicate some neuralgic points that have been detected in the operation of the school system, among which a very different quality of schools according to the regions in terms of learning achievement and quality of work stands out. Many schools (of all grades) itself participate in international cooperation programs, especially in terms of introducing new projects and activities in the schools. It should be noted that the style of research has turned from a purely quantitative research into a methodological triangulation and in the rise of the qualitative and action research and evaluation studies. The range of topics is illustrated by the titles of selected studies: "A comparative study of civil education and upbringing" (2002), "Civil education, values and attitudes of pupils in Slovenia" (2004), "Analysis of the organization and implementation of social integration activities and social inclusion of children and pupils with special needs into the life and work of a kindergarten and school" (2006), "Equal opportunities in the educational system in Slovenia: Theories and policies for ensuring equal educational opportunities" (2003 - 2006). The new White Paper is in preparation (2011), which will be hopefully based also on the research results conducted after the publication of the first White Paper (1995) and will consider key guidelines, which have been indicated by the diverse studies during this period.

In the United Kingdom, the Department of Education places a high value on the wide circulation of research results to ensure that research has the maximum impact on policy and practice in education. The Statistics and Research Branch aims to meet the statistical and research needs of the Department of Education, through the collection and analysis of data that informs policy development, implementation and evaluation. It maintains a number of

detailed education datasets, including data on: school enrolments; pupil attendance; participation of 16 and 17 year olds in full-time education and training; teacher numbers; pupil: teacher ratios; school leavers' qualifications and destinations; and school performance. The Department also commissions research from external contractors. Recent examples of such commissioned research include 'Teachers' Workload Diary Survey', 'Making the links between teachers' professional standards, induction, performance management and continuing professional development'; 'Intervening to improve outcomes for vulnerable young people: a review of the evidence'; Towards universal early years provision: analysis of take-up by disadvantaged families from recent annual childcare surveys'. The Northern Ireland Educational Research Forum was established in the early part of 2008 and comprises representatives from each of the Higher Education institutions, the Education and Training Inspectorate (ETI) and both the Department of Education (DE) and the Department for Employment and Learning (DEL). The purpose of the group is primarily to exchange research information, knowledge and skills to inform analytical thinking on current and emerging issues in relation to education. Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA) is the principal source of official statistics and social research on Northern Ireland's population and socio-economic conditions. The statistics produced by the Agency inform the policy process within Government, research within Academia and contribute to debate in the wider community. The Scottish government provides statistics on school education in Scotland, including pupil and teacher information, and attainment and qualification results, and on children, young people and local authority social work services staffing in Scotland.

In addition, in all three legislations, independent academic researchers carry out research on aspects of education systems, policies and practice as part of their professional responsibilities. This research comprises the basis for the regular Research Assessment Exercises, which are conducted on a subject basis, and are used as a means of 'ranking' subject departments across the country.

In all GOETE countries, the themes addressed by educational research converge around topics such as evaluation, performance testing, quality management and improvement, educational outcomes in terms of attainment and efficiency and effectiveness. The latter relates to research on competence and skills as well as standards to be achieved and maintained.

As what concerns the financing of educational research a clear shift to competitive grants and third party funding schemes can be identified in all GOETE partner countries. While most of the research remains in universities/academic institutions, there has also been some shift to non-university research institutes (e.g. in Germany the Max-Planck-Institutes). Also, new

producers of knowledge in educational research may be discerned: there are think tanks, clearinghouses, corporations, foundations, etc. operating both on the national and on the international levels.

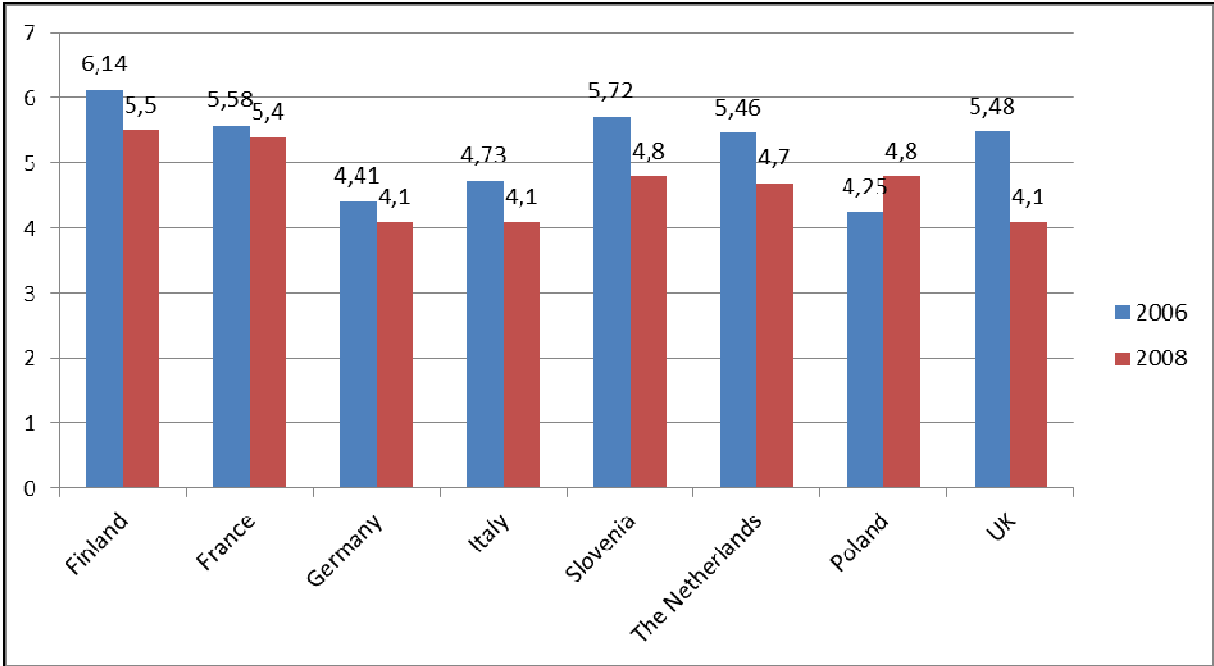
Furthermore, international organisations have become very active in the field; the European Commission as well as the OECD may be highlighted as important players in this field since the studies commissioned by these actors are exerting substantial influence not only on European but also on national policy making discussions. The activities of the EC in youth research (see EC 2009b), of the OECD in student performance testing may illustrate this point.

### *2.5 Expenditure for education and funding mechanisms*

In 2007, 92% or EUR 1,650 million of budgetary resources was allocated to educational institutions, 8% of these resources or EUR 144 million was allocated to transfers for households and other private entities. 47% of budgetary resources for educational institutions (or EUR 781 million) were allocated to basic education, over 21% (or EUR 353 million) to upper secondary education and less than 20% (or EUR 323 million) to tertiary education. In the structure of total expenditure for educational institutions, public expenditure represented 85.9%, private 13.2% and international 0.9%.

In 2008, in all GOETE countries public funds spent on education represent more than 4 % of national GDP. Among the GOETE countries Finland and France have the highest share of public expenditure of national GDP invested to education, while Germany and Italy and the United Kingdom have the lowest share. In all countries there has been a slight decrease in expenditure between 2006 and 2008. Graph 11 summarises the figures for the GOETE countries.

**Graph 14: Share of Public Expenditure on Education in % of GDP (2006 and 2008)**



Source: Eurostat (2010), UNESCO/UIS (2010)

In 2007, the largest proportion of private expenditure for educational institutions was intended for the tertiary level of education (22% of total expenditure for tertiary education institutions), and the second largest percentage was intended for the preschool level of education (16% of total expenditure for these educational institutions).

All educational systems are mostly publicly funded. However, there are differences between direct central state funding, direct local authorities funding, state dotation given to local authorities to lead local educational policies and funding coming from others contributions (parents' participation, companies, etc.).

In the period 2001-2006, the overall proportion of EU-27 GDP dedicated to education remained stable at around 5.1% (Eurostat 2010, p. 261). However, this average rate hides disparities among countries, some of which experienced significant changes during the period. Education expenditure in 2006 accounted for 11 % of total public expenditure. A breakdown of annual expenditure per pupil/ student by educational level reveals two additional points: in almost all countries the unit cost increases with the educational level (on average a higher education student costs twice as much as a primary school pupil), and the disparities between countries widen with the educational level. Private funding sources and parent contributions vary greatly according to the level and the country while a variety of

support measures exist for families (allowances, grants, tax relief), which can act as an incentive to continue studies beyond compulsory schooling. (Eurydice 2009)

In Slovenia, local communities establish public schools, public secondary schools are established by the state and only public gymnasiums can be besides by state also established by a municipality in agreement with the state. Salaries are assured by the funds of the state budget on the basis of a systematization and occupation of employment positions, funds for material costs are assured according to normative and standards for all schools. State budget provides funds also for material costs and investment maintenance, renovation of buildings and equipment. State resources also provide funds for some material costs for implementation of basic education (procurement of teaching requisites and instruments, costs of compulsory excursions, care for children with special needs according to provision about special needs).

Dutch education is largely funded by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. It is not, however, the only party that contributes funds to education. Expenditures by the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (green education) and by the municipalities are also significant. In addition, contributions by parents and participants constitute part of the resources available to education institutions. Spending on a number of educational activities, such as private-sector education and company training courses, is not taken into account in the national expenditure on education. A substantial proportion of this type of education is not funded by the government (The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2008).

In Finland, the Ministry of Finance is responsible for the financing of comprehensive schools. It is included in overall state financing which municipalities receive for all services (thus it is not “ear-marked” only for education). The local authorities can decide whether they delegate budgetary responsibilities to the schools or not and to what extent. Financing is based on the number of 6–15 year-old inhabitants of the municipality and is also affected by other factors such as the population density of the municipality, the number of small schools, the number of pupils transferred to special needs education, etc. Teachers' salaries are paid by the education provider. The local authorities receive state funding for setting up schools and operating costs to cover pre-primary and basic education. The criteria for funding are usually uniform irrespective of ownership. The state funding is based on a calculatory unit price. Of the funding for primary and secondary education, the state subsidy averages 42 per cent of the costs, while municipal contributions amount to an average of 58 per cent.

In France, almost the totality of the French school system is financed by the public budget. Since the decentralization, the financial participation of local authorities has become more and more important. In primary school, the central State pays the teachers and the costs of

the non-teaching staff (quite important as regard as the weekly volume of the opening hours of French schools) are provided by local authorities. In the secondary educational system, the ministry finances the costs for non-teaching staff but local authorities have to pay for school transport. In the upper secondary level, the functional and investment costs are in charge of the Regional Councils (*Conseil Régional*). However, private companies participate in the founding of technical and vocational schooling by paying an apprenticeship tax, if they do not train apprentices directly. In the private schools under contract with the State authorities (that is to say which follow the public curricula), the State takes finances the costs of teaching and an important part of their functional costs.

In Italy, almost all financing for the administrative and educational management of schools comes from the State (divided into ordinary and equalising allotments). However, such funds are destined to educational, training and guidance activities in general, without any constraints. Regions, local bodies and private organisations can provide some contributions. Such funds are destined to the implementation of projects supported by funds with specific allocations. As far as acceptance of donations and inheritance are concerned, authorisations of acceptance have been abolished. The State is responsible for school funding both for educational and administrative purposes. Regions have to provide directly, but more often under delegated power, services and assistance to students (canteens, transportation, textbooks for primary schools, aid to the less wealthy, social and health assistance) out of their own budget and they also have to finance plans for the building of schools. Provinces and Municipalities can be delegated by the Region to provide assistance and services and their function is that of providing for school heating, lighting and telephone connections, maintaining school buildings. Funding of vocational training falling under the competence of regions varies according to the different courses. Funds can be allocated by Regions, by Provinces or by the Ministry of labour and /or of education. Courses can be financed also through EU funds.

In Germany, the public funding of education is currently based on the following arrangements (Eurydice 2007/08): (1) public authorities maintain most educational institutions. (2) They receive the greater part of their funds through direct allocations of tax funds. (3) Certain groups undergoing training receive financial assistance (school: subsidies; tertiary education: accommodation and loans; dual system: salary from company). The biggest part of funding (51%) is done by the single Länder, followed with 24% by private sources, i. e. training companies in the dual system, foundations and individuals where it comes to fees for private education or tuition fees for higher education. Municipalities contribute by 17% of basic funds, the federal government only with 8 %. If public funding is considered, 67% of the

budget is provided by the Länder, 22% by the municipalities, and 11% by the federal government (Klemm 2009).

In Poland, public educational institutions are considered as elements of public finance. The entire expenditure of these institutions is covered directly from the budget of the commune (smallest level of local government), and all revenues of the school transferred directly to the account of the commune. Basic financial resources of the school come from a donation made from the budget of the local government - so-called educational subsidy. Local government can split this subsidy between the various institutions according to its local educational policy. Educational subsidy is not the only means of financing education especially that it does not cover all expenditures related to educational policy. Local government uses its own income to provide additional subsidies. 70% of means from the central budget, as well as additional revenues of local governments are used for teachers' wages.

In England state-run schools and colleges are financed through national taxation, and take pupils free of charge between the ages of 3 and 18. Approximately 93% of English schoolchildren attend such schools, with the remainder attending fee-paying private schools. A significant minority of state-funded schools are faith schools. Around 90% of state-funded secondary schools are specialist schools, which receive extra funding to develop one or more subjects in which the school specialises. There is a strong emphasis on the market and competition between schools and other educational providers, particularly in England. Parental choice and the operation of a competitive quasi-market system has been perceived as a way of driving up educational standards with regular benchmarking, and the publication of school league tables of examination results.

In Scotland, the Scottish Executive currently pays an annual grant to local authorities, which then decide how much of the grant will be given to education. Money is then delegated to schools to spend as they wish.

In Northern Ireland a Common Funding Scheme provides delegated funding to all grant-maintained schools. In addition, the Common Funding Scheme details the arrangements whereby schools can have access to centre services and resources for specified purposes

### 3. Current educational reforms in the GOETE countries

#### 3.1 Reforms

##### 3.1.1. Main actors

The main on-going reforms led in the different countries of GOETE project show a global attention to the renewal of the governance of the educative systems. In this respect, one can identify three main tendencies which affect the role given to the different actors in the educative systems: a continuous movement of decentralisation of funding, contents of curricula and teacher recruitment, the development of public-private partnerships and a new centralisation through the evaluation of schools.

Firstly, there is an increasing movement aimed at devolving responsibilities and problem solving capacities to a lower level, from central government to the organisations of employers and employees, to local authorities and to school boards.

This process can be pointed out in all countries, even in those that had already led a voluntarist and radical decentralization. This is particularly obvious for the United Kingdom concerning the funds and the curriculum. For instance, in England, in 2010, the responsibility for commissioning and funding 16-19 training and education has been transferred from the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) to local authorities (LAs). Moreover, the new Minister of Education has written to all schools asking them if they wish to transform to Academy status. Academy status means they are freed from Local Authority control, and effectively become independent state funded schools, where head teachers and school governors, would have much more flexibility. In Scotland, there is a review of the 3-18 school curriculum – Curriculum for Excellence which aims to provide a greater freedom for schools and for teachers around the design of the curriculum and how to deliver experiences and outcomes within and across curriculum areas. Schools in Northern Ireland now follow the revised Northern Ireland curriculum introduced by the Department of Education (DENI). It is similar in structure to the curriculum in England and Wales, being split into:

- primary (foundation stage, Key Stage 1 and Key Stage 2);
- post-primary or secondary (Key Stages 3 and 4);
- post-16 education.

The Transfer Test (11+), which determined academic selection for secondary schools in Northern Ireland, has been suspended. The Department of Education has recommended that

schools determine transfer arrangements by community, geographical and family criteria. Many grammar schools have introduced their own admissions tests.

As well as developing knowledge and understanding, the Revised Curriculum aims to develop the skills that children need in today's world. The areas covered are much the same as those under the previous curriculum but the content for each area is now set out differently. This is to give schools more flexibility on how they deliver teaching to meet children's needs. Changes in education and training mean there is a wider choice of courses for 14 to 19 year-olds. The Entitlement Framework (EF) ensures that pupils have more equal access to a broad range of courses, including greater balance between general (academic) and applied (vocational, professional and technical) courses. It guarantees all pupils access to a minimum of 24 courses at Key Stage 4 and 27 courses at post-16, delivered through collaborative arrangements between schools. It is recognised that while some schools will be able to deliver the requirements of the EF, many others will have to work with other schools, colleges and other providers to provide access to the full range of courses.

From September 2013 schools will be required to provide all pupils with access to a minimum number of courses at Key Stage 4 (current target 24) and minimum number of courses at post-16 (current target 27). In both cases at least one-third of the courses must be general courses and at least one-third applied courses. An EF online audit provides schools and ALCs with data on all courses on offer and has been developed by the Western Education and Library Board (WELB) on behalf of Department of Education. The legislation in relation to the specified numbers has not yet been commenced as the Department of Education (DE) has sought to emphasise that it is more important that schools concentrate on quality rather than rush to introduce a particular number of courses. There are now 29 Area Learning Communities (ALC) established across all board areas within which schools, further education colleges and other providers are working to increase the range of courses in each area. All six further education colleges are delivering professional and technical courses to pupils from all school type. Schools in Northern Ireland also have the option to become Academy who directly control their own funds rather than the Local Education Authority.

In countries where decentralization has been seen more as a partnership between local authorities and central government, one can observe an increasing process of devolving responsibilities especially to schools. The Netherlands is emblematic of this tendency where school boards are given a greater financial, managerial and educational freedom. Thus, the 'new direction' for primary and secondary education and new legislation on block grant funding and more flexible timetables will increase autonomy, deregulation and the transfer of

responsibilities to local municipalities and school boards. In line with the move towards greater autonomy, deregulation and decentralisation, educational innovation will come more from schools themselves, rather than government. The government will set quality standards, but schools will be given more scope to provide tailor-made education. In Poland, one can also observe a decentralization of the management and the financing of the schools. In Finland, the local and regional co-operation has been intensified and the collaboration between administrative bodies has been increased.

This global movement of decentralization is accompanied by the development of public-private partnerships. This is particularly the case in Germany where non-state actors are increasingly involved in the education policy. In countries where the State has traditionally played a predominant role in the educational system, one can point out the influence of the Bologna process on the partnerships with private actors, which mostly take place in higher education. In France, the University Reform is aimed at strengthen links with territorial and socio-economic environment. In Finland, a radical reform has transformed university from state-owned institutions to private foundations with outside project financing; former public servants have become normal employees.

However, one can stress that, despite the fact that this increasing process of decentralization is legitimate by the will of a new and better governance, the implementation also shows a general will to reduce the cost of the educative systems. Thus, in *the Netherlands*, demands for more autonomy, deregulation and decentralisation stemmed first from school management before it became government policy. But, when it showed that these measures did not necessarily make the school more active and efficient, teachers and school principals became more sceptical about these reforms. They noticed that the government in effect increase their tasks and burden them with new responsibilities without adequate financial and staff compensation. In Poland, the increasing support for decentralization of management and financing and the use of funds coming from enterprises and private persons or foreign assistance was the consequence of the increasing budget limitations. This has led to a differentiation in the financial capacity of the local governments, as well as growing differentiations in parents' share of additional financing of education cost of their children. In Italy the *Riforma Gelmini*, inspired by a public expense reduction plan, has led to a strong reduction of teaching staff in all school courses, has enlarged the number of pupils per class, has cancelled the co-presence of teachers in primary schools, has decreased the hour didactic amount and has unified technical institutions and secondary schools.

Yet, at the same time as this global movement of decentralization, central States are strengthened in their regulation role. This phenomenon is obvious in the countries where the

central government has traditionally played a predominant role in the educative system like France, Finland or the Netherlands. For instance, in the Netherlands, despite the important devolving responsibilities to schools, the central government has retained its responsibility for providing direction within the education system (what public tasks must be fulfilled, the conditions for doing so, the funds). In this respect, the evaluation of the schools plays a major role of regulation. In the Netherlands, even if schools have become responsible for the quality of the education they provide, they have to make use of self-evaluation systems and show that they meet the quality criteria in all respects. If they fail to do so, other parties (the Inspectorate, the Ministry, the representative advisory council) may intervene.

Moreover, in the countries where the process of decentralization has the more radical, like in the United Kingdom, and in the federal countries, like in Germany, there is a tendency to introduce a global monitoring of the educational systems, especially through the evaluation process and the introduction of educational standards. Thus, in Germany, there has been an introduction of 'educational standards' in order to evaluate and monitor the education systems. In England, the Government launched National Challenge, a programme of support to secure higher standards in all secondary schools so that, by 2011, at least 30 per cent of pupils in every school will gain five or more GCSEs.

### *3.2 Main discourses*

As the above sections indicated, the current educational reforms taking place in all of the GOETE-countries are informed by a specific set of discursive references. The overall frame is provided by the new paradigm of the knowledge society replacing older self-descriptions indicative of which was the modern term "industrial society". The terms knowledge society, information society, network-society, post-Fordist or post-industrial society are all attempts to grasp important shifts in societal relations that mark the difference between classical or high modernity and late or post-modernity. It would be more precise to speak of the knowledge-based economy, since the term 'economy' referring to the mode of production. It was forged in the late nineteen fifties and sixties of last century to draw attention to a decisive change: the future economic and societal well-being of societies was said to not only depend on the classical foundations: resources, means of production and labour force but on knowledge as a factor on its own right to drive economic and societal development through (primarily technological) innovation. Intricately related to this was the human capital concept that emphasized education as the key to economic growth, personal wellbeing and health as well as societal stability. Although the relations have never been uncontroversial and scientifically proven, this rationale has become universally dominant. The strong link between education

and societal progress is established and has become common sense for all nations. By now one clearly discern a differentiation of the knowledge-based economy discourse; i.e. the creative economy, which has become a major focus of national governments and International Organizations.

Lifelong learning is another facet of this late modern societal self-description. Since its origin half a century ago and to the present time, the discourse of the knowledge-based economy/knowledge society has gained considerably in momentum. It is therefore only logic that increasingly attention is focused on other than the classical settings of learning and knowledge acquisition. Had Lifelong Learning initially been adopted in adult education together with other terms such as *éducation permanente* or *recurrent education*, it now encompasses the entire life span. In the European context, *lifelong learning* means “all purposeful learning activity, undertaken on an on-going basis with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competence.” (Commission of the European communities 2000: 3) The key phrase of the lifelong learning discourse – ‘learning to learn’ – points to the need to qualify people for a labour market that needs flexible and high-qualified individuals able to adapt individually to new demands. *In nuce*, the discourse on lifelong learning implies a shift from education to learning and an individualisation or privatisation of responsibilities. The reform items pointing to shift to competences and to standards as well as to linking more closely the different phases and institutions in the educational trajectories hint at this discourse. Generally speaking, there is a shift away from a focus on concrete contents (input) in school curricula is giving way to more abstract and non-subject specific (but measurable) ‘competencies’ (output) (Weinert 2002, p. 27f.; Klieme et al. 2003).

‘*New governance*’ indicates another facet in the education field has different dimensions related to new ways and means of educational steering. There is need, it is argued, to find better ways of ‘producing’ and regulating learning (outcomes/output), especially through indicators and standards capable of measuring achievement and performance. The discourse has been highly influenced by the terminology of economics of education and neoliberal thinking. For instance, OECD studies focus on the ability of education systems to support the national economy (cf. Education at a Glance, PISA studies) – much attention has been given to the motifs of efficiency, effectiveness, evidence, and outcome orientation (Böttcher 2002; 2005). This shift in the governance of education follows an international trend that has been described by several authors. For instance, Maroy and his colleagues from the Reguléduc research project observed a change in governance from a professional-bureaucratic to post-bureaucratic regime in several European countries (Maroy 2008). As described in section E.1.2 above, and despite national differences and differing

interpretations and appropriations of the discourses, the discourse on new governance plays an important part in understanding the reforms in all GOETE countries.

All of this takes place within a significant change in the overall welfare structure of advanced societies. In this context, the concept of '*activation*' (of youth) refers to an increasing individualisation of education in terms of self-responsibility for their own life course which is not only visible in single reforms, but pervades several initiatives in the education, employment and welfare spheres. Activation is seen as another form a way to prevent the exclusion of youth and may be found at the level of classroom instruction in terms of cognitive activation in the classroom; in the field of employment as in the concept of 'employability'; at the level of policy measures and forms of support referring to an authoritarian pattern emphasizing 'rights and responsibilities' whereby control and pressure (also sanctions) are introduced into labour market policies; at the level of organization and funding where principles of competition and efficiency have become priority. This discourse has also substantially influenced developments in the area of services and support for (disadvantaged) youth, as is visible in activation policies in the GOETE countries, where the binding character of attendance (by way of sanctions) is a common theme.

These overlapping discourses appear in all GOETE countries as elements of pedagogical debates and policy discussions – even if they are not always named or referred to explicitly. It becomes clear that although the national debates do not forgo inter- and transnational discourses, the way they play out on the national and sub-national levels differ substantially. What also becomes visible is that non-state actors are increasingly involved in education policy. Moreover, the influence of the level beyond the nation-state cannot be denied, even though, as mentioned, there is much adaptation, translation and appropriation involved. From the discussion above, the following questions concerning governance appear more pressing than ever: How are responsibilities for access, coping and relevance of education being re-distributed and re-organised among the transnational, national and local levels? How are transnational discourses transferred, translated and appropriated to local and school level? How do local and school actors deal with both the lack of reform and the discrepancy of old school with new everyday lives, life course and labour market exigencies? How is educational support being organised across the institutional separation and subordination of welfare and youth services with regard to education? How does the activation paradigm affect educational support? What are the prospects of participation of students and their families in educational governance within a traditionally corporatist and increasingly neo-liberal context?

## 4. Summary

In this chapter we have tried to describe the different structures of administration and organisation in the eight education systems that represent the contexts of recent changes of educational governance. These different contexts start with different historical developments that concern the timing of effective implementation of public and compulsory education, the introduction of comprehensive systems in the 1960s in many (but not all) countries as well as the changes in the transformation processes of Central and Eastern European Countries. In all countries, public education has been implemented centrally and has undergone processes of de-centralisation, which however have been much more far reaching in the Netherlands and the UK than in any other country, which applies, also for school autonomy. At the same time, new forms of state control such as educational standards and monitoring have been introduced giving way to a shift from input to outcome orientation in which educational research plays a more and more important role.

New constellations of governance have emerged with new actors involved. Municipalities and regions have become more important but also the demands of employers as well as the transnational level. Parents are increasingly involved in decision-making at school level, at least in rhetoric. Especially, in the UK, the Netherlands and Finland they have an influential role while in the other countries they rather feel neglected. With regard to the students, all countries have mechanisms of students' representation within schools, which in most cases are restricted to organising social activities. In sum, schools find themselves more and more involved in cooperation with external partners; communication in and about education has become more complex with top-down and bottom-up developments co-existing.

Public funding has become an issue in the international debate of educational governance in terms of societal investment in future human capital. In the eight countries public expenses for education as percentage of GDP varies considerably. While Finland and Slovenia have been traditionally above the average of OECD countries, Germany and Italy are below. In a few countries there have been significant increases in the past decade (especially Poland and the UK). Differences also apply for the structure of expenses between the different levels of education. There is still a lack of knowledge under what conditions which types of educational expenses lead to an increase of educational quality.

In the past decades, education in most countries has become a highly controversial discourse arena. Apart from funding, de-centralisation and school autonomy discourses debates concern the relation between curriculum (input) and competence (outcome) and the problem of including children and young people classified as disadvantaged. One line of

differentiation, which has become more influential in most countries is the one of ethnicity and migration while with regard to gender attention seems shifting from disadvantaged girls to disadvantaged boys.

Research will have to analyse the local and national differences behind apparently general trends new educational governance and to what extent these differences affect the individual educational trajectories of children and young people, especially as access, coping and relevance of education is concerned. Until now there is little knowledge on the interactions underlying individual and institutional decision-making.

## **F. Conclusions and research outlook**

### **1. Comparative summary and research hypothesis**

The research objectives of the GOETE project imply a comparative perspective for three reasons:

- to identify general factors of the relation between education, life course and social integration as well as converging trends of educational governance in distinction from contextual specificities;
- to identify constellations and factors of governance that are favourable to broader access to education, to support mechanisms that help students effectively in coping with educational demands and to communication procedures that allow for a reconciliation between different systemic and subjective criteria of educational relevance;
- to allow for processes of mutual learning in the modernisation of educational governance.

In this report we have collected contextual information for the eight countries and national education system, which shall allow for a contextualised interpretation of the empirical findings with regard to the outlined research questions. In the remainder of this concluding section we will undertake the attempt to aggregate the collected information in order to be able to elaborate hypotheses with regard to different constellations of governance of educational trajectories.

The comparative education research literature provides numerous examples of how to classify education systems (see Harbison & Myers 1964; Turner 1960; Allmendinger 1989); in general, these typologies were used in policy research with the aim to analyse labour market trends influenced by education systems. In GOETE the focus is placed on a comparative analysis with the aim of identifying and understanding different constellations of governing educational trajectories associated with different transition regimes. GOETE studies interactions between socio-economic, institutional and cultural factors that are inherent in current educational policy and practice, in relationships between education and welfare, in dominant discourses as well as in individual decisions and biographical orientations. The project also explores how supra-national, especially European discourses, are taken up at local and national level. The focus lies thus both on the institutional dimension and on the life course dimension of educational trajectories; therefore, differences

in the institutional organisation of education systems, in the relation between education and welfare as well as in how transitions into, within, and out of the various educational phases are organised might provide interesting insights for further analysis of the research questions at hand in GOETE. The mixed-method approach in GOETE aims at complementing data on structural/institutional data with insights on how children and young people are prepared for and supported in their educational decisions and processes, and who exactly provides this support or participates in decision processes over the course of their educational careers. Thus, the attempt at providing a typology of education systems in GOETE has rather to cope with complexity without levelling out the constitutive differences across the countries.

In contrast to current comparative studies focusing on the outcome dimension of education systems measured through competence assessment or benchmarking, comparative studies focusing on institutional differences have highlighted the importance of the dimensions of *stratification*, between comprehensive and institutionally differentiated school systems (especially early tracking in lower secondary education, see Bohl et al. 2003), and of *standardisation* (especially with regard to vocational training in upper secondary education; Allmendinger 1989).<sup>5</sup> The latter is also linked to the role of schools and companies in vocational education and training, and to the dominant model of school leavers' labour market entry between *organisational* – where the level of education plays a greater role – and *occupational* labour markets, where careers depend on standardised occupational profiles (Shavit & Müller 1998; Lasonen & Young 1998; Müller & Gangl 2003). The significance of stratification has been highlighted in the aftermath of PISA studies which showed that in differentiated school systems with early tracking, students' individual performance depends to a larger degree on the ethnic and socio-economic status of the family of origin (OECD 2001; 2008a; 2008b).

**Table 38: Stratification and Standardisation in Education Systems acc. to Allmendinger (1989)**

<b>Standardization</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>High</b>
<b>Stratification</b>		
Low	UK, Italy, Poland	Finland, Slovenia
High		France, Germany, Netherlands

<sup>5</sup> *Stratification* refers to the rate of pupils attaining the maximum schooling (in school years) an education system may offer according to the degree of differentiation within a particular level (e. g., secondary level). *Standardization* is the degree to which educational quality is the same across the country (e. g., uniformity of school leaving examinations, teacher training, etc.) (see: Allmendinger 1989, p. 233). It is, however, important to revisit the analysis by Allmendinger for all GOETE countries have undergone major educational reforms since the publication of her findings.

In order to provide a more comprehensive picture, a great part of the information gathered in this report has been aggregated in table 39 in order to provide an overview over the key dimensions connected to the governance of educational trajectories:

- the *degree of differentiation* or tracking (high, middle, low) distinguishes countries according to the extent to which educational trajectories are structured by hierarchically segmented or comprehensive tracks from primary to the end of lower secondary levels. Differentiation is high in Germany and the Netherlands, middle in the UK and low in France, Italy, Poland and Slovenia. This indicator may also be extended to distinguish between internal and external differentiation (e. g. forming classes with different learning paces within comprehensive schools).
- Also, the point in time of the *transition from primary to secondary education* hints at whether segmentation of pupils and/or educational trajectories takes place early or not.
- The duration of compulsory education differs between 9 years in Slovenia and Finland and 12 years in the Netherlands and the UK. In most countries it ends at 16 (except Netherlands) while the age of school entry differs between 4 in Northern Ireland and 7 in Finland.
- Parental *free choice* and the share of the *private sector* may hint at issues of availability, accessibility, and equity of educational options. The availability of free choice (in Finland, Italy, Slovenia and the UK) may be seen as a possibility for individuals to make subjectively meaningful choices while at the same time contribute socially and ethnically homogeneous schools of different status. The extent to which education is provided by the state or by private actors (as indicated by the share of private schools) may hint at the availability of alternative curricula and pedagogical arrangements (e.g. Waldorf schools in Germany, confessional schools in the Netherlands, etc.). At the same time, although the majority of private schools in the GOETE countries are not-for-profit private schools, a high share of private schools has to be seen as contributing to unequal access to education. The highest level is to be found in the Netherlands, followed by France and the UK, the lowest in Slovenia, Italy, Finland and Germany.
- A key aspect of *educational governance* is the level of centralised policy-making (as opposed to its implementation). While in all GOETE countries there is a division of labour among the different levels, the responsibility for planning policy (i.e. standards, curricula, etc.), for instance, tends to be centralised. Decentralisation is highest in Finland and the UK, followed by the Netherlands but centralised in the other countries with the specificity of Germany where educational governance is centralised at (regional) Länder level.

- *The relation between education and welfare* refers to the cooperation at political, administrative and practical levels, which is seen as a precondition for integrated support mechanisms. Links are tight in Finland and the UK, and at local level also in Slovenia, in France and the Netherlands some bridges to exist while in the other countries both areas are strictly separated.
- As regards the importance of general versus vocational education in upper secondary education (i.e. the primary destinations after the end of lower secondary education) general education dominates in France, Poland and the UK while in the other countries vocational tracks are prevalent.
- This is also reflected by the main objectives and orientations of policy measures aimed at the school to work transitions of young people classified as 'disadvantaged'. These policies differ between a priority of general education in Finland and Slovenia, (pre)vocational training (Germany, France and the Netherlands), assuring the employability of graduates in the labour market (e.g. UK and Poland), or, as in the case of Italy, providing youth some status whether in education, work or in training in their rather long transition to employment.
- The existence of systematic preparation for transitions (especially from lower to upper secondary level) in terms of vocational or educational orientation and counselling integrated into the official school curriculum is a further item that shows how education systems help pupils coping with education in general, and with transitions in particular.

Table 41 does not allow simply clustering education systems into neat types that – while providing a useful tool for comparison – also risk concealing the complexity of concrete education systems. The aim is rather to condense information on the education systems in order to develop hypotheses about the governance of educational trajectories in GOETE countries.

A typology requires a further step of abstraction that is also applied by the model of transition regimes (see Chapter A).

**Table 39: Characteristics of education systems in GOETE**

Countries	France	Germany	Italy	The Netherlands	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Poland
<b>Degree of Differentiation (tracking)</b>	low	high	low	high	low	low	middle	low
<b>Level of Standardization</b>	high	high	low	high	high	high	low	low
<b>Level of Stratification</b>	high	high	low	high	low	low	low	low
<b>Free-choice</b>	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	No
<b>Private sector share (%)</b>	21.6	7.1	59	77	1.6	7.1	20.6	8.5
<b>Educational Governance (policy-making)</b>	Centralised (nation-state level)	Centralised (federal level)	Centralised (implementation decentralised)	Centralised (implementation decentralised)	Centralised	Decentralised	Decentralised (implementation decentralised)	Centralised (implementation decentralised)
<b>Length of Compulsory education</b>	6/16	6/16	6-16	5/17	6/15	7/16	E: 5/16, S: 5/16, NI: 4/16	6/16
<b>Relation between Welfare and Education</b>	Separated, few bridges	Strictly separated	Very weak	Separated, few bridges	Tight (local) - weak (national)	Tight link	Tight	Strictly separated
<b>Patterns of participation in Upper Secondary Education (%)</b> - General - Vocational	56 44	43 57	40 60	33 67	35 65	32 68	69 31	54 46
<b>Transition from Primary to Lower Secondary School</b>	after 5 years	after 4-6 years	after 5 years	after 8 years	No transition	No transition	after 7 years	after 6 years
<b>Focus of transition policies</b>	(pre) vocational training	(pre)vocational training	Provide status: education, work or training	(pre) vocational training	Education	Education	Employability	Employability,
<b>Activation Policies</b>	Activation as recruitment	Activation as recruitment	Activation without institutional basis	Activation as Workfare	Activation as supporting life planning / as recruitment	Activation as supporting life planning	Activation as Workfare	Activation as recruitment
<b>Preparation for Transition (coping) (from lower to secondary level)</b>	Non systematic	Systematic	Non systematic	Systematic	Systematic	Systematic	Non systematic	Non systematic
<b>Transition regime</b>	Employment-centred	Employment-centred	Under-institutionalised	Employment-centred	Post-socialist	Universalistic	Liberal	Post-socialist

In a comparative perspective, a research hypothesis of the GOETE project may start from the transition regime model as it represents a way of ordering contextual differences regarding the life course structures that result from the interaction among socio-economic, institutional and cultural factors – especially the structures of education and welfare and their cultural foundations. The notion of transition regime includes the dimension of governance in the sense of linking institutionalised processing of transitions with the individual's biographical agency, especially their motivational careers and their decision-making processes with regard to education. Inasmuch as transition regimes refer to different configurations of normality resulting from the way in which education and welfare form individual life courses, it can be expected that the GOETE findings with regard to its core thematic perspectives access, coping and relevance will reflect the basic characteristics of the transition regime model.

The fruitfulness of the transition regime model for the GOETE objective lies in the fact that it extends beyond the boundaries of education systems (also if this implies reducing the complexity of differences between education systems, see section A.2.1) including structures of labour market, welfare and youth services as well as dominant meanings of the individual and thereby to distinguish dominant models of educational governance.

According to this scheme (table 40) – which is a hypothesis to be tested rather than a result of research – access to education is open and inclusive in the universalistic regime. Coping is an integral part of education, and personal development is the main criterion of relevance of education; the individual is first of all a citizen whose autonomy is secured by welfare rights, also with regard to educational choice.

In the liberal regime access is open but support is either privatised or serves as control for increasing attendance. Education is relevant if it secures employability. Individuals are either addressed as consumers or as human capital (which needs not to be a contradiction) while market competition is the main governance approach.

In the employment-centred model access is selective, support for coping externalised to welfare agencies and limited to compensatory education. Relevance of education follows the division between academic and vocational occupations. Here, scope of privatisation is limited by corporatist structures. The individual is conceptualised as rather passive – in terms of being employed or being taught – and embedded in corporatist structures. However, this is slowly being replaced by the idea of individuals as entrepreneurs of their own labour and human capital.

In the under-institutionalised regime access is open while support remains familiarised. Relevance of education follows the division between academic and vocational yet more directed centrally than by labour market actors, which has created a significant time lag as regards modernisation. Privatisation relies on individuals backed up by the family while education is still primarily governed through the central state.

In the post-socialist countries the general but not exclusive trend is broadening access to education while the support for coping with education is differing from extensive to marginal and from integrated to external. Relevance of education is primarily defined in globalised labour markets terms inasmuch as education is seen both as a factor for attracting foreign investment and as a resource for individual migration.

This hypothesis will be tested on the basis of the triangulation of different empirical data in the final stage of the project.

**Table 40: Comparative Research Hypotheses of the GOETE Project**

Regime type	Educational trajectories			Concept of the individual learner	Governance model
	Access	Coping	Relevance		
<b>Universalistic</b> (FI)	universal, inclusive	integrated, enabling	personal development	welfare citizens	individual choice
<b>Liberal</b> (UK)	open, partly inclusive	privatised - controlling	employability	consumers and human capital	market competition
<b>Employment-centred</b> (FR, DE, NL)	selective	externalised, compensatory	vocational/ academic	employee → human capital	corporatism – competition
<b>Under-institutionalised</b> (IT)	open	familiarised	vocational/ academic	member of family	centralised
<b>Post-socialist</b> (PL, SI)	<i>opening (with exceptions)</i>	<i>mixed</i>	<i>(global) labour market</i>	<i>human capital</i>	<i>centralised/ supra-national</i>

## 2. Thematic summary and open research questions

The review of existing research as well as the juxtaposition of information regarding the institutional, socio-economic and cultural contexts of young people's educational trajectories reveals that the objectives of the GOETE project refer to research gaps regarding the question how educational trajectories actually evolve from the structure and agency interplay. The interaction of different actors' interests and influence contributes to complex decision-making processes on the level of individual students and their families, of teachers and school principals, educational policy makers as well as of actors outside school including influential stakeholders such as representatives of the economy as much as persons and/or organisations providing students formal or non-formal social support.

*Section A* documents how different education systems rely on the cultural foundations of different assumptions regarding the 'normality' of individual *life courses* while at the same time producing and reproducing such normalities. This is reflected by the number of transitions children and young people have to overcome within their educational trajectories as well as by the selectivity of these transitions, i.e. the question to what extent they contribute to differentiating subsequent trajectories. In this regard variations across education systems appear to cover a broad range with countries such as Finland and Slovenia where no transitions occur between the beginning of primary and the end of lower secondary education on the one end and countries such as Germany with a marked transition after 4 or 6 six years sorting pupils to educational tracks of unequal status.

While previous research has concentrated on young people's school to work transitions as vulnerable moments in the life course, the increasing importance of education for social integration and the increasing diversity, uncertainty and insecurity of life courses in so-called knowledge societies has made transitions an important heuristic perspective also for the analysis of the entrance into, the status passages within and the exit from education. While this has not been addressed in this report, the transition perspective may reveal even as fruitful for the analysis of transitions between in- and out-school social and life spheres.

The guiding research question in this respect is whether there are significant relationships between the structures of education systems, the consciousness and practices of actors regarding the implications of transitions in young people's educational trajectories as well as the experiences and educational orientations of the young people themselves.

A further question is whether systems with less inbuilt transitions provide students with better

opportunities for individualized educational trajectories than those in which multiple transitions represent constant institutional challenges and crossroads structuring the individual learning biography.

*Section B* has dealt with the question of *access* to (different pathways through) education as an operationalization of the dimension of social inequality of education in a life course perspective. The perspective of access highlights the degree of differentiation of education systems as well as the entrance prerequisites of different educational courses or tracks. Possibilities of access are reflected by rates of participation and achievement as well as non-participation (including early school leaving) and under-achievement. However – in contrast to mainstream educational sociology – a life course perspective highlighting different entries into, pathways through and outcomes of education needs to complement a structural perspective of access to education by the accessibility of education experienced by the individuals – the children and young people as much as their parents.

Educational research has found that cross-national differences regarding early school leaving or competence achievement are clearly correlated with structures of differentiation, selectivity and permeability of national education systems. The latter is high in Germany, the Netherlands and Northern Ireland as a result of early institutional selectivity while selection takes place later in France and Poland. Another distinct structural difference of access is the varying relevance of private schooling across the countries under analysis with a very high percentage in the Netherlands (where private schooling however not necessarily implies an elitist recruitment procedure). It is important to mention here that private schooling in the Netherlands is very different from private education in other countries, since in this country both public and private schools are funded publicly; there is no difference in that sense. So, education is free in both types for students. The share of private schooling understood as fee-paying schools is only 5%, which is comparable to other EU countries.

Our guiding research question in this regard is whether structures of access are a linear reflection of the structures of national education systems or rather depending on local constellations of actors; whether there is a correspondence between structural and subjectively experienced accessibility and whether these relationships are stable or increasingly contested through human capital building policies on the one hand and individuals' struggle for equal opportunities on the other.

Compared to the dimension of access, the *Section C* on *coping* cannot rely on a broad range of national and international studies. This applies both the students' problems of coping and the available support mechanisms. Most research explains underachievement by drawing on general sociological factors such as class, gender or ethnicity – yet without elaborating on where and on how these factors lead to problems in students' everyday life or how they are experienced and addressed by the students themselves. As regards support mechanisms, there are three dimensions of comparison: the relation between material and non-material support, the relation between learning-oriented and social support, and the relation between support inside and outside school: only in a few countries, students from poor families are supported with education benefits (especially Finland and the UK); while special needs education is a traditional learning-oriented support mechanism which is more and more being included into mainstream education, social support mechanisms are more recent. The overview over the countries has shown the difference between education systems with a variety of internal support provisions (especially Finland and Slovenia) and education systems with different forms of cooperation with external support measures the affluence of which can differ from municipality to municipality and from school to school. These differences reflect different relationships between education and welfare, a perspective that is crucial for investigating the regulation of educational trajectories.

Our guiding research questions in this regard are to what extent schools are aware of the problems and coping strategies of students, what support they provide themselves – and how teachers are prepared for this – or organise it externally, what support is provided by external actors, parents and students themselves. Attention will be paid to how students and parents experience available support. It will also be analysed how needs and provisions are communicated between different actors and to what extent local support mechanisms reflect national structures of the relation between education and welfare or represent innovations that depart from national pathways.

*Section D* has dealt with the different representations and expectations towards education in terms of what education is held *relevant* from different actors involved, especially the economy and their demands of qualified human capital, parents, students and schools and authorities who claim to mediate, objectify and institutionalise educational standards. While there is some information on how education systems try to organise forecast of skill needs, curriculum development and connect this with teacher training, there is little information on how students

experience and construct relevance of education and how this relates to their motivation to invest in education. While there is clear trend towards introducing standards and evaluation procedures in order to guarantee that students develop competencies needed in the knowledge economy rather than acquiring out-dated knowledge and skills, it is completely unclear how these changes are being translated into local educational spaces – and labour markets – and to what extent they find higher acceptance on the side of pupils and students.

Our guiding research questions will be to identify and compare the expectations of different actors towards education and the criteria according to which education is relevant for them. Attention will also be paid to the relation between young people's assessment of education, their motivation and the structure of their educational trajectories. Further, it needs to be analysed how different models of constructing educational relevance are related to different mechanism of access on the one hand and support on the other. A particular focus will lie on analysing and experimenting with models of participatory educational policy planning at local level by bringing the views of the different actors into a dialogue.

*Section E* finally, has focused on structures and mechanisms of educational *governance* and current discourses and reforms. It has been shown that since the introduction of public education national education systems have taken different pathways in terms of decentralisation and school autonomy while also the financial efforts of the respective societies for education do differ significantly. As regards the participation of parents and students apparently progress can be stated rather on paper than in reality although in countries with a higher level of school autonomy the influence of parent seems to be bigger, yet without necessarily increasing the scope of participation for the students. In all countries, reforms and discourses aim at further increasing school autonomy and at taking the shift from input towards outcome orientation further by establishing standards and evaluation systems. The ever-increasing importance of education in the context of knowledge societies has turned education into a controversial discourse arena, which tends to reflect societal conflicts and divisions such as with regard to the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities or the middle classes' fear of losing grounds in the context of societal competition for scarce stable social positions.

A central research objective therefore is the modelling of different local and national constellations of educational governance emerging around the issues of access, coping and relevance. This implies identifying key actors and the ways in which they relate to and interact

with each other. In terms of comparative analysis it will be important to analyse the relation between initial and newly emerging constellations of governance. In terms of innovative policy making potentials for local governance will be assessed. It will be also experimented to what extent dialogic models of exchange and planning and feeding back research findings into further training of teachers and educators out of school based can make a difference in increasing access, providing support and securing relevance of education in its systemic dimensions and subjectively for the students themselves.

Inasmuch as in current discourses the contribution of education to social integration is being contested, the rationale of the outlined research perspectives is to analyse the social embeddedness of education systems and thereby improve their capacities of securing social integration.

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