HOW IS YOUNG PEOPLE'S SCHOOL-TO-WORK TRANSITION PROCESS SHAPED BY "ACTIVE" LABOUR MARKET POLICY AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN AUSTRIA AND FINLAND?

Master's Thesis
to confer the academic degree of
Master of Social Sciences
in the Master’s Program
Joint Master Program of Comparative Social Policy and Welfare
SWORN DECLARATION

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Esien Eddy Bruno, *How is young people’s school-to-work transition process shaped by “active” labour market policy and the educational system in Austria and Finland?*

Johaness Kepler University Linz, Department of Social and Societal Policy  
Master’s Degree Program in Comparative Social Policy and Welfare (COSOPO)  
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**Abstract:**

Many European Countries are currently facing increasing unemployment problems after the 2008 economic crisis and the pressure is on young people during the school to employment transition process. However, current studies suggest and confirm the findings on demands in the labour market and behavioural attitude. Hence, this study employs a comparative case study design to investigate disadvantaged young people’s School-to-work transition (STWT) process in Austria and Finland. Moreover, multiple of evidences are discussed from different data sources. However, the primary data source is the Youth Guarantee (YG) policy paper containing government’s commitment to offer young people education and training, was employed for the qualitative comparative analysis. The results show that Austria’s and Finland’s adolescents’ school-to-work transition process is similarly associated with the development of the labour market which demands specific skills, meritocracy in society, institutional cooperation, and guidance. Despite these, inevitable variations emerged, according to the country’s approach, schooling and vocational education training. Therefore, this leads to uncertainties, challenges, and social exclusion of youngsters. Accordingly, disadvantaged young people, particularly those with migration background are often excluded thus resulting to devastating socio\economic consequences.

**KEYWORDS:** school-to-work-transition, youth labor market, educational system, labor policy, vocational education training, skills, Austria, Finland.
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Abbreviations

ALMP: Active Labour Market Policy
CEDEFOR: European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training
CMEs: Coordinated Market Economies.
DV: Dependent Variable.
ESL: Early School Leavers.
EU: European Union.
Eurostat: Statistical Office of the European Communities.
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
ILO: International Labour Organisation.
ISCED: International Standard Classification of Education
IV: Independent Variable.
LM: Labour Market
LMEs: Liberal Market Economies.
NEET: Not in employment, education or continuing training
OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
PES: Public Employment Service
STWT: School-to-Work transition process.
VOC: Variety of Capitalism.
VET: Vocational Educational Training.
YG: Youth Guarantee.
%: Percentage
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1. Introduction

Although today's young generation is the most highly educated part of the global population, they face “…difficulties in entering and remaining in the labour market” (Makiko, and Elder, 2010: 1). However, it seems even upon reception of the current status quo about schooling and employment, a high availability of resources is required. Despite this, significant attention is globally shown to different countries' school-to-work transition (STWT) process of the about 94 million young people between 15-29 years of age (Eurofound, 2012: 1; Sparreboom, and Staneva, 2014). The new challenging discourse is focused on youths as a "lost generation", (Gambardella, 2014) joblessness, and difficult school to employment transition process. At the same time, several studies suggest that the school to employment transition concept is a recent development, “…associated with change, waiting, and uncertainty” (Ryan, 2001: 1; Baumann et al., 2013: 6; Dorsett and Lucchino, 2012) that represents a critical stage in the lives of adolescents. Taking this into consideration, the process from schooling to employment is often depicted today as long and precarious, unlike the short and direct routes presumed available to earlier generations (Ryan, 2001)

Furthermore, these uncertainties are part of a single process that typically “…defines… the period between the end of compulsory schooling”, full-time attainment, and stable employment (Ryan 2001; OECD, 1996a, and 1998c). Therefore, it is doubtful that these growing life-cycle processes are solved by youths without appropriate support. However, Milmeister and Berg (2012: 18) echo in their study that the transition process concentrates not only to acquire skills, qualification, and certificates to enter the labour market, but most notably during the process of youth to adult life-cycle with unpredictable risks and precarious situations.

Lack of employment perspectives, poor living conditions, and inequalities have led to a broad consensus that the transitions have changed, particularly from education to working life (Milmeister and Berg, 2012). Consequently, the transition pattern runs in a less linear path (Milmeister and Berg, 2012; Dorsett and Lucchino, 2012; Fergusson et al., 2000; Fares et al., 2005: 17). In addition, there is evidence of a “…hardcore group of youths who fall between the cracks in school-to-work transition institutions and spend a substantial amount of time…after the end of compulsory schooling” (Dorsett and Lucchino, 2012). Nevertheless, several studies and investigations conclude that such situations emerge from specific circumstances and behavioural factors such as low confidence or self-esteem (Dorsett and Lucchino, 2012; Atzmüller 2012; Stone et al., 2000; Rennison et al., 2000; Sachdev et al. 2006; Gregg et al. 1998). Therefore, disadvantaged youths, especially with a migration background are fighting a battle on many fronts accompanied with huge societal expectation
and aspiration to participate with the available resources. Thereby, a handful of disadvantaged young people are often excluded due to their labour market and schooling experiences. As a matter of fact, they are vulnerable to (social) risks like unemployment and lack of expected skills for entrance into the labour market.

Hence, the research question of this study examines disadvantaged young people STWT process shaped by active labour market policy and educational system. Evidence and comparison are the results of the investigation and findings focused on two advanced economies, that is: Austria and Finland. However, the work focuses not only on the school-to-work transition (STWT) process from selected countries, but emphasizes on its dependency, particularly towards disadvantaged youths during the STWT process, notably with migration background, between 15-24 years old.

However, past and current studies have proven that the young people school to work transition process is based on statistics from the demands of the labour market demand with focus on behavioural attitude. Hence, the various “socialising agencies” (school, labour market etcetera) are pertinent actors in this process. In this case, the findings are limited to factors from the demands of the labour market. Moreover, in this study a comparative case study design is used to examine disadvantaged young people's school-to-work transition (STWT) process, especially for those with migration backgrounds in Austria and Finland.

Primary data sources from the Youth Guarantee policy paper were used, which contains “…governments, regional authorities and public employment services commit to offering a young person a job, training or re-training within a certain period of being made unemployed or leaving formal education” (European youth forum, 2012: 5; Lechtenfeld and La Cava, 2013).

Furthermore, the data shows a highly skilled labour force and potentially employable society. These outcomes are unfavourable, especially to disadvantaged youths during the school to work transition that is often associated with risks. Consequently, the STWT process is full of uncertainties and social inequalities.

The research paper begins with chapters two and three, takes into consideration past and current studies and literature review of the youth STWT process. It claims that the youth STWT process depends more on the demands of the labour market and behavioural aspects. In addition, a variety of capitalism theories provide a template to understand the political economy and approach of Austria's and Finland's STWT process. Chapter four is about the youth labour market and the exclusion policy. This is the policy arena used in this study to understand the transition and youth policy. In chapter five the methodological study approach of comparative case study design is used to understand the similarities, dissimilarities and
variation. However, the most similar case design is employed to understand the variety of the cases. In chapter six the process of data collection is examining the Youth guarantee policy paper as the primary source from selected countries. Furthermore, in chapter seven the collected data are analysed from a comparative analysis approach. Moreover, they systematically fit into a data matrix to generate similarities, dissimilarities, and variations. In chapter eight, the findings are discussed, which answers the research question on how disadvantaged youths during the STWT process are shaped through schooling, training or retraining. Chapter nine is about the discussion and recommendations for further research on disadvantaged youths during the STWT process.

2. Conceptualization of the STWT Process
With regards to recent research, existing literature shows variety of publications, materials on the youth STWT process indicating different dimensions. However, this literature review examines and presents a quantum of past findings about disadvantaged young people’s school to employment transition process shaped by schooling, employment, training or retraining. Therefore, the most pressing issues within the process occurs in the variety of national trends in the youth labour market, high-quality outcomes for as many adolescents, and the types of institutional development that offers the best way forward for particular countries (Ryan, 1999). These variety of features play a vital role and often take place during difficult periods faced by many youths (Makiko and Elder; OECD 2000). It is often manifested with uncertainty due to multiple socialization processes, system-orientated institutions, and policies that directly and indirectly influence the transition path. Therefore, adulthood and societal participation process are partly influenced by the process. Hence, the process is discussed in this study as the dependent variable, whereas, schooling, employment, and training show the independent variable. During this process, there is the construction of qualifications, skills, and competences. Nevertheless, the school to employment transition process depends on system orientated factors and specific labour market demands.

2.1. The Process as Dependent Variable (DV)
The STWT process embodies an unequal path that often leads to diverse social inequalities. It is consistently steered through schooling, training, and re-training. Thus, the process shows a movement towards monitoring and control. Hence, the path can either be a smooth or an uncompleted process that is designed with the aspect of social and citizen’s right (Artzmüller, 2012). However, to incorporate disadvantaged young people in societal participation, the socializing agencies (school and the labour market) of the transition process need to be adjusted. Nonetheless, Ryan (2001: 34) noted the concept as a current development,
“…associated with change, waiting, and uncertainty”. The above features are paramount challenges that disadvantaged youths, especially those with migration backgrounds face. Moreover, it leads to a variety of unexpected social risks such as the high rate of early school leavers and dropouts. In addition, the path from schooling to work is often depicted today “…as long and perilous, unlike the short and direct routes presumed available to previous generations” (Ryan, 2001: 34). Thus, disadvantaged youths often face vulnerability, difficult lifestyle, and (social) inequality.

Despite these uncertainties, the process typically defines the period between the ends of compulsory schooling, full-time and stable employment (OECD, 1996a and 1998c; ILO, 2009). It embodies sequences of youth entrance into the labour market and the socialization process. During this period, young people face uncountable social risks because of insufficient social capital to complete the process. Moreover, disadvantaged youths often end their schooling and training processes with inadequate skills. Hence, they end up in precarious employment status that leads to societal inequalities. Nevertheless, Makiko and Eder (2010:30) summarize the STWT as a careful issue, because a definition determines the interpretation. Particular interest to interpret the process shows the variation across country context. Furthermore, other studies “…define the transition as the length of time between the exit from education (either upon graduation or early exit without completion) to the first entry into regular employment” (Ryan 2001; Makiko and Eder, 2010: 30). In this case, the length of time between schooling, completion, and first entry into employment, varies from countries' perspectives (Ryan 2001; Makiko and Eder, 2010: 30). Thus, the variation shows how the transition process across countries is designed.

Despite this fact, the “Youth Guarantee” (YG) program is to tackle youth unemployment (EUbusiness, 2015). It “…ensures that all young people under 25 – whether registered with employment services or not – get a good-quality, concrete offer within 4 months of them leaving formal education or becoming unemployed” (Eubusiness, 2015; European commission, 2016; De Albacete, 2014). However, in most European countries, the outcome after the YG approach shows an opposite result to the concept expectation. In this case, from youth education to working life in Europe (in several months) shows that the unemployment rate of the stated time after leaving continuous education in the year 2000 is respectively 7.8 % and 14.7% in Austria and Finland (Eurostat, 2016). Moreover, a huge number of young people incompletely end their schooling process as early school leavers (ESL) and dropouts, with less education achievement and inadequate skills demanded by the labour market. According to Eurostat (2016), the foreign-born ESL in the year 2015 were 18, 4 % and 21, 7% in Austria and Finland, respectively. In this case, young people with migration backgrounds
are often knocked out of the system with insufficient labour market demanded skills (School to workEU, 2013). This situation and phenomenon are mostly faced by disadvantaged young people.

Table 1: Early school leavers and training by sex and foreign born citizenship, between 18-24 years old.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2010</th>
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<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU 28</td>
<td>29,8</td>
<td>29,1</td>
<td>27,9</td>
<td>25,5</td>
<td>23,4(b)</td>
<td>22,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>20,4</td>
<td>19,2</td>
<td>19,4</td>
<td>20,3</td>
<td>17,1(b)</td>
<td>18,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>25.6(u)</td>
<td>22,9(u)</td>
<td>22,2(u)</td>
<td>22,0(bu)</td>
<td>21,7(u)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(u) Low reliability (b) break in time series
Source: Eurostat, 2016

Moreover, the transition process varies from studies and countries because some “...studies take as the end point the first moment of employment in any job and others apply qualitative elements such as first stable job (measured by contract type)” (CAMBODIA-NADA, 2012; Makiko and Eder, 2010). The variation justifies the design of the measures of the different countries. The approaches and methods are meant to meet up with respective country’s schooling, labour market, and vocational education training systems. However, Ryan (2001: 82) suggests that during this process many problems run wide and deep such as unemployment, long-term unemployment, and inactivity among youngsters. It leads to multiple social risks faced by (disadvantaged) young people. Consequently, the transition process for disadvantaged young people leads to uncertainties and difficulties while preparing to enter the labour market. This leads to a high rate of ESL and dropouts (Ryan, 2001).

Therefore, European countries such as Austria and Finland use the YG schemes as key projects relating to skills and education in order to solve the problem (Nuorisotakuu, 2015). Furthermore, the duration before a first job shows the school-to-work transition process. It is either in short-term or long-term that varies from countries due to other causal factors and reasons (Ryan, 2001). The determinant is often observed from country’s youth unemployment rate. In a study by Affichard 1981 and Werquin 1999, the authors determined that some countries’ employment records have seen major differences. They explained that, in France, 86% of the youth cohort entered the labour market nine months after leaving school in 1973, the rate for their 1992 counterparts reached only 19% after three years. This shows a decrease of first entry to work caused by the schooling process and the labour market
measures. Furthermore, many disadvantaged young people incompletely end the process in prison and not the workplace (Ryan, 2001: 34). Hence, the transition process is a societal challenge. Nevertheless, the governments of Austria and Finland are investing huge sums of money through “active” labour market measures to develop specific skills for the labour market. To get a remarkable result, most countries such as Austria and Finland are facing huge problems in their search for solutions. Despite this fact, there are classifications and stages to understand young people during the school to employment transition process. It shows three categories on how to design models for surveys and examinations. In addition, the process embraces many long-standing issues in the form of a typology. The typology shows the independent variables that directly or indirectly influence disadvantaged young people during the school-to-work transition process.

2.2. Classification and Typology of STWT process as Independent Variable (IV)

There are varieties of categories designed to research the process. Thus the ILO (2009: 9) shows the three classifications in a study which introduced a holistic methodology to guide countries find answers to the school-to-work transition process. They are illustrated below as following: “transited”, “in transition”, and “not yet transited“.

(i) Transited

• A young person who has “transited” is one who is currently employed in a decent and satisfactory job; a decent but non-satisfactory job; or a satisfactory but non-decent job

(ii) In Transition

• A young person is still “in transition” if s/he has one of the following statuses: currently unemployed; currently employed in a non-decent and non-satisfactory job; or currently inactive and not in school, with an aim to look for work later

(iii) Not Yet Transited

• A young person who has “not yet transited” is one who is either of the following: still in school; or currently inactive and not in school, with no intention of searching for a job.

Source: ILO (2009); Makiko and Eder, (2010); Malunda et al. (2015)
The Typology is the independent variables of young people during the school-to-work transition process. They provide perspectives on how countries can frame their employment, training, and schooling processes for “…a defined group of young people” (ILO, 2009; Rocha, 2013). Hence, the schooling, training or education process shows the latent meaning of (disadvantaged) young people’s school to work transition process in the society. In this case, the interconnection of “fractured transition”, schooling, employment and training shaped disadvantaged young people’s school-to-work transition process (ILO, 2009: 9).

2.2.1. “Fractured Transition“

According to Milmeister and Berg (2012: 19), the transition patterns and process are a stimulating and complex process of a youth’s life style which has become less linear and fragmented. Thus, a successful transition process is a challenging path in contemporary society, particularly by disadvantaged youths at risk (ibid). In this case, they face difficulties that lead to societal exclusion. However, a couple of uncertainties prevail through this process, especially in the decision-making that hampers young people’s STWT process. However, it is obvious that young people are often in a development process, where they have to meet up with uncountable societal expectations. Frequently, it leads to a nonconformist decision-making approach of disadvantaged youths. They are equipped with insufficient skills from education, employment or training that endangers the school to employment transition process. Stauber and Walther (2002: 11) suggest that entering the labour market has become a highly de-standardized status passage involving much uncertainty. This shows that contemporary young people labour market entrance composes of diverse barriers and expectations. Most of the expectations are high as well as specific labour market skills, certificates and qualifications. However, disadvantaged young people have inadequate and insufficient skills that fracture the school to employment transition process. Nevertheless, the experiences vary among the younger population, especially with the disadvantaged youths at risk of social exclusion and other prevalent difficulties such as entrance into the labour market.

However, Dorsett and Lucchino (2014) examined the STWT in the United Kingdom with the aim of understanding the phenomenon in the five years after reaching school-leaving age. Notwithstanding, they used the technique of ‘optimal matching’ of data from 1991 to 2008 to identify the pattern (ibid). Hence, the result suggests that every 9 out of 10 post-16 youngsters have a rapidly positive experience and the remaining young people show a variety of histories which might call for a policy attention (ibid). Furthermore, a clear and accessible knowledge by post-16 year olds is vital in minimizing the risk of fractured transitions –
“...ending one activity without securing a stable outcome in the next” (Dorsett and Lucchino, 2014; Coles, 1995; Furlong et al., 2004).

These key social risks and fractured transitions (Dorsett and Lucchino, 2012) are instances that young people pursue while meeting up with societal expectation. Hence, responding to all these systems, disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration backgrounds often do not complete the process and have unpredictable endings. They are confronted with overwhelming challenges and expectations that often stay uncompleted. In this case, the uncompleted transition process leads to exclusion and other social risks. It is always a challenge for the 15 – 24 year old young people to simultaneously combine schooling demands, peer group pressure, employer expectations, and societal rules and regulations.

The consequences are devastating and might likely lead to a high rate of unemployment, stigmatization, early school leaver, and dropouts. However, the schooling, training or re-training process is part of the fractured transition which results to uncompleted and insufficient output. In this case, disadvantaged young people usually end up as ESL and dropouts without the expected qualifications, skills and certificates for entrance into the labour market. Furthermore, the schooling, training or re-training process directly influence young people’s STWT process. Disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration backgrounds are frequent victims of these processes and its “socializing agencies” that knock them out of the system with insufficient skills. Hence, they face difficulties entering into a labour market which requires high and specific skills, competence, and qualification.

2.2.2. Schooling

The schooling process is considered as an important determinant of youth entrance into the labour market (ILO, 2013). In this case, it directly plays a pertinent role to young people school to work transition process. Moreover, evidence in Austria suggests that formal qualifications are prerequisites to get a stable job for young people (ibid). This shows that access into the labour market is only guaranteed through skills acquisition and qualification along the schooling process. The consequences of lack of these labour market entrance prerequisites lead to social exclusion. Disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration backgrounds are often at risk of marginalisation. Moreover, they often leave the schooling path uncompleted with low educational level to suit entrance into the labour market. However, Austria and Finland manage the deficits with the YG measure, clustered under education and training, employment services, and active labour market measures (European Youth Forum, 2012; Bussi, 2014; OECD, 2015). Despite that, Dorsett and Lucchino (2013) state in a study that unsuccessful outcomes often start at key decision points in a youth’s
educational career. Therefore, education and training are vital parts of disadvantaged young people’s school to employment transition process. Nevertheless, most young people face lots of difficulties after finishing compulsory school with the age of 15 where they are systematically selected for further education such as in the case of the Austrian education system. Also, at 15 years, most youths are experiencing puberty, and seeking for self-identity and self-decision-making. In most cases, they are faced with the schooling process expectations which are full of bureaucratic structures. These aspects couple with other factors disturb their schooling process, rendering them vulnerable to drop out and thus, inadequate sufficient qualification. Hence, disadvantaged young people are often entangled to this dilemma that lay them at risk. Furthermore, it influences decision-making during the transition process. Hence, it suggests an inadequate decision-making process at this stage of life.

However, there are several distinguishing features linking youth labour market with the education system that (Dorsett and Lucchino, 2015) influences young people’s schooling path. Nevertheless, staying longer in education, vocational training or re-training reduces the risk of unemployment. Furthermore, investing in the education and training of young people guarantees equal opportunities for young people in the labour market (European Youth Forum, 2012: 5). Therefore, schooling is a vital aspect for young people school to the employment process. It shows that certificate plays a role as a prerequisite to entrance into labour market. Nevertheless, disadvantaged young people are often dropouts with inadequate qualification and skills. Notwithstanding, the link between schooling and the labour market shows a disappointing result with increasing youth unemployment rates. This misfortune is typically compensated with measurable benefits of extra years of schooling for individual and educational upgrading through labour market programmes (Grubb, 1996). The labour market programmes enable disadvantaged youths to receive job offer and training within a certain period after becoming unemployed or completing formal education (European Youth Forum, 2012). In this case, disadvantaged young people will have access to suitable education to facilitate their entry into the labour market as well as societal participation.

Moreover, significant policies show pre-school programmes, support for higher attendance in general education and vocational oriented reforms in secondary schooling (Hannan et al. 1996). The latter includes upgraded curricula, work experience for students, apprenticeship, and school employer links (Stern and Wagner, 1999). All of these aspects are core elements and principles behind the YG to secure equality of opportunity in the labour market (European Youth Forum, 2012). However, the schooling outcome suggests a prerequisite to enter the labour market. In this case, young people with insufficient labour market specific skills usually face long-term unemployment. It equally leads to socio-economic stagnation, putting the
physical and mental health of an entire generation of young people at risk (ibid). Moreover, disadvantaged young people with uncompleted schooling process face problems with a labour market entrance that jeopardizes the transition process.

Therefore, in order to manage young people’s school to employment transition process, countries partly embark on active labour market measures, to guarantee education, training and re-training measures just like the case in Austria and Finland. These measures show the result of educational support and guidance to monitor young people’s school to employment transition process.

2.2.3. Employment and Re-training

According to the European Youth Report (2012: 7), youth unemployment has been constantly higher than that of the adult population over the past decade. This is partly due to the high rates of ESL and dropouts of disadvantaged young people in many countries including Austria and Finland (OECD, 2015). Moreover, one of the most significant reasons is that young people lack the suitable labour market demanded skills to find a job (European Youth Report, 2012). This situation makes them vulnerable and puts the school to employment transition process at risk. Furthermore, those who eventually find work often become victims of a “last in, first out” (Ryan, 2000) policy that complicates the situation for new labour market entrants (ibid.).

Nevertheless, European countries have implemented the YG measure to reconsider and reorganise active labour market policies targeting young people (Bussi, 2014). Furthermore, its design and implementation help to understand the link between the labour market and education systems that monitored the transitions process (ibid). However, the core commitment in guiding young people during the school to work transition process is to offer them a job and training during the process (European Commission, 2016).

Nevertheless, young people often react in the labour market with regards to their experiences and available vacancies. In a Ryan (2001) study of school-to-work transition for seven advanced economies, the author determined that the problem runs wide and deep with long-term unemployment. Thus, young people’s inactivity is a result of unemployment statuses due to the labour market system. However, social disadvantaged youths with migration biographies face greater difficulties in the youth labour market (ibid). Nevertheless, it is considered that there has been uncertainty despite national success stories and the continuing viability of mass school-to-work transitions (ibid). In this case, there have been diverse policy successes and failures to tackle young people’s school to employment process. Among the successes, were vocational education training, apprenticeship, and labour market programmes that all seem to increase employment prospects for participants, especially in
Austria and Finland (Bussi, 2014). Despite the success, Ryan (2001) determined that the failure of the labour market policy includes both the ineffectiveness and the damaging interventions’ impact to the disadvantaged young people because of increasing number of dropouts and unemployment rates. Therefore, the ineffective category includes the following particular aspects of policy damage that are apparently linked to these three areas of labour market programmes:

i. Firstly, some programmes make participants worse off during involvement while doing nothing for their labour market prospects, thereby violating the maxim, "do no harm".

ii. Secondly, programmes particularly those based on work experience and training at the workplace, displace regular youth employment. Such programmes happen to replace typical employment with low paid jobs and insecure placements, which generally make young workers worse off.

iii. Finally, the same programmes may contribute to high youth inactivity like in the United Kingdom and Sweden (Ryan 2001).

Furthermore, differences in national institutions can flourish in a society where the concern for youth integration into the socio-economic life is widely shared and deeply felt and that therein lays the fundamental source of their resilience and effectiveness. These aspects directly influence young people’s school to work process which makes them vulnerable to (long) term unemployment and diverse social risks in the society. In this case, disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration biographies receive extra education and training measures to develop their skills, capabilities, and employability for labour market entrance. However, in the study of Makiko, and Elder (2010), the authors suggested that sufficient education is not a privilege of a smooth school to employment transition process. This is a justification and a fact that education and training is not enough to enter the labour market. In this case, there are other relevant factors or pertinent issues like social capital which are not at the disposal of disadvantaged young people. Consequently, they are often knocked out from societal participation. Therefore, despite education, training or re-training, most of the countries lack enough job offers after apprenticeship which puts disadvantaged young people at risk, especially those with migration backgrounds. This trend is also observed in Austrian and Finnish youth labour market first entry data.

Therefore, within the scope of the current study, disadvantaged young people in the transition process shows the active labour market measures to find employment or training (Bussi, 2014; European commission 2016). In this case, the Nordic countries were the first to carry out YG in the 1980s that primarily ensured a smooth transition from school-to-work and prevent long-term unemployment (Bussi, 2014). Furthermore, the new approach is to
“...tackle youth unemployment, which ensures that all young people under 25 – whether registered with employment services or not – get a good-quality, concrete offer within 4 months of them leaving formal education or becoming unemployed” (European Youth Portal, 2014; European commission, 2016; European Commission, 2012: 2). Therefore, this show that every disadvantaged young person shall receive a “…good-quality offer...for a job, apprenticeship, traineeship, or continued education and be adapted to each individual need and situation” (EUbusiness, 2015)

Although the approach is similar in Austria and Finland, they vary with regards to their respective welfare state production model. However, Austria has taken special measures to make sure that there are training places for young people and accessibility to the public employment services, whereas, in Finland the YG involved the prospect of a job being offered to a young unemployed person under the age of 25, within 3 months of being made unemployed or leaving education (European Youth Forum, 2012). Nevertheless, these variations of approach depend on the types of measures and conditions to motivate young people during the school to work transition process (European Youth Forum, 2012; OECD, 2015).

However, Austria and Finland are highly industrialized countries spending a huge sum of GDP to active labour market policy. According to this current study, the transition process is influenced and shaped by the education, schooling process, training or retraining measures. During these processes, young people are encouraged to get high and labour market specific skills, certificates and qualification so as to ease the process. Nevertheless, young people, especially those with migration backgrounds often incompletely end the process with insufficient employer demanded skills. The results expose their labour market entrance, lifestyle and putting them at risk of social exclusion. To overcome this phenomenon, countries embark on different political economies under the template of VOC. Hence, countries such as Austria and Finland differ from their variety of capitalism, but similar in their approach towards young people STWT process. However, disadvantaged youths during the STWT process show (dis)similar active labour market measures through the schooling process, employment, vocational education training or retraining.

3. Theorization as “Variety of Capitalism” (VOC)

The authors Hall and Soskice (2001), and Artzmüller (2012), explained that school-to-work issues have become more important and a more relevant transition-oriented process, in the variety of capitalism. Therefore, the ‘variety of capitalism’ (VOC) approach is an effort to go
beyond three perspectives on bureaucratic variation that has dominated the study of comparative capitalism in the preceding thirty years (ibid). However, it enables two types of approach that affect early labour market experiences: modernization approach, concept of neo-corporatism and social systems of production approach (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 2-5). Despite these approaches, the concept of behaviour shows how behaviour is involved in political-economic institutions and its three frameworks to understand this relationship (ibid).

However, the VOC approach to the economy is actor-centred with multiple actors that strategically react in a rational way (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 6; Scharpf, 1997a). In this case, the economy is constructed to meet system demands and not people’s aspirations. This influences disadvantaged young people’s school to employment transition process from the labour market demand sector. Moreover, it is a “... firm-centred political economy that regards companies as crucial actors in a capitalist economy” (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 6) and key agents of adjustment, changes and the overall level of economic performances (ibid). It shows the cases of Austria and Finland with the approach on schooling, vocational educational training or re-training to develop high and specific labour market skills and qualifications as a prerequisite to young people’s entrance in the labour market. However, the following two distinguished political economies underpinned the explanations and differentiations of firms approached: the liberal and the coordinated market economies that are differentiated from countries respectively welfare-state model approach

3.1. Liberal Market Economies (LMEs)

In the LMEs, Hall and Soskice (2001) explained that firms coordinated their activities primarily through hierarchies, competitive market arrangement and mechanism. Furthermore, this type of coordination shows a classic form (Williamson, 1985) that often occurs in bureaucratic and industrialized countries. In this case, the labour market arena becomes a stage for skills competition which puts disadvantaged young people at risk. However, without the experiences and uncompleted schooling process, disadvantaged young people’s transition process is at risk in the competitive market arrangement. Furthermore, the competitive market attitude and hierarchy structure reproduced social inequalities in the society. Hence, vulnerable youths are at risk of facing an uncompleted STWT process. Furthermore, market relationships in the LMEs show an arm length exchange of goods or services through competition and formal contracting (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 8). Consequently, in response to such a market, actors react with regards to their desire to demand, supply of goods or services that are often based on neo-classical economics (ibid).
Therefore, employers prefer employees who are highly qualified with certain certificate and specific skills to meet up with the labour market demand. However, in many aspects, liberal market institutions offer a highly effective means for coordinating the endeavours of economic actors (ibid). However, not everyone in society will be capable of meeting labour demands and supplies. Consequently, disadvantaged young people such as ESL and dropouts with inadequate firms-demanded skills and qualifications are at risk and consequently, excluded. Thus, the transition process is jeopardized and endangers a smooth labour market entrance resulting to social inequalities.

However, the LMEs show the political economy of Great Britain. Despite this market economy, there is also a coordinated market economy that embodies other distinctive mechanisms and operates on a different welfare-state model.

3.2. Coordinated Market Economies (CMEs)

According to CMEs, firms depend on none market relationships to co-ordinate their activities with other actors and to build a core competency (Hall and Soskice, 2001). The coordination can safeguard, protect the labour suppliers from a certain perspective and guarantee a minimum level of security and possibilities. However, disadvantaged young people have less decision making possibilities and limited social rights which still put them into a trap.

Nevertheless, the CME countries rely on skills development through schooling, vocational education training or retraining. However, during this process, disadvantaged young people face lots of uncertainties which often lead to exclusion.

Nevertheless, the non-market mode of coordination generally entails more extensive relationships, networking and more reliance on collaboration that build firms’ competences, contrary to liberal market competitive attitudes (ibid). Elements of these features are an entity of solid social capital that disadvantaged young people are insufficiently in possession. In this case, the STWT process will be incomplete though often compensated with trainings and retrainings. However, network is social capital that facilitates labour market entrance. Most disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration backgrounds are in lack of social capital and network and these lead to societal exclusion. Despite this fact, the equilibrium on firms in CME shows a strategic interaction among firms and other actors (ibid). Despite the presence of the Liberal and Coordinated Market Economies, institutions and Organizations also play a vital role in the VOC. They provide support through firms' attitudes to resolve coordination problems.
3.3. Institutional Role and Organization

Institutions have a set of formal or informal rules, that actors usually follow, whether for “...normative, cognitive or material reasons...”, whereas, organizations are “...durable entities with formally recognized members...”, whose rules also lead to the institutions of the political economy” (Hall and Soskice, 2001; Hall and Soskice 2001: 9).

On the other hand, markets are institutions that support particular relation types in labour demand and supply that can lead to competitive attitudes and differences, especially for disadvantaged young people in the market (ibid). Accordingly, disadvantaged young people with less skill caused by exclusion experiences shall suffer from other flaws that will disrupt the transition process. In this case, institutional commitment is a legal system with its laws to support formal contracting and encourage relative contracts (ibid). This commitment will adjust labour and supply to secure protection, especially for disadvantaged young people. Therefore, the firms of CMEs draw on a further set of institutions that support the endeavours (ibid).

However, institutions are there to cut uncertainties, reproduce equality and protect people in societal development process. Moreover, in the study of Hall and Soskice (2001: 10), the authors suggest that institutions allow the exchange of information among the actors, the monitoring of behaviour, and the sanctioning of misconduct (Halls and Soskice, 2001; Ostrom, 1990). Hence, these institutions (socializing agencies) include powerful employer associations, trade unions, networks of other actors, and regulative systems designed to ease information-sharing and participation (Halls and Soskice, 2001). Furthermore, it occurs when firms harmonize on strategies and not just market relations (ibid). Nonetheless, the reconciliation leads to allocation of human resources such as skills development through vocational education training or re-training programmes.

Therefore, the variety of capitalism provides a template to understand the various political economy approaches. It provides a real argument how the socializing agencies (School, education, training) are shaping youth STWT process. During this process disadvantaged youths face uncertainties, social exclusion and difficulties in labour market entrance. However, the youth labour market policy embodies laws to frame schemes and measures to guide youths’ “active” labour market measures such as the “Youth guarantee”, used as the data collection source for this study.
4. Youth Labour Market Policy

According to Ryan (2001), the school-to-work transition shows two changes in youth labour markets which limit employment of low educational achievement and the mixed match of labour supply. However, this dilemma has contributed to the uncertainty of youth STWT process, facilitated by ESL and dropouts (ibid). Equally, both developments have potentially extended the transition process and their importance differs across countries (ibid).

I. Young People Labour Market Entrance

The internal labour markets tend to make youth employment, particularly sensitive to fluctuations in aggregate demand, as a result of job security ("last in, first out") and internal pay structures insulated from the external labour market (Ryan, 2000; Ryan, 2001: 55). This implies that some countries’ youth labour markets have deteriorated (ibid). However, a promising explanation of the pattern depends on factors like macro-economic conditions, experience biased trends in labour demand, institutions of pay determination and national school-to-work institutions (Ryan 2001: 56). Therefore, labour market structure causes high youth turnover that shows a part of the efficiency wage strategy (McNabb and Ryan, 1990). These factors are to the disadvantage of young people, especially those with migration biographies who usually face a crucial school-to-work transition process full of uncertainties and joblessness. Thus, the STWT includes inadequate educational attainments, high joblessness, excessive job turnover and weak links between schooling and employment (Ryan 2001). Furthermore, Ryan (2001) explained that the less contentious issues concern unemployment and joblessness, whereas, the more contentious is turnover and vocationalism. However, young people who face employment difficulties are inactive instead of unemployed, even though, the line between unemployment and inactivity is contradictory (Quintini et al., 2007; Ryan, 2001). Therefore, it shows that disadvantaged young people are likely to drop out of the labour force when jobs are hard to find due to inappropriate qualifications or other disadvantages associated with exclusion (Quintini et al., 2007). In this case, institutions implement diverse labour market programmes such as the youth guarantee to take particularly disadvantaged youths out of unemployment (Ryan 2001: 37). Nevertheless, the labour market disadvantages may also be associated with gender and age that place young women to make less money than men even in the adult labour market segment (ibid). Furthermore, teenagers have less labour market experiences than young adults, which make them vulnerable to greater employment problems (Ryan 2001: 41). Despite this fact, there are other potential determinants of youth inactivity and unemployment,
which include pay inequality, schooling patterns, household attributes and labour market programmes (ibid).

In this case, a variety of states' respond through active labour market policies to manage the transition process. Therefore, schooling, vocational education training or retraining measures are meant to steer the process and ensure labour market specific skills. Ryan (2001) suggests a range of policies that response to school-to-work problems. While tackling joblessness, the State focuses on two distinguishing categories, namely: regulated and deregulated labour market programmes.

Deregulated labour market policy is often characterized in terms of strict regulation, statutory minimum wages and employment protection law (ibid). However, the OECD Jobs Study (1994) suggests existing regulations which are damaging to youth employment and training that increases wage flexibility and reduces employment protection which does not favour disadvantaged youths. (Ryan, 2001: 61). Nevertheless, public deregulation in Europe varies considerably by country (Ryan, 2000; Nickell, 1997). These can possibly lead to youth vulnerability, especially by easily dismissal from the job without adequate protection. Therefore, disadvantaged youths, especially those with migration backgrounds are often excluded. Thus, the school-to-work transition process will be full of uncertainties.

Furthermore, the increasing deregulation of the labour market for the past 20 years has shown difficulties from education to full-time employment (European Youth forum, 2012: 7). In addition, even when young people do manage to find a job they are often stuck in a cycle of temporary contracts and poorly paid work (ibid). In this case, they are often knocked out of the system due to lack of qualifications and suitable labour market skills. Notwithstanding, the labour market entrance will be prolonged. Moreover, this intrinsic lack of stability in the labour market has resulted in the rapid spiralling of youth unemployment since the onset of the economic crisis (European Youth Forum, 2012).

Despite deregulation, there are varieties of countries that pursue a regulated labour market policy, especially with strong ties to protect employees and redistribute income with a real control of the system. Examples of these countries are Finland and Austria.

Ryan (2001) suggests that regulated labour market systems consist of employment protection and fixed term contracts that are possible agendas, stipulated in the policy framework. Employment protection and fixed term contracts are suitable elements to guarantee employees social right in the system (ibid). It is a regulated criterion that can offer youth STWT process security. Moreover, the following aspects make up regulated labour market programmes:
(a) it offers jobless and disadvantaged workers with a variety of mixed job search assistance;

(b) work experience;

(c) job training;

(d) remedial education; and

(e) direct job creation (ibid).

These are active labour market policies blueprint to enable high skills development for entrance into the labour market. However, an example of this approach is the Youth Guarantee program (YG) of Finland and Austria which are the case studies. Nevertheless, labour market regulation enables employees’ protection and employers’ reluctance to create more job chances (ibid). This has an indirect effect to disadvantaged youths, particularly those with insufficient social capital and low educational levels. They will definitely face difficulties entering the labour market. Thus, the transition process will embody a range of uncertainties and vulnerability. Furthermore, due to the labour market structure, disadvantaged youths with insufficient labour market demanded skills are being already knocked out. This experience leads to social exclusion which pursues policy-makers to design programs to remedy the situation. Nevertheless, disadvantaged youths are often in “waiting rooms”, (Artmüller, 2012) especially those in schooling, training or re-training. Therefore, young people’s school to work transition process is a result of social exclusion due to the high rate of ESL and dropouts. Although the figures are minimal in Austria and Finland, young people are often disadvantaged because those who do find work often become victims of a the “last in, first out” policy that makes new labour market entrants much more vulnerable” (European Youth Forum, 2012). In this case, they are structurally and systematically excluded from societal participation.

II. Inequalities and Differentiation

Social inequalities have been one of the controversial debates in past and modern societies with many definitions. Therefore, inequality differs from one country to another, within each country and shows huge socio-economic inequalities (Blackburn, 2008: 250). In Addition, “we live in a society and a world with extensive inequality”(Kerbo, 2011: 49). In this case, there is “…unfair, unequal and full of inequality” (Warwick-Booth, 2013). The question is: who gets what and why? (Warwick-Booth, 2013: 2; Kerbo, 2011: 49). Despite the controversy, Naidoo and Wills (2008) [cited from Warwick-Booth, 2013] emphasized that “social inequalities are differences in income, resources, power and status within and between societies. Such inequalities are maintained by those in powerful positions via institutions and societal
processes”. Likewise, Kerbo (2003: 11) claim that social inequality “…is the condition where people have unequal access to valued resources, services and positions in the society”.

However, the evolution of social inequality and stratification arose from the idea and concept of differentiation. In this case, social differentiation occurs when we find people with distinct individual qualities and social roles in the society. Furthermore, it is socially constructed about the differentiation in terms of biological characteristics that differentiate them in every society by social roles, work tasks or occupation (ibid). Therefore, social differentiation emphasizes and sets the stage for social inequality and stratification about the unequal distribution of resources, relevant social risks and stratification in the society (ibid). Nonetheless, social “…inequality is also culturally important because we compare ourselves to others” (Wareick-Booth, 2013: 2) and can emerge in terms of how people and groups classify themselves with position in the society (ibid). Moreover, Kerbo (2011: 51) states the following three major distinctions of social inequality as present in human society and how they are interrelated to each other. The three types are (a) inequalities of honour, status or prestige; (b) inequalities of economic influence and material rewards; and (c) inequalities based on military, political or bureaucratic power.

However, in contrast to "social inequality" the term "social stratification" means that human beings in social positions are placed higher to those in the lower rank (Kerbo, 2011: 51). Thus, social stratification is not clearly distinguished from social differentiation. In this case, social stratification depicts the hardiness or institutionalization of inequality and there is a system of social relationship that determines who gets what, and why (Kerbo, 2011: 49). Therefore, it shows the result of a system made up of a layered hierarchy. The distinction shows the idea and expectation that people and groups with certain positions, will become more influential, respected and accumulate a huge share of goods and services (ibid).

Therefore, groups of young people such as ESL and dropouts with insufficient skills are at risk of exclusion from societal participation. Therefore, this will alter the school-to-work transition process. In this case, lack of specific and high skills will hinder the labour market entrance. However, disadvantaged youths STWT process have been a predominant discourse in the socio-political arena. It shows the political economy as a result of schooling, vocational education training or re-training. However, evidence of the VOC has proven it as actor-centred either from the perspectives of LMEs or CMEs. Nevertheless, the transition process is suggested to concentrate more on the labour demand side which have created lots of uncertainties and risks to disadvantaged youths. Despite this fact, Finland and Austria embarked on YG to reconsider and reorganise the active labour market policies targeting disadvantaged young people STWT process (Bussi, 2014). Furthermore, the design and
implementation help to find the linkages between the labour market and education systems, as well as between the labour market and welfare systems, that need improvement to ensure an entrance into the smooth labour market (ibid).

According to past studies, the transition process has been from the labour market side with behavioural aspects. Therefore, the next section of this study examines and compares YG policy paper data. The purpose is to suggest findings about disadvantaged young people school-to-work transition process in Austria and Finland. To conduct this research, a comparative case study design with mixed methods and the most similar case study design were used.

5. Methodology
5.1. Research Design
A comparative case study design is use to compare disadvantaged youths STWT process. However, the independent variables are the educational practice within the training system, active labour market measures, and state policies (European Youth forum, 2012). Therefore, the cases selected are Austria and Finland. The most similar case design is used due to their highly industrialized economy system and different welfare state models. Hence, the unit of the study is derived from both countries (Yin, 2009). Additionally, the adaptations of mixed methods, integrating qualitative and quantitative data are purposefully used to understand the causal propositions (Goodrick, 2014). In this case, both methods are the qualitative approach as main design and quantitative based on secondary and supplementary data base (Goodrick, 2014: 1). Nevertheless, the cases are under the premises of a qualitative design to understand disadvantaged youths STWT process in Austria and Finland.

5.1.1. Case Selection
According to Yin (2009: 18), a “…case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. In this study, disadvantaged youth’s school to employment transition process shows the interconnection between schooling, vocational education training or re-training measure. Furthermore, the cases selected are from two advanced economies with the findings more compelling and robust (Yin, 2009). The economies considered are Austria and Finland. Although the focus is laid to disadvantaged youth’s STWT process, the evidence is from the selected countries’ Youth Guarantee policy paper. Emphases are laid to disadvantaged youths, particularly those with migration backgrounds between 15-24 years old.
However, this section of the study explores the comparative case study, especially with the “How” and "why" questions that are more explanatory and valuable (Yin, 2009: 6). Therefore, relaying on ‘how’ is to explain the variations of disadvantaged youth’s STWT process, that cover the two unit of cases. However, it produces more generalized knowledge about the causal questions of “how” and “why” the transition process is linked through schooling, employment, vocational education training or retraining within a certain period of being made unemployed or leaving formal education (Goodrick, 2014: 1; Yin 2009: 6; European Youth Forum, 2012). Furthermore, the selected cases are systematic compared from two or more data points (“cases”) obtained by the case study method (Kaarbo and Beasley, 1999: 372). However, this approach involved the analysis, synthesis of the similarities and patterns of variations across the school to employment transition process (Goodrick, 2014: 1). Therefore, the synthesis across the cases extends beyond the comparison of similarities and differences to enable recommendations (Goodrick, 2014: 2). In this case, the distinguishing feature is the emphasis on examining the extent of variation to which the policy intervention of young people’s STWT process is understood (ibid.). However, this approach enables a rational selectivity of the specific cases which are directly linked to the key research question and investigation (Goodrick, 2014: 1). Thus, schooling, training or retraining and employment are considered (European Youth forum 2012). Nevertheless, Yin (2009: 20) named five components of effective case study research design to use in this research method illustrated below.

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<tr>
<th>Case Study Research Design</th>
<th>A study question</th>
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<td>Propositions if any</td>
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<td>Units of analysis</td>
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<td>The logic which links the data to the propositions</td>
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<td>The criteria for interpreting the findings</td>
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Source: Yin, 2009: 20

Firstly, Yen (2009: 20) suggested that, questions are in terms of "who," "what," "where," "how," and "why" and provide an important clue about the most relevant research strategy. In this study, the “how” question of disadvantaged young people’s transition process is
appropriate since it embodies the research question. Therefore, I ask how disadvantaged young people’s school-to-work transition process is a result of the interconnection through schooling, education, active labour market measures, and state policy in Austria and Finland. Emphases are laid particularly on youths between 15-24 years old, especially those with migration backgrounds in education, training or retraining within a certain period after becoming unemployed or leaving formal education (European Commission, 2016; Bussi, 2014).

Secondly, direct attention is given to each proposition of the study (Yin, 2009: 20). However, the case study has specific propositions that make it possible (ibid). In this case, the propositions show disadvantaged young people’s STWT process, particularly those with migration backgrounds in schooling, training or retraining (Yin, 2009; European Youth forum, 2012). However, such topics and themes already represent a huge narrowing of the relevant data (Yin, 2009).

The unit of analysis makes up the third part that describes the area of focus in this study (Yen, 2009: 22-23). However, the case study is the primary unit of analysis related to the way the first research question is designed (ibid). Thus, the unit of analysis for this case study is the disadvantaged young people’s STWT process in Austria and Finland. Moreover, the result of the right unit of analysis shows the exact specifying of primary research questions (ibid).

The fourth part is the logic linking of the facts to the propositions. In this case, the approach for the case studies fit the idea of "pattern-matching" described by Campbell (1975), whereby several fragments of information from the same case will be matched to some theoretical proposition (Yin, 2009: 25). Thus, the “pattern matching” technique is a way of correspond the data collected from Youth Guarantee policy paper to the propositions that served as responds to the study research question (ibid).

Finally, the fifth part is the criteria for interpreting a study's findings. In this study, the data are coded into themes in other to vigilantly extract their meaning from the findings and find their proposals for practices and future research (Yin, 2009: 26-27). However, the object of investigation is to figure out, after selecting the case in order to look at young people’s school to work transition process and its determinants through schooling, education, training or retraining.

5.1.2. Research Object
The research object used in this study is the Youth Guarantee (YG) policy paper or “job guarantee”, “… where governments, regional authorities and public employment services commit to offering a young person a job, training or re-training within a certain period of being
made unemployed or leaving formal education” (European Youth Forum, 2012: 5; Bussi et al., 2014). The policy paper is accessible from the selected countries statistic board, government website and other relevant sources such as the International Labour Organisation. However, the YG policy paper is suitable to this study due to its design framed for active labour market policy measures that secure equal opportunity for young people in the labour market (European Youth forum, 2012).

Moreover, this study offers an insight knowledge and benefit that I considered, first, as researcher and scholar of the study to my anxiety about the results of the overall research process and secondly as Case Manager from profession working on similar framework of YG as “youth coach”. The purpose is to cut the rate of dropouts and support higher secondary school youths at risk in (upper) Austria. In this case, the data vitality is to understand how to improve disadvantaged young people’s school-to-work transition process, particularly those with migration backgrounds. In addition, the benefit of this study’s findings shall contribute to disadvantaged young people’s school to employment transition. Moreover, the response will lead to alternative perspectives to understand the case of youth’s exclusion. Despite this fact, the result will improve youth life-style, enable “active” inclusion, participation, and redistribution of human resources.

The study’s object of examination is the Youth Guarantee policy papers of the selected countries. Therefore a total of two policy papers with other secondary sources of youth policy from each countries were taking as purpose sample into consideration for data collection and analysis

5.1.3. Sampling

A “…purposeful sampling” was used to select the YG policy paper from different sources focusing on the countries’ websites and organizations like the International Labour Organisation (Patton, 2002). Therefore, the criterion is on the potential of each country’s disadvantaged youth’s STWT process. Hence, it added relevant information to understand the procedure how to collect significant facts to answer the research question. The Youth Guarantee policy papers for this study were chosen based on purposely selection which emphasized “…a selection strategy in which particular settings, person or activities are selected deliberately in order to provide information that can’t be gotten as well from other choices” (Maxwell, 2005: 88). In this case, the Youth Guarantee policy paper was purposefully selected for this study due to its framework and relevant concept as measure to reintegrate or arrange disadvantaged youth’s STWT process (Bussi, 2014). Moreover, the policy paper facilitates the understanding on how disadvantaged youth’s STWT process is formed.
However, the Youth Guarantee policy papers of the selected countries’ data are collected and the evidence prepared for analysis. Despite that, diverse secondary data sources derived supplementary evidence. Therefore, the next chapter is about the data collection.

5.2. Data Collection of STWT Process

The method of case study is not limited to a single source of data collection but a variety of evidence. That is the reason, Green et al. (2006), Dodge (2011), and Yin (2009) stated that a good and carefully conducted case study benefits from having multiple sources of evidence. In this case, the study data collection rely on multiple sources with other qualitative research methods to triangulation —‘the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon’ to yield substantial results (Denzin, 1970: 291).

Therefore, the YG policy paper is the primary source of data collection in this study. According to the International Labour Organisation (2012), the “…concept of youth guarantee implies an entitlement to a job, training or education of a defined group of young people and an obligation for the Public Employment Service (PES) or another public authority to provide the services and/or implement the programmes within a given period of time”. The policy paper is a suitable data source to investigate evidence how disadvantaged young people’s school-to-work transition process is influenced through interconnection of the “socialising agencies” in the society.

Moreover, the YG policy paper highlighted by the study contains relevant evidence about youth’s STWT process, particularly for those with migration backgrounds in schooling, vocational education training or re-training and seeking for jobs from the selected countries of inquiry. In this case, the collected data is relevant to generate analytical evidence, finding, and answers to the research questions. Nevertheless, the focus is laid on following multiple sources of data collection:

a. YG Policy Paper as primary data collection source, and;
b. Secondary data from past scientific papers and other European Database sources with relevant qualitative and quantitative evidence about disadvantaged youth’s school to employment transition process in Austria and Finland.

Also, there are secondary data from different specific sources as illustrated below:
Moreover, the data sources are proper to the study and research investigation. Hence, it consists of disadvantaged young people’s transition process from the perspectives of schooling, vocational education training or retraining of the selected cases. Therefore, the data sources are suitable because of its findings are relevant in answering the research questions.

Despite the data sources, there are significant drawbacks. In this case, following the chosen approach, methodological drawbacks were unavoidable.

i. Firstly, some of the papers and statistic boards offer sizeable data in their languages (for example Finnish), which led to language barriers and thus difficulties in reading and understanding.

ii. Secondly, the logistical difficulties in accessing data sources and accurate data, was misleading and at times led to verification difficulties, caused by lack of access and problems of distance.

iii. Finally, the short time to collect and assess the entire data led to delays.

Nevertheless, reliable and valid findings emerged to analyse and answer the research questions. Therefore, the collected data generated ample evidence how disadvantaged young people’s school to employment transition process was carried out through the “socialising agencies” [Schooling, education and training] (Hall and Soskice, 2001) as well as the consequences to the Austrian and Finnish societies.
6. Data Analyses

6.1. Analysing the School-to-Work Transition Process

After data collection, a qualitative comparative analysis and other qualitative research methods was used as a means of triangulation —‘the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon’ (Denzin, 1970: 291). Therefore, a multiple (at least two) sources of evidence shows convergence and corroboration through different data sources and methods (Bowen, 2009; Yin 1994). However, by triangulating the data, attempts were made to offer ‘a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility’ (Eisner, 1991: 110; Bowen, 2009). Thus, the collected information through different methods, enable the corroboration of findings across data sets and minimized the impact of potential biases that could exist in this study (Bowen, 2009). However, Patton (1990) explained that, triangulation helps the researcher guard against the accusation that a study’s findings are simply an artefact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator’s bias. In this case, Mixed-methods studies (which combine quantitative and qualitative research techniques) sometimes include qualitative content analysis to yield suitable results. Therefore, the goal of analysis is to understand and explain (i) the properties, (ii) dimensions and (iii) the specific youth STWT process of selected countries, and (iv) the ways in which these are influenced (Goodrick, 2014: 2). However, there are several factors associated with the YG policy programmes to set up the school to work process, even though the policy dimensions provide insights into the critical elements of the measures that support the understanding of its causality (Goodrick 2014: 7).

Moreover, one most promising analytic approach that supports causal attribution is qualitative comparative analysis. In this case, strategies approach is focused to enable rigorous examination of the categorical attributes (e.g. schooling, vocational education training or retraining) of young people STWT process (Goodrick, 2014 7). Nonetheless, the need of an in-depth understanding of the cases, strong theory and critical thinking, as well as testing of propositions offers a solid technique to show the similarities, dissimilarities and variations (ibid). This offers the evidence to answer the research question about disadvantaged young people school-to-work transition process in Austria and Finland.

Furthermore, the selected case is systematically compared from two or more data points (“cases”) obtained by the case study method (Kaarbo and Beasley, 1999: 372). This approach involves the analysis and synthesis of the similarities, differences and patterns across selected cases, their common focus or goal towards disadvantaged youth STWT
process (Goodrick, 2014: 1). Nevertheless, the synthesis across the cases extends beyond the comparison of similarities and differences to support or refute propositions (ibid). Hence, the distinguishing feature is the emphasis on examining the extent to which the policy intervention of the selected countries influence the process of disadvantaged youths STWT (ibid.) However, to focus on this approach, the rational selectivity of the specific cases are directly linked to the key research question and investigation (ibid). Therefore, the data source is the Youth Guarantee policy paper of the countries used in the case study. However, the result of the collected data is placed in a data matrix. At the end, the following themes emerged as evidence for the findings: trainings and monitoring, institutional co-operation, employability, skills production and accumulation, and support and guidance.

6.1.1. Training and Monitoring

According to Austrian “Sozialministerium”(2016), the country’s YG plan depends on the lay out measures and programs that were established since 2008 as”...the Training guarantee …in order to give all young people a chance to complete a vocational education“. Therefore, the plan is designed to guarantee training so that disadvantaged youths can acquire skills required to enter the labour market. During this process the activities are coordinated (Halls and Soskice, 2001). In this case; vocational training shows the focus of young people school to employment transition process to meet with labour market demanded skills. It portrays the system depending more on workforce and activation and not welfare. However, the training guarantee targets all young people of at most 18 years, who are at risk of not having an apprenticeship placement (those who are dropouts can take part up to the age of 24) (Sozialministerium, 2014). In this case, the training guarantee implies notably systems of “active” labour market measures based on education, training and “corporate governance” that depend on the regulatory regimes (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 4). In this sense, the regulatory regime train young people in the workforce to fulfil the labour market demand of the political economy.

Accordingly, institutions are investing in youth school to-work-transition paths as “…socializing agencies that instill a particular set of norms or attitudes in those who operate within them” (Hall and Soskice 2001: 5). Moreover, in “…the sphere of vocational training and education, firms face the problem of securing a workforce with suitable skills, while workers face the problem of deciding how much to invest in what skills” (Hall and Soskice 2001: 7). Hence, disadvantaged young people face a labour market full of uncertainties and challenges. However, it also shows the “…sphere of industrial relations where the problem facing
companies is how to bargaining over wages and working conditions” (Halls and Soskice 2001). Moreover, the government is reacting with training and monitoring of workforce in other to enable companies and workers with skills to meet up with the overall economy competitiveness (ibid). However, disadvantaged young people with inadequate labour market specific skills are at risk of exclusion.

Nevertheless, these measures are specifically meant to reintegrate young people into the education and labour market system through vocational education training. Moreover, this is obvious in the disadvantaged young people school-to-work transition process in Austria. Similarly, the Finnish YG policy measure is a spearheaded project of the government’s programme that enables and offers disadvantaged young people with opportunities of school based vocational training as a reintegration programme into the system. However, it “...falls within the scope of special government investments and monitoring” (Nuorisotakuu, 2016).

Therefore, the government is investing abundantly towards young people school-to-work transition process. This shows that the active labour policy helps young people to acquire prerequisites to enter the labour market by means of investing in training (Crouch et al., 1999; Artzmüller, 2012). However, investment increased the job prospects of young unemployed persons under the age of 25, within 3 months of becoming unemployed or leaving school (European Youth Forum, 2012). Moreover, through training firm, specific skills and competences are developed which provides education and labour market entrance prerequisites into the political economy (cited from Artzmüller, 2012; Crouch et al., 1999; Estvez-Abe et al., 2001; Iversen and Stephens, 2008; Verdier 2007). Thus, the intention is to monitored youth labour forces as key agents of adjustment, change, and overall level of economic performances to shape the young people school to work transition process (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 6).

This is a similar phenomenon between the Austrian and Finnish youth school-to-work transition processes, especially through its actor-centred and multiple socializing agencies perspectives, each of whom seeks to advance his interest in a rational way to influence the path of disadvantaged youths STWT process (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 6; Scharpf, 1997a).

Hence, both countries invest enormously through training and monitoring projects to enable disadvantaged young people develop firm specific skills to serve the labour market and economy (Marsden, 1999; Artzmüller, 2012). Nevertheless, training and re-training of young people influenced the STWT process in Austria and Finland through development of occupational skills. Furthermore, this is to cut the rate of school dropouts, sustain the economy and cut other risks and insecurity. However, Austria and Finland VOC to the economy is actor-centred and coordinated by institutional co-operation and other multiple
actors with rational and strategic interactions with others (Hall and Soskice, 2001; Scharpf, 1997a).

6.1.2. Institutional Co-operation

In the case of Austria, the Youth Guarantee gives the possibility “…to enhance the co-operation between institutions and lead the focus to fast action and outreach to those, who are less reached by already existing measures and initiatives“ (Sozialministerium, 2016. 6). Therefore, the transition process depends on non-market relationships to enhance the activities with other actors and develop core competencies (Hall and Soskice 2001). However, it can safeguard and protect the disadvantaged young people STWT process through vocational training or training to employment (Hall and Soskice, 2001; Artmüller, 2012). Hence, this strategy promotes the steering of less privileged young people STWT process towards a labour market entrance. However, (disadvantaged) young people’s transition process is systematic while defining their paths. It is also considered that the focus involves an action to reach those who are less reached (Sozialministerium, 2016. 6). Although, the corporation is for young people’s benefit, they are personally excluded during the decision-making process. In this case, young people are socially excluded, a situation mostly faced by the disadvantaged. However, those at risk of exclusion because of income inequality are unreachable because of limited possibilities to societal participation.

Similarly, the Finnish government also adopted the YG policy of collective responsibility by authorities, businesses, organisations and young people who are “…integral to the full success of the social guarantee … with young people themselves being active participants in shaping their own future”(Nuorisotauu, 2016). Therefore, the Finnish Youth Guarantee is designed on a universal and collective responsibility dimension (ibid). Moreover, this education regime of young people’s active participation in their own future portrays Finland’s universal welfare regime (Crouch et al., 1999). Equally, the focus is laid on a high level of social security and a considerable amount of jobs (Artmüller, 2012). Nevertheless, the specificity is laid on the scheme of “social guarantee” (Nuorisotauu, 2016) involving stakeholders, multiple actors and young people during the school-to-work transition process (Hall and Soskice, 2001). This agreement is basically to meet up with the highly competitive nature of the Finnish economy than the aspirations of young people. Therefore, both countries’ young people STWT processes are framed and conceptualized on institutional co-operation to mastermind core competence, safeguard and protect disadvantaged youth’s entrance into the labour market (ibid). However, during the transition
process the political economy emphasizes occupational and firm specific skills production as entrance prerequisites into the labour market. Nevertheless, there are differentiations when taking both countries’ approaches in the decision-making process. Moreover, this can also cause uncertainties to the youths transition pattern especially as it runs on a less linear path (Milmeister and Berg, 2012; Dorsetty and Lucchinozx, 2012; Fergusson et al., 2000; Fares et al., 2005: 17). Consequently, disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration backgrounds are at risk because of inadequate human capital, low educational level and lack of suitable qualifications that lead to high rates of unemployment, poor living conditions and inequalities. Furthermore, disadvantaged young people face vulnerable and difficult lifestyles, particularly from education to working life (Milmeister and Berg, 2012). Hence, they are at risk of societal exclusion (OECD, 2015). Furthermore, the Nordic welfare state considered as a shelter from social exclusion for young people, has in the past years experienced a clear reduction in coverage and generosity of welfare benefits for young people (Lorentzen, et al., 2014).

6.1.3. Labour Market Specific Skills Development and Employability

According to Nuorisotakuu (2016), the Finnish “…youth guarantee is included in the new Government Programme as one of the key projects relating to skills and education….and young people will have clearer access to all services based on the 'one shop' principle”. Furthermore, the “…recognition of existing competencies, language skills and vocational skills of migrants will be developed” (Finland Prime Minister office 2011: 51; Minister of Finance, 2011). Therefore, the Youth Guarantee is a combination of skills development and accumulation of young people’s STWT process through education, employment or training (Bussi, 2014). Moreover, they are ESL, dropouts or young people at risk with inadequate or mismatched skills. Despite supports, most young people are left due to disproportionate or inaccurate firm specific skills as prerequisites to enter the labour market. However, disadvantaged youths especially those with migration backgrounds are often confronted by this dilemma. Furthermore, the lack of labour market specific skills is the cause of the multiple barriers disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration background are facing. Thus, low skills leads to excessive uncertainties and diverse socio-economic risks. Similarly, Austria provides “…social support and basic skills”(Sozialministerium, 2016). Therefore, the STWT process is designed to support and boost up the skills of disadvantaged young people to meet up with employers’ expectations. Hence, skills development is an essential aspect of schooling, vocational educational training or training education manifested through entrance into the labour market.
Therefore, both countries show a similar trend to young people’s school to work transition process. During this process specific skills are developed to ensure entrance into the labour market and sustain the economy. However, the ticket to enter the labour market facilitates employability which functions as a catalyst to the youth STWT process. Nevertheless, disadvantaged young people with low skills often face entrance difficulties. In this process, the main factors involved are schooling, vocational education training or training system. However, specific skills development is a main problem faced by disadvantaged youths, especially, those who are not in the schooling process or in training. Most are youths with migration backgrounds and early school leavers or dropouts with insufficient labour market demanded skills that lead to social exclusion. However, “...we live in a society and a world with extensive inequality” (Kerbo 2011: 49) and the society is embodied with “…unfair, unequal and full of inequality…” with the question of who gets what and why? (Warwick-Booth 2013: 2; Kerbo 2011: 49).

Furthermore, when skills development and acquisition are prerequisites “…of who gets what, and why?” to enter the labour market, disadvantaged youths with low educational achievement are often excluded (ibid). They are generally ESL and dropouts with inadequate labour market specific skills. Moreover, they are usually from low-income family homes and this endangers their STWT process. This situation is similar in both political economies with greater ties to regulate labour market systems that consist of job search, assistance to disadvantaged youths and job training (Ryan 2001). Furthermore, skills development within the education regimes shows instances of inequalities. Thus, Kerbo (2013: 11) claim that human beings will face social inequality especially, “… where people have unequal access to valued resources, services, and positions in the society” In most cases, disadvantaged young people, particularly those with migration backgrounds are at risk of exclusion and stigmatization.


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people, particularly those with migration backgrounds are at risk of exclusion and stigmatization.

6.2. Similarities and Dissimilarities

a) Similarities.

Firstly, although market and hierarchies are important elements in the Austrian and Finnish CMEs, both countries’ political economy shows a further set of organization and institutions that support and coordinate their endeavours (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 10). This aspect is significant in the young people STWT process. From these perspectives, the Finnish and Austrian youth’s STWT process is a supportive and guidance path to mastermind labour market specific skills. Therefore, both countries rely more on monitoring to secure through strategic interaction and resolve the problem faced by (ibid) disadvantaged young people. However, both CMEs countries are embarking on this measure with the relevant socializing agencies (Schooling, VET or re-training) to enable a coordination on equilibrium strategies with higher returns (such as specific skills, employability) to all concerned (ibid). Although, schooling and training reduces the uncertainties within the trainees’ behaviours, credibility commitments to each other through monitoring, disadvantaged young people’s STWT process shall prevail (ibid). However, Austria and Finland promote a process to steer human resources, enhance employability and cut youth unemployment. Through guidance, disadvantaged young people in the selected countries of study seem to be monitored through schooling, training or re-training for the labour market demands.

Secondly, both countries have coordinated market economies that typically develop high industry-specific or firm-specific skills (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 25). In this case, young people’s school to employment transition depends on schooling, training, or re-training systems capable of providing workers with such skills (ibid.). However, the coordination problems in this education regime are acute, as workers pursue lucrative apprenticeships to cut youth unemployment (ibid.). Therefore, firms invest in training so employees can acquire suitable skills and will not be poached by companies without equivalent investments in training (ibid). Similarly, both countries pay more emphases on vocational training with apprenticeship schemes as an aspect of disadvantaged young people’s STWT process from school to vocational training and vocational training to work (Halls and Soskice, 2001: 10). Therefore, the purpose is the willingness of firms to take part and secure labour market specific skills (ibid). However, Austria and Finland are similarly emphasizing on specific skills development, qualification and employability. Thus, specific skills are unequally redistributed
in the society because not every youth has access to the required skills, especially those with migration backgrounds. In this case, disadvantaged youths, especially those with migration backgrounds possess inadequate skills and are at risk of social exclusion. However, they are automatically and systematically knocked out of the system and thus are victims of social inequalities.

Lastly, both countries are similar from the perspectives of behaviour and corporation among the main actors and stakeholders. The welfare state systems are similarly constructed to enable schooling, education system, training or re-training and other multiple actors towards disadvantaged young people’s STWT process. However, the transition process is in correspondence to the coordination of labour market specific skills to meet up with a VOC political economy.

Despite similarities, both countries contradict on other aspects of young people school to employment transition process with regards to welfare state production and socializing agencies.

b) Dissimilarities

Despite similarities, there are existing dissimilarities between Austrian and Finnish young people’s school-to-work transition process. The Finnish young people’s STWT process is focused on self-reliance and sustainability. Youths are often involved in the decision-making process towards their school-to-work transition process. Therefore, they directly or indirectly take part and are involved in the process of entering the labour market. Contrary, the Austrian youth’s STWT process is designed principally out of control that often leads to selectivity. Therefore, disadvantaged youths have limited chances on the personal decision-making process under strong institutional decisions. The decision actors consist of the employers’ unions, trade unions and the States that link Austria to a corporatism form of social partnership that commit their members to invest in vocational training and encourage youth guidance (Crouch et al., 1999; Hall and Soskice, 2001). However, through strict control, disadvantaged youths are at risk of exclusion. These experiences lead to increase in ESL and dropouts and uncertainties towards young people’s entrance into the labour market.

Furthermore, the approach of the Finnish STWT process is constructed from a global perspective. Accordingly, disadvantaged youths are universally considered as equal and hence, the approach focuses on high level of social security among different groups of young people’s entrance into the labour market. (Artzmüller, 2012). On the contrary, the approach of
Austria is strongly regulated, leading to youth disengagement. Therefore, the educational practice within the system is strictly regulated with specific skills are prerequisites to entering the labour market. However, disadvantaged youths are often ESL or dropouts with inadequate firm-specific skills and are bound to face social inequality.

Lastly, the Finnish educational system is a Universalist public system of education which offers general and vocational skills according to the pupil’s ability and to guarantee diverse education routes (Artzmüller, 2012). Furthermore, Finland’s vocational education has some elements of a “…apprenticeship model, but school-based vocational educations” dominate (Olofsson and Wadensjo, 2012). However the vocational “…education in Finland…is more pre-training and not completed professional education…” (Olofsson and Wadensjo, 2012; ILO, 2013).

On the other hand, the Austrian educational regime is based on a “dual system” credited for training of young people in a “waiting room” to “…enter the labour market or an apprenticeship, thereby helping to provide an increasingly flexible labour market with a docile workforce” (Artmüller, 2012). The vocational education training system is through a system that combines training through work experienced and education in a public institution with connection to occupational labour market (ibid). According to the authors Olofsson and Wadensjo (2012), the vocational education training in Austria is a completed professional education which explains why more young people experience minimal difficulties to enter the labour market compared to Finland.

Therefore, with the related data analysis, both countries show a (dis)similar approach towards disadvantaged young people’s STWT process. However, specific findings seem to show the results of the selected countries’ young people school to employment transition process. The findings offer answers to the research question about disadvantaged young people’s STWT process in Austria and Finland. However, the findings show that the transition process is influenced through socializing agencies and meritocracy society, skills development, VET with apprenticeship model as “waiting room” or “transition” (Artmüller, 2012). In addition, the transition shows a variety of social exclusion, especially by young people with migration backgrounds with inadequate labour market specific skills.

7. Findings

Despite similarities, there are existing dissimilarities between Austrian and Finnish young people’s school-to-work transition process. The Finnish young people’s STWT process is focused on self-reliance and sustainability. Youths are often involved in the decision-making process towards their school-to-work
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7.1. „Socializing Agencies“ and Meritocracy Society.

According to this research, the framework for Youth Guarantee is trying to extend the capability approach (Sen, 2007; 2009) to youth’s STWT process within the variety of capitalistic welfare state regimes. In this case, the process has become more important and a transition-oriented process which is more relevant and revolves around the conceptual framework to understand institutional variations across nations, depending on economic policies and State capacities to meet challenges (Hall and Soskice, 2001). However, the VOC approach of Finland and Austria shows that disadvantaged young people’s STWT process is beyond the perspectives of bureaucratic variations and highly industrialized countries (ibid). Hence, the political economy is a result of merit, status and capability of placement in the society.

Also, the reproduction of merit is influenced by the socializing agencies and early labour market experiences (ibid). This process is full of uncertainties that often hinder the disadvantaged youth STWT process, especially for those with migration backgrounds. They usually encounter difficulties completing the transition because of inadequate specific labour market skills. In this case, their transition process shows how the socializing agencies (Schooling, education, and training) contribute to safeguard to political economy. Moreover, during the process, an attitude of behaviour prevails within the institutionalized political economy and its framework of institutions such as the “socializing agencies” (ibid). This power is conferred to particular actors as a matrix of sanctions and incentives that influenced their habits (ibid). In this case, whatever merit young people sustain out of the socialization and institutionalization process is definitely as a result of societal status and participation. Frequently, disadvantaged youths are excluded from such merit and participation due to high
rate of ESL and dropouts. Nevertheless, experiences, inadequate firm-specific skills and competencies hinder the young people STWT process and labour market entrance. Although, Finland and Austria’s regulative labour market consists of employment protection and fixed term contracts where firms depend more heavily on non-market relationships, disadvantaged youths face lots of uncertainties to enter the labour market (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 8; Ryan, 2001). Hence, the transition process is adjusted through “active” labour market programmes designed to offer jobless youths with a variety of mixed job search assistance, work experience, job training, education and job creation (Quintini et al., 2007). Therefore, with regards to the VOC approach, Austria and Finland’s political economy is “…actor-centred…populated by multiple actors, each of whom seeks to advance his interests in a rational way in strategic interaction with others” (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 6; Scharpf, 1997a; Sasada, 2014). In the arena, all the coordinating networks and socializing agencies seem interconnected in influencing young people’s STWT process. However, not every youth will benefit or equally gain advantages from the process (Hall and Soskice 2001). Similarly, Austria and Finland are “…firm-centred political economy that regards company as the crucial actors in a capitalist economy” and key agents of adjustment, changes and overall level of economic performances (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 6). However, it becomes a huge problem to disadvantaged youths with insufficient social capital and inadequate employer’s specific skills, considered transit prerequisites from education to employment. Therefore, disadvantaged young people’s STWT transition process shows a dominated path through institutional arrangement and firm-centred instead of devoting interests to youth strength. Thus, it results to social exclusion and stigmatization. A phenomenon observed by firm-centred political economies such as Finland and Austria.

In addition, the aspect of merit shows that young people have to acquire much training and apprenticeship skills that are designed within the framework of YG. Nevertheless, most young people, especially those with migration backgrounds are at risk of not enjoying such benefits due to insufficient social capital and inability to participate in the labour market. Consequently, they are knocked out from societal participation and this obstructs the transition path from school to employment. However, Artzmüller (2012) suggests that the concept of capability “…is to widen the remit of education, its goals and contents”. Hence, education is essential to enable people develop a range of abilities (skills, competences etc.) that allow them to lead a value added life (ibid). These attributes are societal prerequisites seen in coordinated market economies (CMEs) of Austria and Finland. Frequently, disadvantaged young people lack the ability and merit due to ESL and becoming dropouts which leads to social exclusion. However, “we live in a society
and a world with extensive inequality” (Kerbo, 2011: 49) that leads to unfairness, unequal treatment and inequality society with the question of who gets what, and why? (Warwick-Booth, 2013: 2; Kerbo, 2011: 49). In this case, disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration backgrounds are at risk of social exclusion. Thus, socially excluded young people shows the latent meaning of a meritocracy and ability in the society.

Moreover, the transition process consists of support, development and expansion of personal abilities “to function as fully participating citizens in emerging European knowledge societies” (Artzmüller, 2012 cited from Proposal WORKABLE 2009, 3). Nevertheless, young people’s STWT process and their link for changing inequality structures pose a major problem for policy makers and research about the social models (Artzmüller, 2012 cited from Esping-Andersen and Miles, 2009; Hermann and Mahnkopf, 2010). Therefore, disadvantaged youths in Austria and Finland are at risk because they suffer from inadequate skills, lack of qualification and certificates to complete their path from schooling to employment. Furthermore, they are structurally and institutionally excluded from societal participation and redistribution of societal resources.

According to Table 2, the annual average percentage of Austrian unemployment rate by sex and age is 5.7% in 2015, whereas, Finland has 9.4%. Therefore, Finland’s youth unemployment average rate is on the same level as that of the European Union’s 28 countries (9.4%). Moreover, the trend has been increasing since 2012.

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Source: Eurostat (2016)

Despite youth guarantee activation framework, disadvantaged young people often face lots of difficulties and barriers to enter the labour market. In this case, they are often knocked out from the STWT process despite guidance and support of the socializing agencies. Even though, education attainment impacts self-development and the societies at large, results of disadvantaged youth’s STWT process show exclusive evidence that they cannot benefit from such advantages due to low education achievement, inadequate firm specific skills and qualification.
7.2. Production of specific Labour Market Skills and Qualification

The debate on employment and welfare systems have attempts to understand the educational regimes (Hall and Soskice, 2001; Estevez-Abe et al., 2001; Artzmüller, 2012). Therefore, disadvantaged young people’s STWT process has become more important and relevant to the VOC approach. Despite this approach, the idea of behaviour shows how the institutions of the political economy and its three frameworks lead to understanding the relationship between schooling, education and training (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 2-5).

However, there exists an awareness of the interrelations and interactions between the labour market, state policies and educational systems (Hall and Soskice, 2001; Artzmüller, 2012; Estevez-Abe et al., 2001) in selected countries of the case study. This interrelation and interaction between the systems shaped young people’s school to employment process. Also, the attempts show that the educational systems (Verdier, 2007; CEDEFOP, 2008; 2011) suit to the typology of welfare production (Lessenich and Ostner, 1998; Esping-Andersen and Miles, 2009) which is an important strategy to combat social disadvantages and inequalities linked to social origin and status in the society (Ryan, 2001; 2005; Müller, 2005; Blossfeld et al., 2007; Grolsch, 2008; Kurz et al., 2008). Nevertheless, with regards to the specific setting of the educational practice within the system, the “active” labour market system and state policies, disadvantaged young people’s STWT process will result to different social inequalities (Atzmüller, 2012; Blossfeld, 2006; Erzsébet et al., 2008). During this process, different skills and competences show a result in the selected countries of the case study (Artzmüller, 2012).

However, the Austrian and Finnish VOC approach to the economy is “…actor-centred…which is a terrain populated by multiple actors, each of whom seeks to advance his interests in a rational way in strategic interaction with others” (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 6; cited from Scharpf 1997a). In this case, the economy is a “… firm-centred political economy that regards company as the crucial actors in a capitalist economy” and as a key agent of adjustment, changes and overall level of economic performances (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 6). However, disadvantaged youths lack employers demanded skills and competences which, consequently knocks them out of societal participation. Furthermore, the different types of skills and the institutionalization of the young people’s school-to-work transition deliberately defined an uncompleted process composed of difficult and vulnerable lifestyle, especially by youths with migration backgrounds (ibid). Therefore, development of skills and competencies in Austria and Finland shows the educational regime’s commitment (Artzmüller, 2012; Crouch et al., 1999; Estevez-Abe et al., 2001; Iversen and Stephens, 2008;
Allmendinger and Leibfried, 2003; Verdier, 2007). In this case, during the young people’s STWT process, the skills range from general skills, occupational or industry-specific skills and firm-specific skills that serves as prerequisites to entering the labour market (Marsden, 1999; Artzmüller, 2012). Moreover, in the study of Ruzzi (2005: 13), the author claims that the “…rigidities in the production and use of highly skilled workers persist in Finland”. A development which reveals that the Finnish youth STWT process is made up of highly skilled workers who meet firm’s labour demand in the society. Accordingly, there are varieties of disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration backgrounds who are at risk of exclusion. Hence, there are systematically and institutionally excluded from participating in the societal development process. Furthermore, the development of skills and competences cause setbacks which hinder the process in Austria and Finland. Consequently, it results to young people not in education or employment. Moreover, they represent a high rate of ESL and dropouts with insufficient firm specific skills. According to Table 3 the rate of NEETs is constantly under the average of EU’s 28 countries but experienced a steady increasing from 2010 to 2014. Both countries saw a minor reduction in 2012. Despite high-skills production, training or re-training and apprenticeship, Austria and Finland registered 7, 7 % and 10, 2 % rates of NEETs in 2014, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: NEETs rate (proportion of young people aged 15-24 years who are not in employment, education or continuing training), 2010-2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eurostat (2016)

However, Austrian Sozialministerium (2015) suggests that the “…NEET rate…shows the proportion of young people aged 15 to 24 years who are not in education, employment or non-formal training as a percentage of the resident population…”. In this case, the rate of NEETs youth in Austria was 7, 7 in 2014 compared (ibid) to 10, 2 % in Finland. Despite the demand for high-skills, the labour market participation of young people in Austria and Finland is high. Furthermore, the latter has a higher rate of NEET but below the EU average of 12, 5%

Nevertheless, the political economy of both countries is designed to coordinate young people’s STWT process through the “socializing agencies” that unequally meet young
people’s aspirations. Thus, disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration backgrounds most often experience social exclusion.

Table 4: Young people neither in employment nor in education and training by sex, age and foreign citizenship (NEET rates), 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU 28</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>18.9(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>14.6(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>18.0(u)</td>
<td>17.5(u)</td>
<td>16.3(u)</td>
<td>18.1(bu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Break in time series (u) low reliability (bu) break in time and low reliability
Source: Eurostat (2016).

Table 5: Young people neither in employment nor in education and training by sex, age and Citizen of reporting Countries (NEET rates), 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU 28</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>15.8(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>8.2(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Break in time series (u) low reliability (bu) break in time and low reliability
Source: Eurostat (2016).

Comparatively, Table 4 and 5 show that the NEET’s rate of foreign youths are 14, 6 % and 18, 1 % in Austria and Finland, compared to 8, 2 % and 12, 5 % of youths in reporting countries. Therefore, there are more than 6, 4 % and 5, 7 % of non-Austrian and non-Finnish NEETs young people. In this case, disadvantaged youths in the school to employment process show a result of social exclusion from education, employment or the apprenticeship system. However, disadvantaged youths will be certainly knocked out from societal participation.

In addition, the development of the labour market specific skills and competences are part of CMEs countries through the educational pathway and acts as prerequisites to entering the labour market (Artzmüller, 2012). However, disadvantaged youths, especially those with migration backgrounds are often at risk because of insufficient educational attainment. In this case, lack of skills and competences favour stigmatization and exclusion. However,
disadvantaged young people are safeguarded with training and re-training, to smooth the school to employment transition process. During this transition process they are often carrying out apprenticeships, in the waiting room or in a “transitory system”.

7.3. Vocational Education System as “Waiting Room” or “transitory system”

Vocational education training offers an opportunity to the transition process with a system that combines training through work experience and education in a public institution with connection to occupational labour markets (Artzmüller, 2012). Therefore, the pathway of education in Austria shows a “dual system” (ibid). Nonetheless, these measures of training are the results of a dual system from active labour market policy of young people in a “waiting room” to enter the labour market or an apprenticeship, thereby offering an increasingly flexible labour market with a adaptable workforce (ibid).

Moreover, in countries like Germany which is similar to Austria, where in recent years between 40-50% of school leavers could not find an appropriate placement and marginalised young people are in a so-called “transitory system” or “Übergangssystem” (Artzmüller, 2012) related to activation, job coaching and training activities (Atzmüller, 2011; Ley and Lohr, 2012).

However, Austria’s curricula and forms of certification shows the corporatism forms of social partnership with all actors and stakeholders to commit their members to invest in vocational training, encourage youth guidance, and to enable inter-company recognition of qualifications (Artmüller, 2012; Hall and Soskice, 2001). Therefore, emphases are laid on this system of “occupation”/”profession” that combines employment participation to social identity and integration (Artzmüller, 2012). This educational regime is associated with conservative welfare regimes based on social status through the “dual system” (Lauder et al., 2008). In this case, disadvantaged young people with inadequate skills are at risk of exclusion from the system.

In addition, this educational regime is increasingly subject to problems of training quality and apprenticeships availability (Artzmüller, 2012). Furthermore, many disadvantaged young people find it difficult to get a suitable job due to job scarcity and low education achievement (Ryan, 2001). However, the transition process shows the influence of the “socializing agencies” (Hall and Soskice, 2001). In recent years, a couple of youngsters have unsuccessfully find company based apprenticeship placements due to social inequalities on origins, social status, migrant background and low educational attainments (Krekel and Ulrich, 2009; Artzmüller, 2012). These are pertinent problems in most industrialized countries such as Austria which is pursuing a “dual system” (Artzmüller, 2012) with disadvantaged young
people and a path full of uncertainties. Consequently, it suggests the transition pattern to run a less linear path (Milmeister and Berg, 2012; Fergusson et al., 2000; Fares et al., 2005: 17). Therefore, young people’s STWT process is a political economy instrument to control, guide and coordinate entrance into the labour market. Furthermore, it is a manifestation of societal stratification and social positions from higher to lower rank often in disfavour of disadvantaged youth’s participation. (Kerbo, 2011: 51).

Contrary, the Finnish educational system shows a Universalist public system of education which offers general and vocational skills according to the abilities of pupils and to guarantee the diverse educational paths (Artzmüller, 2012). Meanwhile, the Finnish vocational education has some elements of an apprenticeship model, but school-based vocational education dominates (Olofsson and Wadensjo, 2012). Therefore, its vocational education is more pre-training and not completed professional education as in Austria that may explain the reasons of difficult experience by young people STWT process in Finland than in Austria (ibid).

Table 6: Persons seeking work but not immediately available by sex and age from 15-24 years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU 28</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to Eurostat (2016), 2.4 % of young people in Austria between 15-25 years in 2014 unsuccessful looked for a job, whereas, there were 12.4 % in Finland. Comparatively, it is almost 7 times higher than in Austria. These figures show that a huge number of youths STWT process have been altered by education, training and re-training. In this case, disadvantaged youth’s school to employment transition process was coordinated, regulated and guided (Hall and Soskice, 2001). There are lack of suitable jobs to supplement the younger population and prevailing social exclusion despite apprenticeship and guidance. According to the study of Lauder et al. (2008), skills development has led to a low rate of social inequalities and the availability of suitable skills that allow countries like Finland to adapt quickly to technological expansion and high value-added economic strategy. Therefore, Finland’s youth STWT process is usually associated with an expanding system of active labour-market policies set up to support young people adapt to labour market changes.
through training and up-skilling (Iversen and Stephens, 2008). In the study of Ruzzi (2005),
the author claims that Finland tops the list of OECD countries on development measures and
use of highly skilled workers through continuous education and training. Moreover,
Nuorisotakuu (2016) suggests that the Finnish youth guarantee is included in the new
government programme as one of the key projects relating to skills and education. All
comprehensive school graduates will be guaranteed a place in education, life-time
employment or rehabilitation and young people will have clearer access to all services based
on the 'one shop' principle (ibid). Therefore, existing skills of migrants will be developed that
shows government’s commitment to support disadvantaged youths (Artzmüller, 2012).
Marketable, permanent social exclusion risk is reduced for young people besides coordinated
economy, regulated labour markets and increasing difficulties to secure jobs (ibid). Hence,
this educational regime depicts Finland’s universal welfare regime that focuses on high levels
of social security, an expanded public sector which provides a considerable number of jobs
among different groups of employees (Artzmüller, 2012). Despite this fact, not all groups of
young people benefit equally from this institutional setting (ibid). However, “we live in a
society and a world with extensive inequality”(Kerbo, 2011: 49). In addition, the society is an
unfair, unequal and full of inequality with the question of who gets what and why often
exclude disadvantaged youths from the society (Warwick-Booth 2013: 2; Kerbo, 2011: 49).
However, those at risk of exclusion from labour market specific skills are usually vulnerable
young people, especially those with migration backgrounds. In this case, they are at risk of
low-income, status and lack of social capital (Naidoo and Wills, 2008.) According to Artzmüller
(2012), there”…is a significant share of young people who are failed by the universalist
education system”. Moreover, the STWT process of young people is inadequately
institutionalised that lead to relatively high levels of unemployment within this age group
(Artzmüller, 2012; Ryan, 2001; Erzsébet et al., 2008; Kurz et al., 2008).
Thus, despite the respective “dual system” and universal approach of Austria and Finland,
both countries show a high rate of youth unemployment (10.3 % and 20, 5 % for both Austria
and Finland, which depicts that youths are permanently at risk of societal redistribution and
participation. Despite, all “ISCED 2011” level of education attainment, table 7 shows that in
2014, 10, 3 % and 20, 5 % were the youth unemployment rates in Austria and Finland
respectively (Eurostat, 2016). Also, these are high skilled welfare state production countries
with a huge GDP share to social security expenditure. Thus, the high rate of unemployment
shows an opposite reality towards young people’s school to employment.
Table 7: Youth unemployment by sex, age and educational attainment level
(All ISCED 2011 level), 15-24 years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU 28</td>
<td>21,0</td>
<td>21,7</td>
<td>23,2</td>
<td>23,6</td>
<td>22,2(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>9,5</td>
<td>8,9</td>
<td>9,4</td>
<td>9,7</td>
<td>10,3(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>21,4</td>
<td>20,1</td>
<td>19,0</td>
<td>19,9</td>
<td>20,5(b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Break in time series


In this case, the transition process shows lots of uncertainties and an uncompleted path. Therefore, disadvantaged youths, especially those with migration backgrounds are often at risk of exclusion. However, the process shows the lack of specific labour market skills, competences and excessive competition. Nonetheless, the process of schooling, training or re-training in the dual system and active labour market policy for young people shows the presence of a “waiting room” for the labour market entrance, thereby offering an increasingly flexible labour market with a consistent workforce (Artzmüller, 2012). In this case, the transition process is full of uncertainties and workforce is void of social welfare protection (ibid).

8. Discussion and Recommendation

The study is conducted with a comparative research design to show evidence and findings how the dependent variable of disadvantaged young people’s school-to-work transition process, especially for those with migration backgrounds is shaped by the interconnection of the independent variables of education, training or state policies. Hence, Finland and Austria are the two highly industrialized countries in comparison. Similarly, both countries are highly industrialized and spend a huge sum of GDP for social benefits, whereas, dissimilar from the perspectives of the welfare state model. However, Finland is one of Europe’s richest and most successful nations with the world’s most competitive economy and a high level of public investment in education and training (Ruzzi, 2005). Nevertheless, the core of Austrian youth labour market policy is to guide young people with low skills to adequately acquire paid jobs and in particular to direct the focus of youth employment policies on continued training (Sozial Ministerium, 2015).

Notwithstanding the similarities and dissimilarities, the study identifies a trend of young people in the STWT process that embodies a pathway from school to vocational training and
vocational training to employment (Artzmüller, 2012). Therefore, the vocational education training in Austria has a “dual system” (ibid) with an apprenticeship model and the gap between school and life-time employment is small, whereas, Finland has an apprenticeship model where school-based vocational education dominates with more pre-training and uncompleted professional training in Austria (Olofsson and Wadensjo, 2012). This shows part of reason why more disadvantaged young people experience difficulties during the STWT process in Finland than in Austria (ibid). Therefore, young people’s school to employment transition process is based on the variety of capitalism of both countries’ political economy. It this case, highly firm specific and labour market demand skills dominates the pathway. Disadvantaged youths, especially those with migration backgrounds and inadequate skills are often knocked out of the system. The results show their over representative rate in the ESL and dropout statistics.

Moreover, the school to employment transition process shows a range of qualification and uncertainties that challenged young people’s labour market entry. According to a report from the Austrian Sozialministerium (2015), the “…transition from school to employment involves many challenges for young people and is not always straightforward”. In this case, disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration backgrounds, have insufficient language skills and lack relevant training and occupational information on possible training and vacancies often face difficulties during the school to the employment transition path (ibid). Thus, they are at risk and usually socially excluded from the system that rendered them vulnerable.

However, the results of the study predict the inevitable nature of both countries’ (educational) regimes to avoid the aspect of social inequalities through different sources. Relying on this, young people’s school-to-work transition process in Austria and Finland depend on the countries structure, context and the welfare regimes (Artzmüller, 2012). In addition, the school to employment transition process comprises of problems which makes it difficult for disadvantaged young people to cope with social integration, stable schooling and future employment carriers (ibid). Moreover, the STWT process is inadequately institutionalised for all groups of young people, leading to relatively high levels of unemployment (Ryan, 2001; Erzsébet et al., 2008; Kurz et al., 2008). However, the society’s efforts to offer a “smooth” transition process are a challenge to be considered with lots of precaution, in order to avoid youth social exclusion (Ryan, 2001). Notwithstanding, it is of prime importance for increasing interest to be further placed on young people with low educational attainment and migrant background who increasingly face problems during the transition process (Artzmüller, 2012). This situation often leads to social inequalities, especially for disadvantaged young people.
Furthermore, the school to employment process shows the result of a coordinated, highly regulated labour market and an educational training system. It shows a variety of capitalism from a political economy with a huge amount of bureaucracy. Although, Finland’s educational regime depicts a universal welfare regime, (Crouch et al., 1999), not all groups of young people benefit equally from this institutional setting (Artzmüller, 2012). Thus, there are tendencies of high youth unemployment that needs particular interest and policy which are geared towards disadvantaged youth’s intra personal strength instead of an actor-centred system. According to Artzmüller (2012), a significant portion of young people are disappointed by the Universalist education system.

Despite the similarities, policy measures should lay emphases on young people’s personal strengths and capacity building and not on labour market specific skills. Hence, both countries are indirectly structured with social inequality and capital accumulation that leads to exclusion. However, disadvantaged young people are left out due to inadequate capacity, lack of merit and incapability to take part in the societal development process. These experiences show the distrust and disbelieve of the current system. The outcomes are high rates of (disadvantaged) youth unemployment, ESL and dropouts in Austria and Finland.

Furthermore, Austrian and Finnish young people’s school to employment transition process is actor-centred through the perspective of labour market demand with behavioural aspect. The labour supply side of young people is given limited attention, especially on the strengths of disadvantaged young people. However, not every young person is viable to meet up with the high societal pressure framed in the education, training and re-training measures. Moreover, the labour market entrance prerequisites which require high and specific skills, qualification and competences are a continuous threat to disadvantaged young people, especially for those with migration backgrounds. Nevertheless, these deficits lead to social exclusion often manifested through high rates of youth unemployment rate and failure related to job placement. Moreover, there are varieties of human and social competences and not just the behavioural aspect that is in the transition path. Furthermore, disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration backgrounds constantly face lots of uncertainties within their “fracture transition” – ending one activity without securing a stable outcome in the next” (Dorsett and Lucchino, 2012 cited from Coles, 1995; Furlong et al., 2004). These key social risks are instances that young people have to go through while meeting up with societal expectation. Therefore, responding to these instances with suitable policies will smooth their school to employment transition process, facilitate labour market entry, and enable active inclusion.
9. Conclusion

To sum up, this study examines and compares disadvantaged young people’s school-to-work transition process. Moreover, the evidence shows that the investigation and findings focused on two advanced economy approach. The highly industrialized countries considered here were Austria and Finland. Emphases were laid notable on 15-24 year old disadvantaged youths especially those with migration backgrounds school to employment transition. Methodologically, I used a qualitative and comparative case study design. However, a multiple of evidences show the different data sources. The primary data source for the study was the Youth Guarantee policy paper containing government’s commitment to offer young people jobs and training within a certain period after unemployed (European Commission, 2016; Bussi, 2014) were used for the qualitative comparative analysis.

As the results shows Austria and Finland’s disadvantaged young people STWT process is similarly associated with training and monitoring, institutional co-operation, development of labour market specific skills and support with guidance. In this case, both countries are similar due to their political economies drawn on a further set of organization and institutions to support and coordinate their endeavours (Hall and Soskice, 2001:10). This aspect plays a vital role of disadvantaged young people’s school to employment transition process in Austria and Finland. Furthermore, Austria and Finland are CME countries with a coordinated labour market system that constantly clears young people’s transition path with a supportive process to meet up with labour market demands. Therefore, they are shaping the transition process of disadvantaged young people through the schooling, training or re-training process. Also, both countries are embarking on supportive and coordinated measures through the socializing agencies to enable labour market specific skills for a smooth transition (ibid). Nevertheless, disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration backgrounds are at risk of exclusion because they have inadequate skills to enter the labour market (SchoolToWorkEU, 2013). Moreover, the transition process has been a challenge for the younger generation due to difficulties and uncertainties, especially to enter the labour market (Makiko and Elder, 2010:1). Thus, this shows young people as a “lost generation” (Gambardella, 2014) with difficult school to the employment transition path. In this case, the route from schooling to employment is often depicted today as long and precarious (Ryan, 2001). Despite that, young people’s STWT process differs in Austria and Finland due to the individual country approach. Therefore, vocational education in Austria is organised according to the apprenticeship model, whereas, Finland has some elements of an apprenticeship model, but school-based vocational education prevail (Olofsson and Wadensjo, 2012). In this case, the Austrian
government is paying more emphases on the monitoring, control and coaching of individual young people, whereas, Finland involves the system in a collective way. Nevertheless, the findings show that young people’s school-to-work transition process in Austria and Finland depends on the “socializing agencies” (schooling, training and re-training systems), production of firm specific skills and training as “waiting room” (Artzmüller, 2012). Hence, disadvantaged young people’s STWT process is influenced through the process of education, training or retraining. They are often monitored and coordinated through firm specific skills development and qualifications that dominates the transition path as a prerequisite to labour market entrance. However, the educational system, institutions and labour market systems represent socializing agencies (Hall and Soskice, 2001) where young people acquire skills to complete their transition process. However, the transition process is limited on the labour market demand side with behavioural expectation. Furthermore, during the process young people are indirectly persuaded to acquire societal values manifested through skills development. However, there the prerequisite that leads to exclusion because of “…who gets what and why?” in the society (Kerbo, 2011). Moreover, this implies that young people with insufficient social capital are at risk of not participating. However, “…we live in a society and a world with extensive inequality” (Kerbo, 2011: 49) as well as unfairness, unequal treatment and full of inequalities that lead to uncertainties (Warwick-Booth, 2013: 2; Kerbo, 2011: 49). Therefore, skills development plays a key role to labour market entrance. This shows that disadvantaged young people’s transition process depends on labour market specific skills. However, the situation is similar to both Austrian and Finnish political economies and greater ties depend on the regulated labour market system where firms depend more heavily on non-market relationships to co-ordinate their activities with other actors (Hall and Soskice, 2001). However, labour force coordination can partly safeguard and protect the labour suppliers from a certain perspective, guarantee a minimum level of security and possibilities (ibid). In most cases, skills production alone does not guarantee a job for mostly disadvantaged young people. Nevertheless, disadvantaged youths, especially those with migration backgrounds are mostly excluded.

Besides skills and qualifications, both countries’ transition process shows the results of a meritocracy society that depend mostly on the aspect of capability to widen the scope of education, its goal and contents (Artzmüller, 2012). Therefore, it is a matter of the schooling and training process to enable people to develop a range of capabilities that allow them to lead a valuable lifestyle (ibid). Moreover, there are socializing young people through education, training and re-training. It often leads to inequality because not every young person possesses the expected resources. However, during this schooling process Austria is
pursuing a “dual system” (ibid) with training considered as a “waiting room” or “transitory system” for labour market entry or placement, thereby supporting an increasingly flexible labour market with a adaptable workforce (ibid).

On the Contrary, the Finnish educational system relies on a Universalist public system of education, which offers general and vocational skills according to the abilities of young people and to guarantee manifolds educational paths (Artzmüller, 2012). Also, Finland’s vocational education system has some elements of an apprenticeship model, but school-based vocational education dominates (Olofsson and Wadensjo, 2012). It is more pre-training and uncompleted professional education compared to Austria, which explains why young people experience more difficulties in the STWT process in Finland than in Austria (ibid). However, disadvantaged young people’s STWT process is at risk due to skills development as a prerequisite for labour market entrance. This shows social exclusion that hampers their lifestyle and self-esteem. In this case, disadvantaged young people, especially those with migration biographies are mostly at risk. Consequently, this inevitable experience leads to inactivity and resignation. The results are subsequent labour market exclusion and stigmatization due to lack of demanding labour market skills and employment experiences. Moreover, these make things difficult for young people with low-income and lack of social capital (Naidoo and Wills, 2008). Furthermore, Artzmüller (2012) suggest that there “…is a significant share of young people who are failed by the Universalist education system”. Therefore the transition process from school into the labour market is inadequately institutionalized for all young people, leading to relatively high levels of unemployment within the age group (Ryan, 2001; Erzsébet et al., 2008; Kurz et al., 2008). Therefore, disadvantaged young people’s transition process shows an aspect of guidance to boost up the high competitive economy that depends on the educational practice within the system as well as the labour market. The result shows that young people’s school-to-work transition process is more on the labour market demand side.

Therefore, further research has to emphasize more on the supply side. However, investigations on young people inter personal strength and the socializing agencies are important. In this case, focus should give to teachers-students relationship and evidence be evaluated. Furthermore, inter and cross cultural policy awareness should be highlighted. The cultural difference and approach that exist between (disadvantaged) youths, especially those with migration backgrounds and the “socializing agencies” (Hall and Soskice, 2001) is of prime interest.

Nevertheless, the efficiency of YG implementation should accurately be evaluated in order to guarantee the best usage. In this case, the evaluation and validity will show its policy and
suitability to coordinate disadvantaged young people’s STWT process. However, the idea of specific skills development and qualification as an essential prerequisite to labour market entrance needs a critical reflection. In this case, further research should focus not only on skills and labour market demand side, but on young people and how to curb down inequalities. However, the question is why will highly industrialised countries with a huge share of GDP expenditure to social welfare have high rates youth unemployment? Nonetheless, the labour market supply side of disadvantaged young people is supposed to be considered in future research. In this case, the relationship between labour market workers and a special group of disadvantaged young people shall be highlighted. The results will through more light on drawing up young people’s labour market policy. However, disadvantaged young people’s school to employment process is supposed to concentrate on equal job creation through redistribution and not similar high cost measures. Furthermore, the policy should embody a mixture of regulated and deregulated labour market perspectives with employer’s incentives towards disadvantaged youths, especially for those with migration backgrounds. However, employability should not be an inevitable prerequisite to young people’s labour market entry.
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