

Two worlds collide?

Bringing Copenhagen  
to Bologna

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The Adecco Group is committed to facilitating discussions on the broad topic of work and how work has an impact on society and all of its stakeholders. This White Paper is based on results from ongoing research by Christian Brzinsky-Fay, research fellow and designated international expert in the field of youth labour market transitions at the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB), and is co-authored by Dr. Christoph Hilbert.

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## Executive summary

In an effort to increase the proportion of highly educated people in the workforce, policymakers in the European Union initiated the Bologna Process, which aims to increase the number of university graduates and to harmonise higher education certificates. At the same time, comparable policy measures for vocational education have had hardly any impact. Vocational education in a dual system, which is widespread in Germany, Switzerland and Austria, is often presented and discussed as one way to successfully meet the growing needs of the information society.

The low youth unemployment rates in these countries indicate a favourable transition from school to work – an important indicator of the integration of the young into the labour market. However, with the Bologna Process focusing on the improvement of tertiary education, this dual system is under pressure. Some observers and stakeholders are voicing concerns about the role of vocational education and how it interrelates with tertiary education. Youth unemployment in relation to general unemployment varies considerably between countries, indicating that institutional effects and levels of educational attainment are important.

Against this backdrop, this White Paper analyses how European countries perform with respect to young people's transition into the labour market, how the expansion of tertiary education affects vocational education, and how vocational education affects successful transitions. Question of the role of dual systems of Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Denmark, and how these affect vocational education, provides important insights. The paper is structured as follows: In the first section, we provide an overview of youth transition in Europe by way of some empirical facts in a comparative perspective, as well as a synopsis of institutional characteristics and their actual impact on successful transitions. The second section goes into more detail and demonstrates that the proportion of tertiary education differs substantially across countries. In third section we present and discuss the correlation between the share of young people enrolled in vocational tracks and the relative youth unemployment rate. A closer examination of the interrelations between secondary and tertiary education, as well as between vocational and tertiary education, is provided in section four, and on the basis of this analyses, in the fifth section we give policy recommendations for tackling the increased future need for skilled workers.

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The number of graduates from tertiary education is increasing in each country. In countries with an institutionalised dual vocational training system, such as Switzerland, Austria, Germany and Denmark<sup>1</sup>, this proportion is quite low, indicating that well-established and coordinated vocational training at the secondary level leads to lower educational attainment at the tertiary level. In other words, the dual system is a substitute for parts of tertiary education. Furthermore, the correlation between the share of young people enrolled in vocational tracks and the relative youth unemployment differs remarkably across countries both in extent and in direction, suggesting that a dual system of apprenticeship has positive effects on youth unemployment.

In countries with mainly school-based vocational education or with only general education, this effect turns out to be negative. In contrast, the effects of tertiary education also vary between countries, but cannot be attributed to certain institutional characteristics. Thus, dual systems have a positive impact on youth transition because they provide employers with clear information about young people's qualifications.

The examination of the interrelations between secondary and tertiary education, as well as between vocational and tertiary education, indicates that the relation between upper secondary graduates and tertiary graduates varies considerably. The values range from 1.3 in the United Kingdom to more than 3 in Austria<sup>2</sup>. Second, dual-system countries show outstanding values, suggesting that there is another function of upper secondary education apart from that of giving young people access to a university education. Third, vocational education and tertiary education are not complementary, as our comparison of the share of youth enrolled in vocational education and the share of tertiary graduates shows. Rather, the interrelation between tertiary general education and secondary vocational education depends on how vocational education is structured.

Policymakers in dual-system countries have to face the challenges imposed by fundamental changes in tertiary education, whereas for countries with school-based vocational secondary education, or without such education at all, this is not an important issue. The empirical findings point to the challenges that dual systems face in the light of the European Union's one-sided concentration on higher education.

1 Denmark differs from the three other dual-system countries with respect to the lower proportion of young people who go through a dual apprenticeship. For the purposes of this paper, Germany, Austria and Switzerland are identified as 'dual-system countries'. Because Denmark differs in many ways, it is mentioned explicitly when applicable.

2 A value of 3 means that one out of three graduates of upper secondary education continues with and finishes university-level studies. Correspondingly, a value of 1 means that one out of one upper secondary graduates – that is, everybody – continues with and finishes tertiary programmes of study.

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Three main points must be mentioned:

1. The tertiarisation of education systems must be equally accompanied by policies to support and improve vocational education. Companies also seek greater numbers of better qualified workers with intermediate qualifications to meet their targets in production processes.
2. Complementarity of the systems must be part of the overall strategy. Policy measures that aim at connecting the Bologna reforms with vocational education must, additionally, provide access to tertiary general studies for those holding vocational secondary certificates. To ensure flexibility, the two systems must allow for smooth transitions both within and between them, thereby helping qualified and motivated young people enter tertiary education without losing time unnecessarily.
3. To avoid the further devaluation of lower secondary certificates, those with lower school degrees should have the opportunity to become qualified. Otherwise, their educational progression will be substantially handicapped and they will be concentrated in disadvantaged labour market segments.

Without an accompanying increase in educational mobility and an expansion of vocational education, "pure" tertiarisation represents a serious threat to countries that just recently were considered to be successful in managing the transition from school to work. Today, only a few countries allow young people to change from a vocational secondary track to higher education. Reforms in the Netherlands and Sweden, for example, exemplify how this can be implemented. The Copenhagen Process, which aims to ensure the transparency and quality of vocational qualifications, needs to be closely connected to the reform of higher education. Bringing both processes – Bologna and Copenhagen – together in an integrated approach is critical for the successful and sustainable integration of young people into the labour market.

## Introduction

In Western industrialised countries, education and skills have become the most important requisite for ensuring economic growth and welfare. In recent decades, technological developments and the increasing competition driven by globalisation and the rise of emerging markets such as China and India have created a higher demand for workers with medium- or high-level qualifications (European Commission 2010). Correspondingly, education determines to a large extent individual labour market outcomes in terms of employment chances and income level. Against this background, much greater importance is attached to the efficiency of education systems. Education must fulfil the needs of both economic efficiency and individual preferences. The OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) has induced many reform initiatives by implanting the importance of educational efficiency into collective consciousness.

International comparison is a helpful instrument to examine the achievements of national education systems and policies, which normally are extremely diverse. National education systems are not monolithic structures; they are composed of several components, such as the primary system, the vocational system and different school types that can be organised hierarchically and/or horizontally. The different features of an educational system interact in a very complex manner, so that a simple analysis of their effects may lead to invalid conclusions. Institutional characteristics of education systems are measured by means of theoretically and empirically constructed concepts – such as vocational specificity.

Among all the other distinctive characteristics of education systems, vocational specificity stands out, as significant effects on labour market outcomes can be observed depending on the way in which vocational education is institutionalised. However, the specific arrangement of vocational education systems is the subject of ongoing discussions around the world. Most of these discussions concern the relation between secondary vocational education and tertiary education.

When comparing countries, one usually makes reference to educational levels, for certificates reflect national peculiarities to a large extent. Primary education is compulsory and followed by the secondary level of education, which normally is entered at the age of 15 or 16 and completed at the age of 18 or 19. Tertiary education follows secondary education and is offered by colleges and universities; it provides educational content that is more advanced, and includes special entry requirements.

A secondary education programme is vocational if its orientation is 'mainly designed to lead participants to acquire the practical skills, know-how and understanding necessary for employment in a particular occupation or trade' (UNESCO 2006). Vocational training can be school-based or part of a dual system of apprenticeship, whereas general education is only

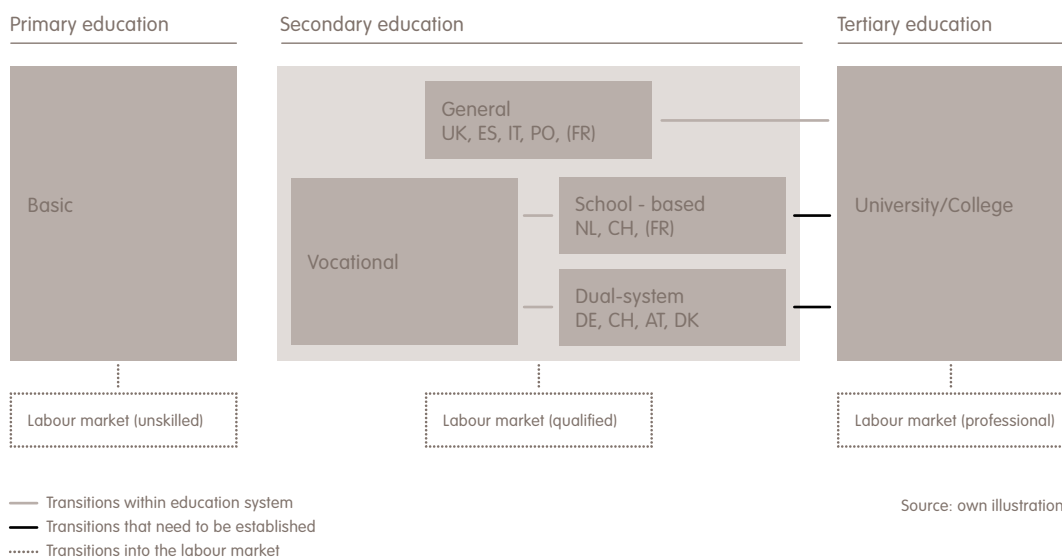
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school-based and does not necessarily lead to a labour-market-relevant qualification – though it is a requirement for access to tertiary education.

National education systems are the result of specific historical situations and reflect actor constellations. Countries therefore differ significantly with respect to the particular make-up of their institutional framework (Breen 2005). Figure 1 gives a simplified overview of the main transition paths into the labour market according to differences in institutional characteristics. Germany, Austria and Switzerland are considered to be dual-system countries; here, a high proportion of young people go through this form of vocational education in which curricula and certificates are standardised and jointly determined by employers' organisations. In Denmark, a sizable but smaller group of young people complete dual apprenticeships.

The Netherlands and Sweden also have a considerable share of young people in vocational education tracks, though their form of vocational education is organised within vocational schools and does not provide practical work experience in companies (Gustafsson and Madsén 1999). The education system in the Netherlands is characterised by a high degree of permeability between vocational and general tracks; higher vocational tracks were introduced recently. In France, young people traditionally have been educated in a purely general secondary education system, but within the last decade there have been attempts to introduce vocational tracks<sup>3</sup>.

**Figure 1 Diverging institutional pathways of youth integration**



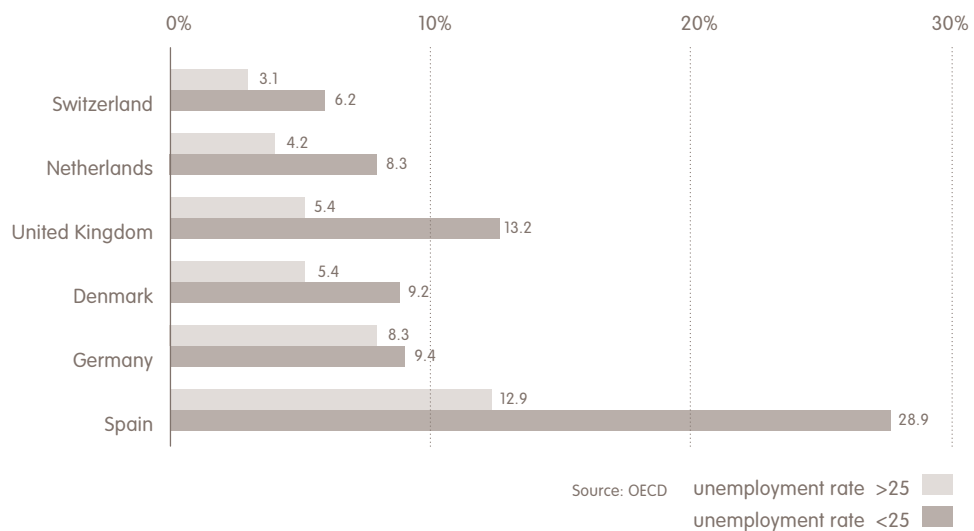
<sup>3</sup> In France, vocational qualifications traditionally have been given only within the context of active labour market policy programmes and have, therefore, a stigmatising effect. France's introduction of the Baccalauréats professionnel as an upper secondary vocational school track has created an institutional pathway somewhere between purely general education and school-based vocational education.

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Southern European countries (Spain, Italy, Greece, Portugal) and the United Kingdom have practically no vocational education; labour market entrants gain their qualifications solely on the job. Hence, three types of countries with diverging transition paths can be distinguished (Figure 1): first, those with no vocational education (e.g. the United Kingdom, Spain, Portugal, Italy, France), where labour market entrants learn skills on the job; second, countries with mostly school-based vocational education (e.g. the Netherlands and Sweden); and, third, countries with a dual system of vocational education (Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Denmark), where skills are obtained in vocation-specific apprenticeships that mainly take place in enterprises, and where employers' organisations and trade unions are involved in defining curricula. The tertiary education systems also vary widely across countries with regard to expenditures and enrolment rates.

These different characteristics in education systems lead to varied outcomes in the integration process of school-leavers, as seen in Figure 2. The graph shows the average unemployment rates for people older than 25 years and for people younger than 25 years for selected countries in the period between 1990 and 2007. It becomes immediately apparent that in all of the selected countries, youth unemployment rates are higher than unemployment rates for established workers. Two reasons for youth's disadvantage in entering the labour market are the relative lack of information about school-leavers' qualifications and the stronger agency of established workers. Yet, apart from the fact that youth unemployment is always higher than general unemployment, there are fundamental differences in the degree of youth unemployment.

**Figure 2 Average unemployment rates >25 and <25 in selected countries, 1990-2007**



In Spain, youth unemployment is more than two times higher than overall unemployment, and in Switzerland it is twice as high; yet the difference between the two unemployment rates in Germany is only marginal.<sup>4</sup> The reason for the differences can be found in the institutional framework of education, particularly in the way that (vocational and general) secondary and tertiary education is organised (Smyth, Gangl et al. 2001; Gangl, Müller et al. 2003; Iannelli and Raffe 2007; Dieckhoff 2008).

In the following section, we present a brief overview of European policy measures and developments with respect to educational attainment on the secondary and tertiary levels as well as enrolment in vocational tracks. The third section provides insights into the effects of vocational specificity and tertiarisation on youth unemployment, and is followed by an illustration of the interrelations between different levels of educational attainment. Finally, we present policy recommendations on the basis of the empirical findings.

## Higher education and vocational education in Europe

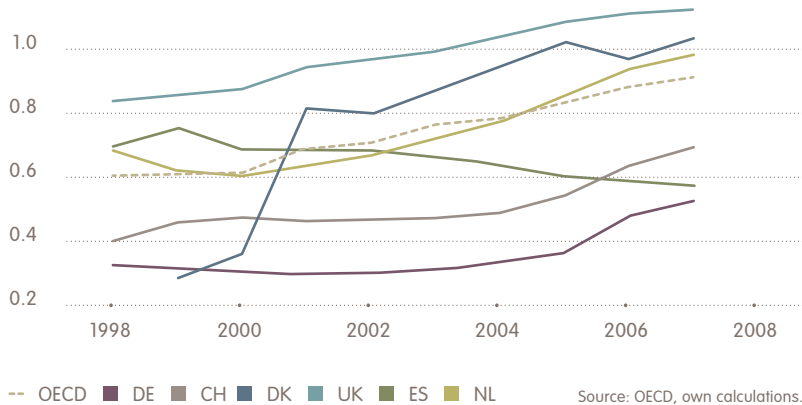
Even though the field of education is not one of the European Union's core policy fields of competence, national higher education systems are strongly influenced by European-level policy. The so-called Bologna Process and the Lisbon Strategy, which represent a common programme towards increasing employment and growth, constitute the framework for national higher education policies in that they establish the goals of harmonised structures and certificates (Bologna) and define certain outcomes for education systems (Lisbon). The former process is based on an intergovernmental agreement, whereas the latter policy process follows the open method of coordination, or 'OMC' (Keeling 2006).

Although both policy types involve hardly any sanction mechanisms, they require sustainable and ongoing action by national governments. Whereas the Bologna Process already has led to serious changes in higher education institutions, the efforts to harmonise vocational education remain in their infancy, although in 2002 the EU member states did agree on the Copenhagen Declaration, which aims at establishing common standards of vocational education. Furthermore, despite the existence of the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) – a European agency founded in 1975 that promotes vocational education in Europe – common policy initiatives can hardly be found, a situation which no doubt stems in part from the substantial differences between countries and the path dependencies of vocational education policy.

4 The unemployment rates in Figure 2 are averages over a period of 18 years; hence, business cycle effects can be neglected, and the only reason for the observed variation must be country-specific.

Countries with well-established vocational training systems, in particular, are facing serious challenges in the reform of their education systems. The Europe-wide introduction of bachelor degrees seems to compete with vocational certificates, which on the aggregate level could involve a loss of vocational skills. Recent developments in higher education and vocational education outcomes in Europe need to be viewed and interpreted in the light of this policy background.

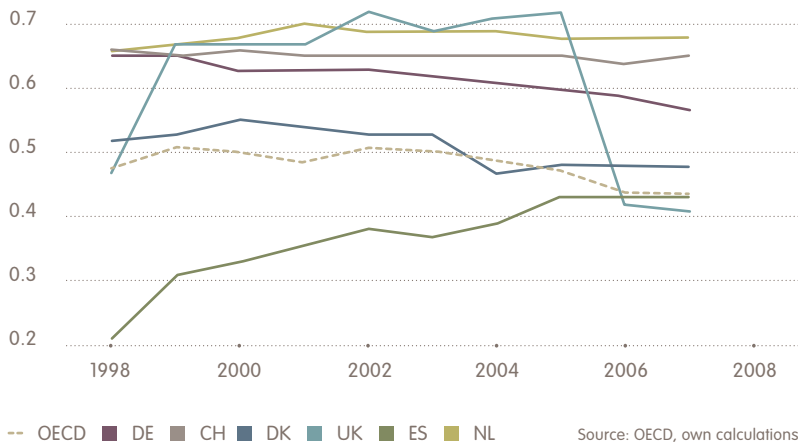
**Figure 3 Tertiary graduates as a share of the population in selected countries, 1998–2007**



The tertiarisation of an education system can be measured by determining either the number of students enrolled in tertiary education within a certain country or the number of graduates from tertiary education – that is, those who have already finished tertiary education and who hold a diploma or comparable certificate. Here, the latter indicator is used, as it reflects labour-market-relevant qualifications better than does counting only those who are still studying but do not yet hold a certificate. In a comparison of countries, the absolute number of tertiary graduates must be related to the country size, which is realised by counting the number of graduates per year and dividing it by the country's total population.

The number of tertiary graduates has been increasing considerably in OECD countries. The lines in Figure 3 show the number of tertiary graduates as a share of the population in selected countries between the years 1998 and 2007. In OECD countries (dark blue line), the share of tertiary graduates increased from 0.4% in 1998 to 0.7% in 2007. This trend of growth can be observed for all countries, though there are differences in the level. The graph clearly indicates that in countries with a dual system of apprenticeship, the number of tertiary graduates is generally lower. Hence, it is reasonable to suggest that institutionalised dual vocational training has an effect on the level of tertiary education. Dual systems tend to reduce tertiary educational attainment.

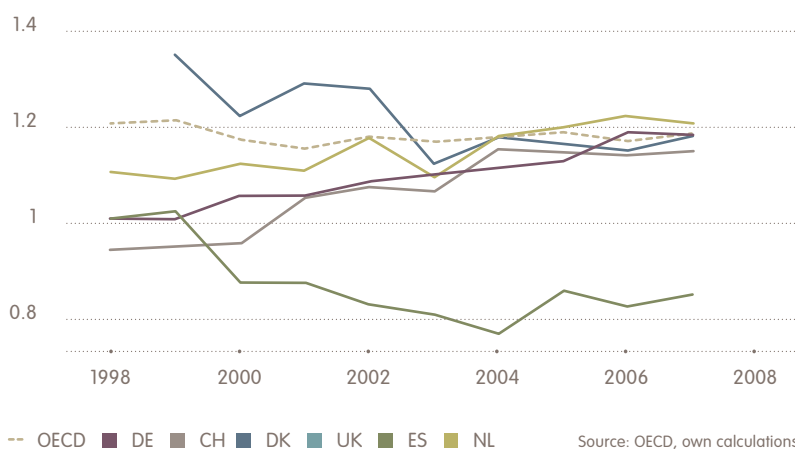
**Figure 4 Share of students in vocational education in selected countries, 1998–2007**



To assess the vocational specificity of an education system, generally the share of young people enrolled in a vocational track is taken as a valid indicator. Because of the very different national traditions regarding the weight of vocational qualifications in the production process, this indicator varies remarkably across countries. Figure 4 shows that in the dual-system countries of Germany, Austria and Switzerland, a particularly high share of people are enrolled in vocational tracks. A high share is also found in the Netherlands, reflecting the importance of its school-based vocational training system. Although Denmark has a dual system, the well-established tertiary education system attracts a large number of people. At the end of the 1990s, the Danish government launched education reforms aimed at increasing permeability between secondary vocational and tertiary education.

In Sweden, the impartment of vocational skills mainly takes places in vocational schools, and the share of young people in vocational tracks is slightly above the average. The overall trend of vocational education seems to have stayed quite stable since 1998, with only a small decrease in the OECD average. In most of the other countries, the share of young people in vocational education remained quite stable, with only a few exceptions, such as Germany, whose share of persons in vocational education decreased slightly.

**Figure 5 Upper secondary graduates as a share of the population in selected countries, 1998–2007**



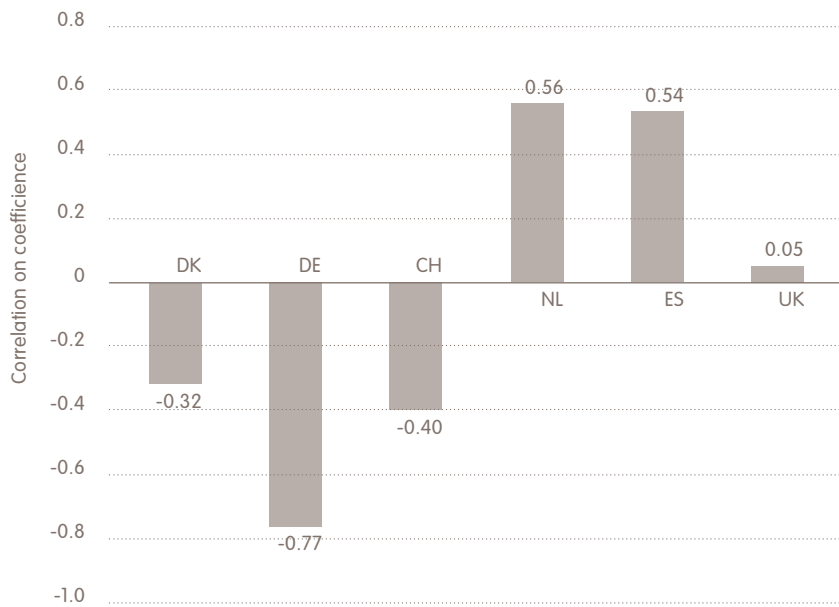
Finally, in order to assess the dynamics between vocational secondary education and tertiary education, it is useful to look at the number of graduates of upper secondary education, for these graduates are entitled to continue their education at university. The development over the last decade shows no dramatic changes (Figure 5). Only a few countries increased their share of upper secondary graduates, namely, Switzerland, Sweden and France.

## Labour market effects of vocational education and tertiary education

Among the huge variety of modern societies, those countries with coordinated linkages between school and the labour market have generally been regarded as successful in terms of ensuring a favourable integration of young people into paid employment. Coordination in this context means the incorporation of labour market actors – namely, employers and trade unions – in the controlling, supervision and certification of vocational skills and qualifications. Certified and standardised qualifications facilitate the matching process and greatly reduce transaction costs for employers and search costs for employees. This effect is reflected in lower unemployment rates among young jobseekers in countries with a dual system of apprenticeship. Unemployment rates among young people are higher in countries with school-based vocational training or no meaningful vocational education.

Figure 6 shows the correlation between the proportion of young people in vocational education and the relative youth unemployment rate<sup>5</sup>. A negative correlation coefficient means that in the respective country a high number of young people receiving vocational education correlates with a low relative youth unemployment rate. In countries with a high correlation coefficient, the education system's vocational specificity contributes to higher youth unemployment.

**Figure 6 Correlation between proportion of vocational education and relative youth unemployment in selected countries, 1990–2007**



Source: OECD, own calculations

In countries where vocational qualifications and skills are imparted in dual systems of apprenticeship, vocational education clearly contributes to lower youth unemployment, whereas in countries with school-based vocational education or only general education, the share of vocational education leads to higher youth unemployment. This finding provides some evidence that not vocational education itself but the form in which it is organised has effects on labour market outcomes. Moreover, dual systems of apprenticeship clearly have advantages in terms of school-leaver's integration process into the labour market.

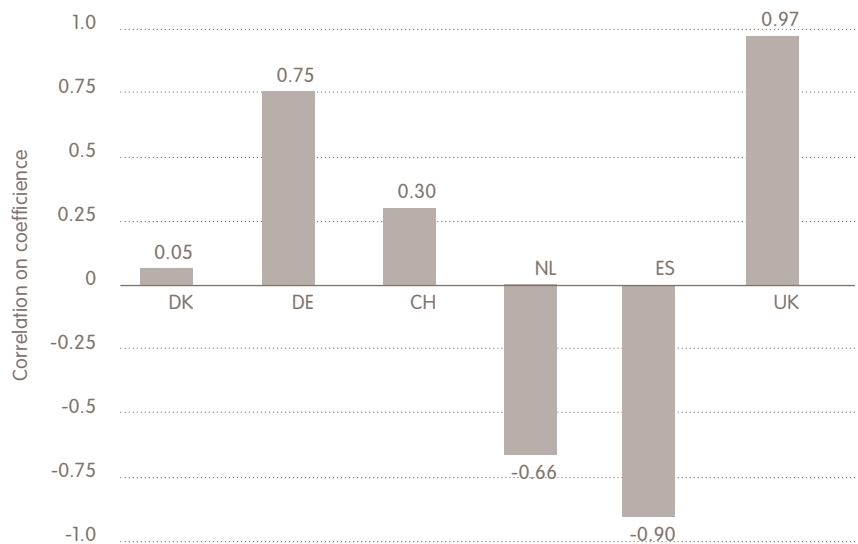
In addition, one needs to consider the labour market effects of tertiary education on the country in question. Employing the correlation between the relative number of tertiary graduates and relative youth

<sup>5</sup> The relative unemployment rate is the fraction of the unemployment rate of under-25-year-olds and the unemployment rate of 25- to 64-year-olds.

unemployment rate (Figure 7), the effect cannot be attributed to certain institutional features, apart from the observation that in countries with dual systems, a higher share of tertiary graduates is related with higher unemployment. Those countries with mainly school-based vocational education (the Netherlands and Sweden) differ in their effects in almost the same manner as countries with only on-the-job training (Spain and the United Kingdom).

Within the group of dual-system countries, Denmark and Switzerland show smaller (negative) effects than do Germany and Austria. Only in the Netherlands and Spain is a higher share of tertiary graduates correlated with lower youth unemployment, though the two countries have quite different institutional regulations. In Sweden and the United Kingdom, the correlation between a high share of tertiary graduates and high relative youth unemployment is very high – although, again, both countries also differ remarkably in their education systems. This finding indicates that in countries with dual systems, tertiary education does not significantly reduce unemployment among young people.

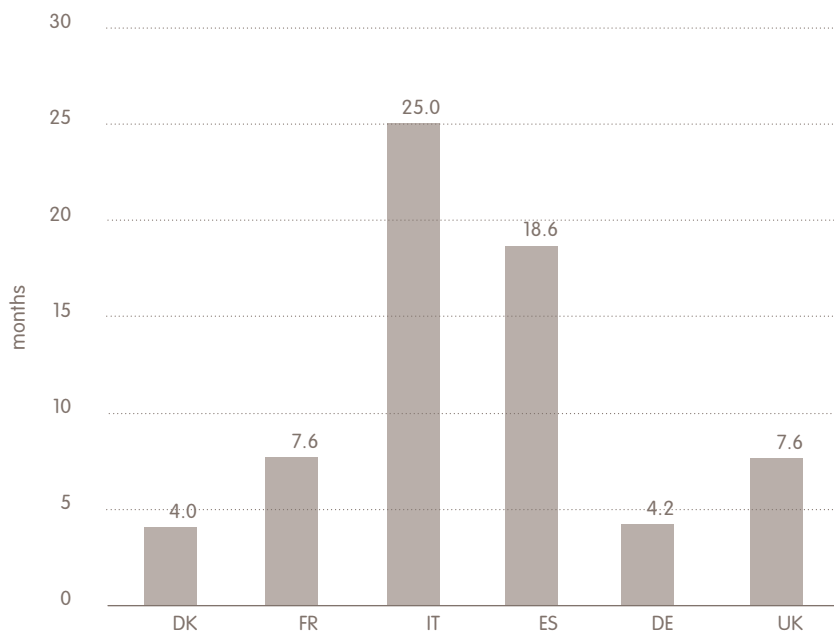
**Figure 7 Correlation between share of tertiary graduates and relative youth unemployment in selected countries, 1990–2007**



Source: OECD, own calculations

Another way to analyse the relation between the institutional framework and labour market effects is to consider the average duration of unemployment after young people complete their schooling (Figure 8)<sup>6</sup>. School-leavers in Germany and Denmark (the dual-system countries) spend around four months in unemployment after leaving school. In countries without any vocational orientation – above all, the southern European countries – school-leavers experience longer periods of unemployment on average.

**Figure 8 Average duration of unemployment after leaving school**



Source: European Community Household Panel (ECHP), own calculations.

The picture of education effects on youth unemployment differs remarkably between countries. It seems that neither the share of young people in vocational education nor the share of young people in tertiary education correlates with the relative youth unemployment rate. What does have an effect on relative youth unemployment is the institutional form of vocational education. In countries with a dual system of apprenticeship – that is, Switzerland, Germany, Austria and Denmark – a common pattern emerges: a high level of vocational education correlates with low youth unemployment, whereas a high level of tertiary education correlates with higher youth unemployment.

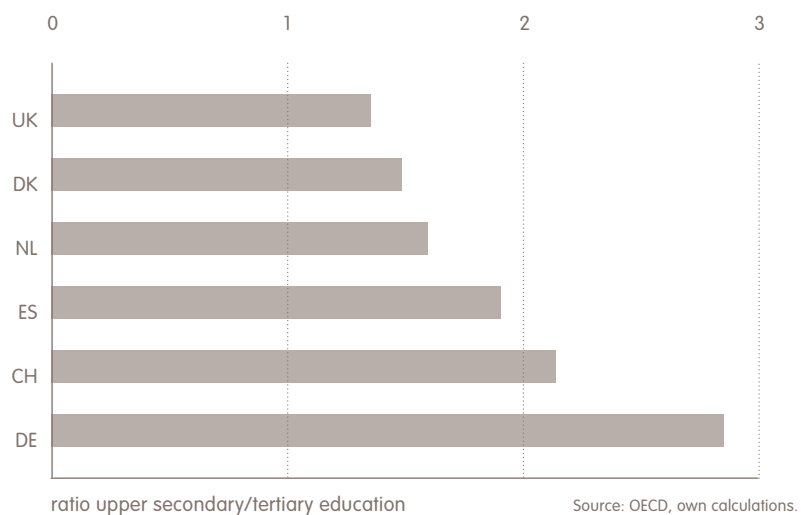
<sup>6</sup> Because of the different data sources, there are no data available for Austria, Switzerland, Sweden and the Netherlands.

## Interrelations between vocational education, upper secondary graduates and tertiary graduates

The number of young people in vocational tracks, the number of upper secondary graduates and the number of tertiary graduates are dynamically interwoven in a complex manner and strongly dependent on the institutional framework. The most obvious connection is the relation between upper secondary and tertiary graduation, as the former provides the necessary condition for access to the latter, whereas vocational education usually is completed at the secondary level.

The fraction of upper secondary and tertiary graduates reveals some interesting results, as shown in Figure 9. The values on the horizontal axis reflect a measure of the degree to which graduation from upper secondary education leads to university education. The higher this indicator, the less graduates move on to tertiary education. An upper secondary graduate may not take up tertiary education for any number of individual reasons; but from a labour market perspective, either the value of upper secondary certificates is sufficient for successful and satisfying labour market integration, or upper secondary graduates choose to continue their education on a vocational track.

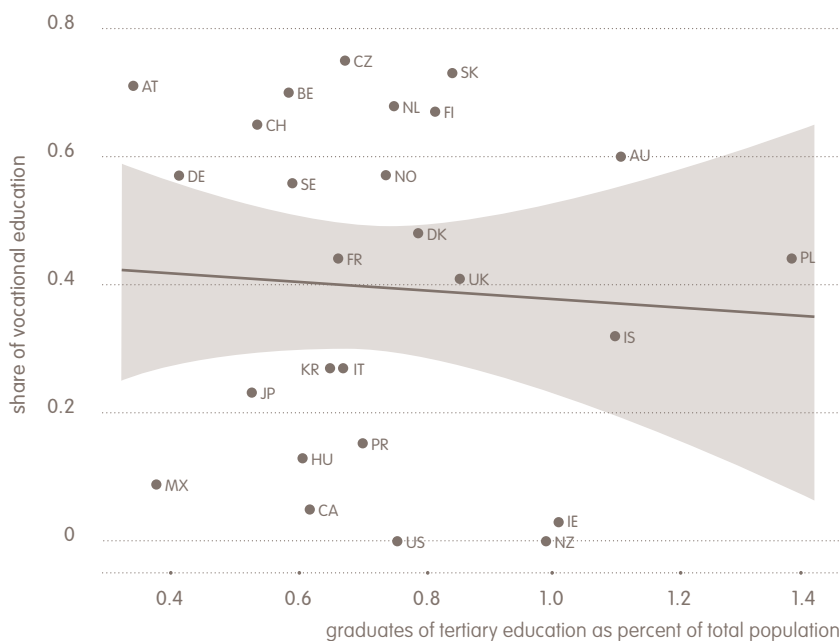
**Figure 9** Relation of upper secondary graduates to tertiary graduates, 2007



Countries with a dual system and low attainment in tertiary education – Germany and Switzerland – can be found in the lower third of the figure. In Germany, only one out of three graduates of upper secondary education finishes university studies. Germany and Switzerland also show high values for this indicator; the majority of the other countries with similar values do not have well-established higher education systems (e.g. Greece, Turkey, Mexico). France constitutes a special case, because it serves as a perfect example of the job-cue model: the educational level of school-leavers determines the position in the job cue, which means that the higher the (general) educational degree, the quicker school-leavers are integrated into employment.

Again, the countries with dual systems of apprenticeship stand out, and one can assume that a remarkable share of upper secondary graduates who do not continue with university studies will continue with an apprenticeship, most probably within a comprehensive sector such as banking. These ‘crowding out’ processes lead to a devaluation of lower secondary degrees and decrease the labour market prospects of young people with lower levels of education. On the other hand, it may be that the combination of (general) upper secondary education and a subsequent apprenticeship reflects an increasing demand for qualifications even for those vocations that once attracted only school-leavers with a lower secondary education<sup>7</sup>.

**Figure 10 Students enrolled in vocational education and tertiary graduates**



Source: OECD, own calculations.

<sup>7</sup> A good example for Germany is the change in the occupational image of ‘motor mechanics’ to ‘motor mechatronics’, which requires some information technology skills.

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Another challenge for dual systems in times of tertiarisation would seem to be the 'competition' between apprenticeships (under conditions of increasing skill demands) and tertiary degrees (such as bachelor degrees). A comparison between students enrolled in vocational tracks and tertiary graduates can help provide a picture of this interrelation. As Figure 10 shows, the relation between the two indicators is very weak; although the linear relation decreases slightly, the 5% confidence interval (the grey area) allows for weak positive and negative relations. If the correlation is limited to countries with dual systems of apprenticeships (i.e. Switzerland, Germany, Austria and Denmark), the relation would not change.

According to this finding, there seems to be – on the aggregate (country) level – no significant competition between the number of tertiary graduates and the degree of vocationalisation. Hence, the threat for dual systems is not the increasing relative number of tertiary graduates, but the increasing demand for higher qualifications inherent to modernising economies.

## Outlook and policy recommendations: Bringing Copenhagen to Bologna

To guarantee a country's competitiveness, its government has to tackle the educational challenge in different arenas. Initial education clearly ensures the prospects of future labour market entrants, whereas further education maintains the employability of the labour force. Expanding education is not an end in itself; reforms must be designed carefully according to country-specific preferences and the requirements of labour markets, while taking into account diverging institutional frameworks. Because policy reforms often depend on political opportunities, and because the field of education is quite segmented, the likelihood of piecemeal policy activities is rather high.

Using international comparative data, we have demonstrated that countries with dual systems of education differ considerably in many respects from those countries with education systems where vocational education takes place either in schools or on the job. Intensive and coordinated vocational education requires stronger policy initiatives beyond the higher education system in order to facilitate individual transitions between vocational and general tracks of education. For school-leavers, the lower (general) tertiary degrees introduced as part of the Bologna reform should not constitute an alternative to (vocational) apprenticeships. Thus, apprenticeships must be open for education pathways beyond the post-secondary level, and elements of vocational education should be included to a greater extent in the tertiary level. At the same time, apprenticeships need to be modularised in order to allow for both individual corrections and connectivity to tertiary courses.

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The results from the analyses lead to the following three policy recommendations:

1. The tertiarisation of education systems must be equally accompanied by policies to support and improve vocational education.
2. Policies must aim for the complementarity of the systems, and not just a unitary system with an increased number of school-leavers holding upper secondary certificates.
3. To avoid further devaluation of lower secondary certificates, young people with lower school degrees must be given an opportunity to become qualified.

The main concern is to extend the European policy focus beyond tertiary education, not only to the field of vocational education but also to the field of compulsory (general) schooling. General guiding principles should include the prevention of young people quitting school, and the extensive implementation of permeability for students between different school types or between vocational and general tracks (European Commission, 2010). The Bologna Process, which aims to harmonise tertiary degrees, must be accompanied by the Copenhagen Process. Both initiatives have to be conducted in a coordinated manner in order to avoid drawbacks for those countries with established systems of dual vocational education. These drawbacks include the mutual exclusion of vocational and tertiary education tracks, for in the near future there will be an increasing demand for a more highly qualified vocational workforce that combines general and vocational qualifications.

Early selection in separate tracks that concentrate on either general or vocational certificates prohibits the continuation of educational pathways. Moreover, an education system cannot rest on tertiary education alone, for certified vocational training provides important qualification signals and therefore clearly enhances labour market integration.

In short, the European Union is on the right track with the Bologna Process, but for dual-system countries additional measures are required. The Copenhagen Process, which aims to ensure the transparency and quality of vocational qualifications, needs to be closely connected to the reform of higher education. Bringing both processes – Bologna and Copenhagen – together in an integrated approach is critical for the successful and sustainable integration of young people into the labour market.

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**Imprint**  
Publisher: Adecco Group

November 2010

