

Comparing Pathways into the Labor Market of Young People with Disabilities in Switzerland and Luxembourg

Justin J.W. POWELL,¹ Andreas HADJAR,² Robin SAMUEL,³
Boris TRAUE,⁴ Carmen ZURBRIGGEN⁵

University of Luxembourg, University of Fribourg

Abstract

This Forum contribution, instead of following typical research article format, provides selected insights from the PATH_CH-LUX project on school-to-work transitions of young people with disabilities in Switzerland and Luxembourg, which examines drivers and barriers using a cross-national, mixed-methods approach. The project focuses on three perspectives: young people's experiences, expectations, and aspirations; employer recruitment practices analyzed through a factorial survey design; and insights from social service professionals to identify areas for improved transition support. A comparative institutional analysis highlights opportunity structures shaped by systemic factors in both countries. Preliminary findings from the authors' research provide a foundation for understanding institutional, organizational, and individual factors affecting labor market inclusion. Both countries' high-skill labor markets and multicultural contexts offer valuable cases that emphasize the need for the transformation of historically separate and stigmatizing educational settings, enhanced guidance and support systems, and employer awareness to improve experiences and outcomes for young people with disabilities transitioning from school to work.

Keywords: education, training, employment, institutional logics, inclusion, school-to-work transitions, disability, disadvantage, subjective well-being

¹ Justin J.W. Powell (justin.powell@uni.lu) is Professor of Sociology of Education and Head of the Department of Social Sciences at the University of Luxembourg.

² Andreas Hadjar (andreas.hadjar@unifr.ch) is Professor of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Research in the Department of Social Policy, Social Work and Global Development, University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

³ Robin Samuel (robin.samuel@uni.lu) is Associate Professor in Youth Studies in the Department of Social Sciences, University of Luxembourg.

⁴ Boris Traue (boris.traue@uni.lu) is Professor of Social Work and Social Pedagogy in the Department of Education and Social Work, University of Luxembourg.

⁵ Carmen Zurbriggen (carmen.zurbriggen@unifr.ch) is Professor in the Department of Special Education, University of Fribourg, Switzerland.



Introduction: Inclusion and Well-being in / through Institutions of Education and Employment

By signing human rights charters, countries worldwide have committed themselves to reduce disability-related disadvantages and to improve the life chances and social participation of people with disabilities. Disability is still an under-researched category of social inequality, especially in transitions research. The PATH_CH-LUX project addresses this research gap by investigating the importance of ability ascriptions and discriminatory effects during school-to-work transitions. The institutions of education and employment have contrasting aims, including efficiency and inclusion. These are often challenged by disadvantaged and disabled persons, who for centuries have been considered “abnormal” and marginalized. Often considered as unworthy of investment in education, their care has been expensive and expansive (Richardson/Powell 2011): Since the Enlightenment, these groups’ educational and employment careers reflect numerous barriers, structural and cultural, evident even in “benevolent” educational and social policies. Neither efficient nor equitable, education and skill formation systems in many countries remain persistently stigmatizing as they separate or segregate those requiring additional or specialized supports to access school curricula and to participate in the world of work.

Costly parallel structures often reduce not only learning opportunities, educational achievement and attainment, but also life chances and well-being (e.g., Pfahl 2011; Powell/Blanck 2023). Simultaneously with attempting to reduce the myriad negative consequences of “institutionalized discrimination” (Gomolla/Radtke 2002), skill formation systems and labor markets have had to adjust to rapid technological change, deindustrialization in favor of a rising service sector, and liberalization (Mayer/Solga 2008). Simultaneously, human rights charters ratified throughout the world, such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (UN-CRPD, UN 2006), mandate the transformation of education and vocational training systems and employment to be more inclusive, regardless of (considerable) costs (Powell/Blanck/Edelstein 2016). This has not yet been realized due to the massive investments over many decades in parallel structures, such as special schools and sheltered workshops, bolstered by ableist thinking and norms and professional vested interests. Human rights-based reforms that challenge this status quo and considerable path dependency promise to make skill formation and employment simultaneously more efficient and inclusive. What impact are such reforms having in two of the most highly educated, culturally diverse, and productive European countries—Switzerland and Luxembourg?

As well-developed welfare states, both countries invest in education for all and attempt to equalize living conditions, thus exhibiting less economic inequality (Solga 2014). But how have their pathways of liberalization (Thelen 2014) affected vulnerable groups most in need of social protection? As maturing knowledge economies, Switzerland and Luxembourg have developed high skill, professionalized, multicultural, and multilingual workforces that rely on efficiently matching skills and jobs, more or less via vocational education and training (see Graf/Tröhler 2017), yet they have simultaneously legally committed themselves to the global human rights norms of inclusion and participation (Powell/Hadjar 2018). In the research project “Pathways into the labor market of young people with disabilities in Switzerland and Luxembourg”

(PATH_CH-LUX), we compare the education and social policy nexus to analyze the challenges faced to make education and employment more inclusive—and to support successful transitions from school-to-work for disadvantaged and disabled youth. As the human right of inclusion extends across the life course, and crucial universal policies (here: compulsory schooling) that serve all children and youth have been continuously extended, more specific disability policies, such as supported employment, are often targeted and provided in segregated settings, reflecting the contradictory “institutional logics” of education and work (Powell 2016; Tschanz/Powell 2020).

Even as inclusive education and training as well as labor market integration increasingly become issues of human rights, no longer solely related to performance or competence, skill formation dynamics and the goal of ensuring well-being force reappraisals of (higher) education and vocational training, welfare, and labor market institutions. Ubiquitous educational and social stratification, segregation, and institutional discrimination reduce efficiency. They hinder permeability within education and make transitions more difficult, “manufacturing inability” and thus reducing equity (Tomlinson 2017). Yet inclusive policies often require transformative institutional change, thus remain elusive, so embedded are education and employment systems in societal hierarchies and subject to path-dependent developments (Powell 2016). Tensions between universal and targeted supports needed to realize inclusion manifest themselves particularly during life course transitions (Ludwig-Mayerhofer et al. 2019).

School-to-work pathways imply shifting institutional and organizational memberships as individuals negotiate contrasting institutional logics that are barriers to successful transitions (and to successful policy interventions). Here, vocational education and training (VET), such as that provided in collective skill systems (Busemeyer/Trampusch 2012) that are particularly strong in Germanophone Europe, serve and support a large proportion of each cohort to gain necessary skills and to successfully find apprenticeships and gradually adjust to the different logics within a system that combines elements of both. Simultaneously, flexibility in such systems supports vulnerable groups as they (attempt to) transition to employment (Thelen 2014), exemplified in such measures as short-track dual apprenticeships that attempt to pair social equity with economic efficiency (Di Maio/Graf/Wilson 2019). However, there are limits to how inclusive even these vaunted collective skill systems can be. First, their selective and stratified secondary education systems create differential social learning environments, reduce learning opportunities, and often limit subjective well-being (SWB). Second, this policy goal implies strengthened commitments and coordination between states and firms, despite ubiquitous competition (Bonoli/Emmenegger 2020), especially visible in the high-skill, migration-dependent, multi-lingual, and cross-border labor markets of Luxembourg and Switzerland (see Pigeron-Piroth/Wille 2019). However, employers’ values and attitudes towards youth with disabilities remains largely a black box. Third, few coordinated efforts among institutional gatekeepers and street-level bureaucrats facilitate responsiveness to service needs and aspirations concerning their school-to-work transition (STWT), even less so for migrants and refugees (OECD 2023; Otmani 2024). Thus, the investigation of the effective supports for successful transitions that social workers provide is a research gap. Fourth, very little is known about individual aspirations and perspectives contrasted with the actual experienced dynamics of STWT. Both the input-oriented logic of schooling and the output-oriented logic of employment tend to ignore

students' and 'employers' subjective perspectives, yet understanding and matching these are essential for orientation, supervision, and transition processes. These are key empirics that we have begun to collect in the PATH_CH-LUX project (2023-26; see <https://pathchlux.org/>).

Doing this, we follow a comparative case study approach and chart institutional change in Luxembourg and Switzerland. Building upon an institutional logics perspective (e.g., Thornton/Ocasio 2008; Thornton/Ocasio/Lounsbury 2012), we emphasize the knowledge and the practices of the relevant institutions that shape the behavior of individuals and organizations (state, market, family)—and their impact on the actions taken in transition processes. This perspective highlights the coexistence and interplay of multiple logics that lead to complex and dynamic organizational environments, evident at the nexus of education, training, and social policy in Luxembourg (LU) and Switzerland (CH)—as mainly conservative-corporatist (LU) and partly liberal and partly conservative (CH) welfare-state regimes. Both countries have maintained selective and stratified education systems and high-skill labor markets in which disadvantaged and disabled people do not participate equally. This binary comparison illuminates the contradictory logics (and shows potential complementarities) in education and employment systems, as we uncover paradoxical consequences of recent inclusion-oriented education and welfare reforms.

These countries show important similarities and historical and spatial variations that lend themselves to comparative institutional analysis. To understand individual pathways requires our understanding of the contextual conditions that establish the logics shaping behavior. At this nexus, the interconnectedness of disability-related policies and institutions—from special education and vocational training to health—and the lack of analysis of the complex relations between these systems, demands further attention (Richardson/Powell 2011). Under these conditions, we ask: To what extent do inclusive education, training, and employment policies and recent reforms in Switzerland and Luxembourg contribute to equalized participation, support successful transitions, and enhance SWB?

There is a reciprocal relationship between participation in education and well-being. Educational achievement and attainment are promoted through well-being, but well-being can be enhanced through educational organizations and processes. Applying the general model by Lindenberg and colleagues (Ormel et al. 1999), we can deduce that learning environments, among other things, should be stimulating, provide comfort regarding the classroom, the spatial conditions for diverse activities, and a platform for developing and sustaining positive relationships (e.g., Zurbriggen et al., 2018). Additionally, they should offer space for behavioral confirmation and recognition (Honneth 1995); the feeling of being in harmony with oneself and with other reference persons in one's actions and thoughts as well as conveying the insight that acquisition of education is closely linked to acquisition of status. This can be found in various concepts of inclusive education and is decidedly different from the often-experienced marginalization, bullying, and stigmatization prevalent in contemporary schooling and particularly faced by those participating in special education programs (see, e.g., Chatzitheochari/Powers/Platt 2016). Simultaneously, it is important to prevent alienation from school—defined as negative attitudes towards school-related domains such as learning, teachers, and classmates, as was found in a longitudinal comparative study of Luxembourg and Switzerland (Hascher/Hadjar 2018). Different pupil groups turn away from school to varying degrees, particularly during their

secondary school years, when schools fail to provide necessary conditions for all learners to develop optimally, including spaces to develop various aspects of their identity (Neuenschwander 1996) and strengthen their agency to support their transition to VET and their persistence in training (Findeisen et al. 2022).

In terms of groups, boys, working-class children, and members of ethnic minority groups or migration background are (much) more likely to participate in special education (Powell/Wagner 2014) and to be particularly affected by alienation from school (Hascher/Hadjar 2018). The causes of school alienation can be found at various levels (education system, school, class, parental home, individual) and are closely related to academic and social integration. The question, therefore, is to what extent education and social policies can be reformed and coordinated to improve educational settings that promote inclusion of all. The general (re-)structuring of educational systems is crucial to (further) develop inclusive education—and to meet ethical commitments to universal human rights in inclusive education—as well as to enhance well-being. Thus, we turn next to explore the institutional logics that affect transitions.

Theorizing the Impact of Institutional Logics on Transitions

To understand why transitions are challenging, particularly for disadvantaged and disabled individuals, examining the impact of (contrasting) institutional logics on education and employment is helpful. Institutions shape social life through various logics, defined by Thornton and Ocasio (2008: 101) as “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules.” These logics influence organizations and individuals, linking institutions and actions (Thornton/Ocasio 2008: 100). The bureaucratic state and capitalist market operate with distinct logics within an inter-institutional system, with relevance for the pathways available to youth during STWT.

At the nexus of education and social policies, these contrasting institutional logics pose challenges for policymaking, service provision, and individual careers (Tschanz/Powell 2020). Policies often focus on singular life stages or lack support for individuals navigating multiple phases. While mainly state-provided education aims to foster learning and skill development, employment emphasizes applying these skills in a competitive market. The influence of state and market forces shapes individual experiences, as people appreciate the values and expectations of both systems, but sequentially the state supply of (and compulsory duty to participate) in formal schooling comes first, later shifting to market-based, demand-oriented organizations. This dynamic affects how youth navigate their educational and career pathways, often leading to alienation and stratification based on class and disability status.

Despite the rising emphasis on inclusive education and lifelong learning worldwide, existing systems frequently reproduce inequalities. Subjectivation processes (Traue/Pfahl 2022) involve individuals internalizing and negotiating the values, norms, and expectations (of state and market, among other institutions). Young adults navigate their educational and career paths, making choices and developing self-concepts in response to these pressures (and those of their families and peers). Integrating these perspectives reveals the interplay between structural forces and personal agency in shaping educational and employment outcomes (see Pfahl 2011). Youth spend their formative years ensconced in the logic of education, dominated by the state.

Educational policy is closely tied to the reproduction of (re)productive forces (Althusser 1995), as it organizes occupational identities, aspirations, and tastes of young people—well before their entry into the labor force (Bourdieu/Passeron 1970), fosters well-being or induces suffering based on divisions of class and dis/ability status, and falsely makes the individual entirely responsible for success and failure (Sennett/Cobb 1972).

However, the subjectivation and allocation processes organized by successive policies are—even in conservative welfare states—not consistently guided by a classist or ableist “liberal providentialism” of meritocracy (Sandel 2020: 49). These processes occur within a complex arena of partially interlocking, competing institutional sectors, where state and market logics differ and further fracture into competing professions, stakeholders, and gatekeepers favoring different beliefs and ideologies. This complexity hinders progress toward equity-based, non-discriminatory societies. While citizen and service-user satisfaction are vital for the welfare state’s legitimacy, ignoring persistent inequalities can lead to long-term political consequences, such as the rise of right-wing populism in Europe and elsewhere, driven by resentment against the welfare state (and its failings). Welfare research must therefore consider subjective perspectives on STWT to better inform inclusion-oriented policymaking.

Institutional Change, Logics and Lacking Inter-institutional Coordination of Education and Work

Addressing the institutional dimensions of education and skill formation reveals that education is primarily supply-driven and largely state-funded. Compulsory schooling laws were established to socialize citizens and prepare future workers (Heidenheimer 1997), reflecting an investment in their capabilities. The design of education systems significantly influences the extent of promoting well-being for all students and (the qualities of) their inclusion. Different school types vary in aspiration levels, support structures, and class compositions, regulating vertical and horizontal permeability, which affects students’ transitions to VET and higher education (Hadjar/Gross 2016; Backes 2018; Powell/Blanck 2023).

Key features of education systems include the range of educational opportunities and the degree of stratification, which determines life course pathways, particularly for those in lower-status school types (Pfahl 2011). In contrast, employment is demand-driven and output-oriented, rewarding specific skills and qualifications. Research shows that successful initial transitions to the labor market set the trajectory for future employment opportunities (Ralston et al. 2016). Those who struggle with this transition face higher risks of unemployment, lower wages, and social isolation later (Buchmann/Kriesi 2011). Young people with disabilities are particularly vulnerable, facing significant challenges during transitions (Wells/Sandefur/Hogan 2003; Halvorsen/Hvinden 2018), and the risks of dropping out are prevalent, even in advanced VET systems (Findeisen et al. 2022).

Stigmatization and separation reduce learning opportunities, and the lack of coordination between education and employment institutions creates further barriers. However, some youth with disabilities do succeed in the labor market “against the odds”. This highlights the need for further research on the facilitators of such trajectories (Buchmann/Kriesi 2011), an explicit aim of the PATH_CH-LUX project: To understand labor market integration in high-skill countries like Switzerland and Luxembourg reveals institutional logics and vocational and vocational and professional dynamics of high-skill labor markets.

The contrasting institutional logics pose challenges for policymaking and the administration of education and social services, particularly at inter-institutional transition points—clearly evident in STWT (Tschanz/Powell 2020). Policies often focus on singular life stages, lacking support for individuals transitioning between phases that often extends and includes diverse sequences. While education and employment both emphasize individual achievement, their logics differ: education fosters learning opportunities and developing knowledge, whereas employment focuses on applying that knowledge and application of skills in (usually) competitive labor markets. Despite recent emphasis on lifelong learning, education primarily targets childhood and young adulthood, with VET and postsecondary education following. While compulsory schooling is universal, special education provides varying degrees of support and participation for students with recognized impairments or “special educational needs” (SEN) (Powell 2016). Employment policies are largely demand-driven, influenced by sector and local labor market conditions, yet disabled individuals often attain less education than their peers, placing them at a disadvantage in competitive markets.

The societal direction—collectivist or individualistic—affects participation of disabled individuals (Richardson/Powell 2011). States and families provide varying levels of support for learning opportunities, while individuals are expected to contribute to production in employment. Diverse educational and employment settings differ in the qualifications and remuneration they enable as well as diverse life course and subjective well-being outcomes. In governance, states vary in the funding, control, and autonomy of schools to address inclusion challenges with secondary functions in employment, such as setting quota regulations. Across cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative dimensions, significant similarities and differences exist between institutional logics of education and work (Tschanz/Powell 2020).

Challenges and Opportunities during Transitions from School-to-Work

Transitions into work generally follow three paths: (1) direct entry into the competitive market; (2) quasi-commodified employment for those with functional limitations or qualification mismatches; or (3) gradual, stepwise integration in coordinated market economies. VET programs, such as dual apprenticeships, that are hybrids, containing elements of both education and employment, and thus provide platforms for continuous (re)negotiation between institutional logics of education and employment—and gradual socialization into the world of work. Busemeyer and Trampusch (2012) highlight that VET systems’ political economy reflects that of the labor market more generally. Stepwise integration into the labor market helps youth transition into commodified work by improving the match between employer expectations and qualifications while enabling skill development and employment experience. This process should also enhance biographical agency and well-being. However, such transitions require strong inter-institutional coordination between education and labor market governance, which remains uncommon.

The interconnected principles of individual learning opportunities, expectations, and school performance are not easily transferable to employment, evident in mostly failed bureaucratic attempts to provide effective, compensatory transition support for disabled youth (Pfahl 2011; Blanck 2020). Ongoing education expansion, which paradoxically increases the stigma of the less-educated youth, has made lack of educational performance more evident, ultimately

increasing the risk of non-employment for those classified as "having special educational needs (SEN) (Menze/Solga/Pollak 2023). Alternatives, such as sheltered workplaces, are characterized by deep ambivalence, as they enable access to some form of employment for (potential) workers not considered competitive in the primary labor market, yet they often pay low wages and segregate, with negative effects on participants' educational levels, social networks, income levels, social prestige—and their experiences (Czedik/Pfahl/Traue 2021).

As the example of STWT emphasizes, youth are differentially empowered by their schooling experiences to perform and, by extension, to compete within labor markets. Transitioning between institutions (and organizations) requires that (meritocratic) performance expectations held for individuals be transformed from education to diverse organizations. Stigmatizing labels and separate tracks in education must be avoided, since meta-analyses (EASNIE 2018) indicate that participation in inclusive settings increases the likelihood of labor market integration compared to special education, which often reduces these options (e.g., Powell/Blanck 2023).

In sum, institutional and organizational differences in school experiences and how and when youth transition affect their learning opportunities, interest development, and occupational identities throughout their careers. In transitioning between the institutional spheres of education and work, individuals must be flexible, managing conflicting demands that derive from these contrasting institutional logics. Adequate support systems would lower flexibility requirements of individuals and shift more responsibility towards collective action and organizations to ensure successful transitions.

Project Research Design, Methods & Data

Young people with disabilities face challenging transitions; some succeed despite the odds. The PATH_CH-LUX study investigates the drivers of and barriers to successful employment transitions. As UN-CRPD signatories, Switzerland and Luxembourg have rarely researched STWT of these individuals; especially, we lack their voices. On the apprenticeship and labor markets, they may suffer from statistical discrimination (employers' stereotypes) and taste-based discrimination (prejudices based on their "otherness"), affecting their transitions, subjectivation process, and subjective well-being. Thus, we compare STWT and passages into adulthood of disabled individuals within the institutional structures of education systems and labor markets, from the perspectives of young people themselves, of psychosocial service providers, and of employers. We seek to identify drivers and barriers to successful transitions and SWB, as well as potential solutions.

Using a mixed-methods approach combining quantitative, qualitative, and comparative methodologies provides a more holistic view. Young people will contribute their biographical life-course reflections via interviews, practitioners will provide their perspectives via in-depth expert interviews, and employers' will convey their attitudes and expectations through a factorial survey design that asks human resources personnel to rate vignettes of potential applicants with various characteristics and their fit to identified vacancies in their firms.

Innovative aspects include actively integrating the contrasting perspectives of disabled individuals, employers, and social workers; methodological triangulation; a qualitative panel design; a factorial survey; and, finally, comparative institutional analysis. The study will examine the

effects of contexts and disability classification and status through a binary comparative design (Ragin 1987). Key indicators are participation in school settings (inclusion index), attainment levels, employment statistics, policy expenditures, UN-CRPD reports, qualitative surveys (to measure subjective well-being), and occupational agency and transition supports revealed through biographical case studies. Comparative analysis will reveal opportunity structures and path dependencies in both countries.

The comparison focuses on skill formation systems and education-employment linkages in two European countries. Luxembourg's economy has shifted from agriculture to steelmaking to financial services and European bureaucracy, now also ICT and e-commerce, automotive, logistics, and space. Switzerland remains productive with SMEs as well as global players in financial services, pharmaceuticals and life sciences, machinery and precision instruments, food, and tourism. Historical nation-state building, economic structures, and governance impact skill formation system changes in small countries (Graf 2021). Both Luxembourg and Switzerland incorporate elements of French and German educational models (Graf/Tröhler 2017; Heidenheimer 1997).

Comparing Luxembourg and Switzerland: Advancing Inclusion or Persistent Disablement?

We briefly describe the institutional contexts before comparing them. Luxembourg exhibits a multilingual space and a bricolage of elements of the neighboring countries and thus diverse pathways, while maintaining highly selective and stratified schooling (Backes 2018). Its open, high-skill economy—centrally-located within the European Union—has education and welfare systems that combine different models of capitalism (Graf/Gardin 2018). Luxembourg responds to its labor market challenges, including strong growth and needed diversification, through international recruitment and daily mobility, as firms rely heavily on cross-border workers. In terms of inclusion, Luxembourg presents an interesting case (see Powell/Ugen/Pitten Cate 2024). Compulsory education for children and adolescents with disabilities was made official only in 1973, following the UN Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons. Today, Luxembourg's education policy is characterized by financial generosity, expansion (e.g., compulsory schooling will soon be extended to age 18), and, paradoxically, more category-based specialization under the banner of inclusion. As part of the country's education reform efforts, the eight national “competence centers” were formally established in 2017 to offer specialized support and resources for students with SEN, yet these often lack specialized personnel. Its employment policies are also evolving: Since 2003, there has been a guaranteed minimum income for people with disabilities, and in the same year, the legal status of sheltered workplaces was changed. Their employees are entitled to the same labor and social rights as those in the regular job market. Their work is remunerated according to the minimum wage and supplemented with pension benefits. This has led to high inclusion rates in the labor market statistics, with an employment rate of disabled people of 57% (STATEC 2024), while simultaneously stabilizing a parallel structure of sheltered workplaces.

Switzerland's cantonal education systems differ according to their language community (German, French, Italian), yet, overall, they are selective and stratified. With a globally oriented

high-skill economy, Switzerland has SMEs as well as global champions, as does Luxembourg. Switzerland also meets its labor market needs by relying on considerable in-migration and within country daily mobility. In contrast, access to services for disabled individuals is rather traditionally organized through the disability insurance (IV), without considering work within workshop settings as gainful employment. Compulsory schooling is organized at the cantonal level, and the respective forms of special education are well-resourced, but varying considerably within Switzerland's language communities and cantons, lacking harmonization.

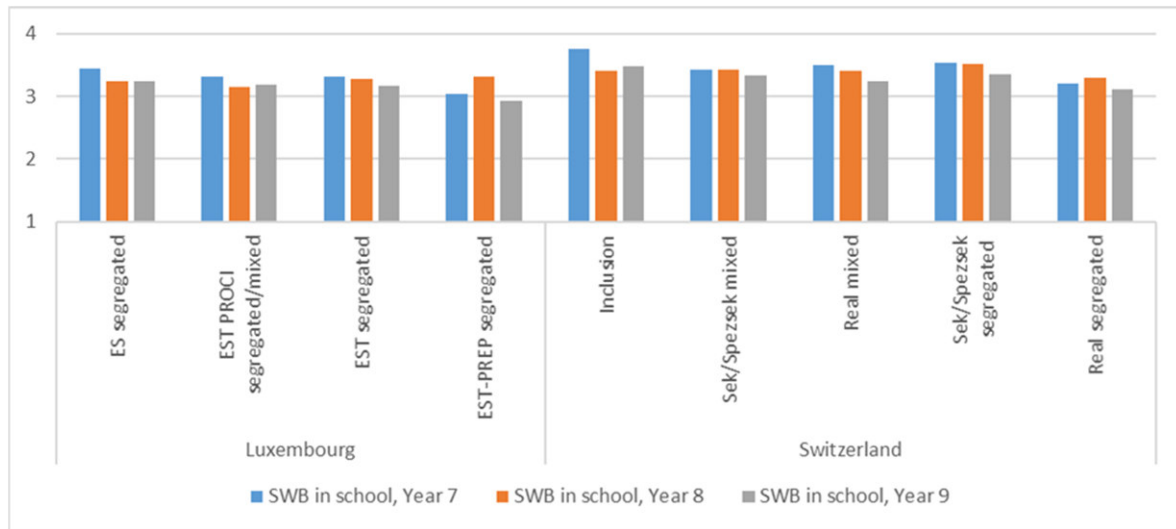
Educational Context, Policies, and Outcomes

Thus, in both countries, examining disadvantaged and disabled youth and their pathways from education and VET to employment reveals tensions and tradeoffs between efficiency and equity, especially as education becomes increasingly important in social policy to strengthen labor market integration and increase social mobility (Carstensen/Emmenegger 2023). Luxembourg and Switzerland have highly selective education systems with early differentiation among multiple levels, akin to Austria, Netherlands, and Germany, unlike the less-stratified systems in Nordic and some post-socialist countries (Bol/van de Werfhorst 2013; Hadjar/Gross 2016). Luxembourg's centralized system (see Backes 2018) contrasts with Switzerland's cantonal diversity, managed by the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Education Directors (EDK), and evident in (special) education participation rates (e.g., Mejuh/Powell 2018; Sahli Lozano/Crameri/Gosteli 2021). Both countries offer compulsory pre-schooling from age four, with comprehensive elementary education without external differentiation. However, school composition varies geographically, affecting migrant and working-class children differently (Mejuh/Powell 2018). Secondary education in Luxembourg begins selection after the sixth grade, while in Switzerland, it usually starts after sixth grade with diverse regional practices (Powell/Hadjar 2018). Both countries' systems are stratified, leading to different pathways, including VET, according to early decisions about recognized educational aptitude and aspirations. Luxembourg's VET system, influenced by French and German models, offers varied technical training but faces high dropout rates, despite reforms (Graf/Tröhler 2017). The Swiss dual VET system integrates firm-based training with school-based components, governed by public and private actors, effectively serving the majority of each cohort (Busemeyer/Trampusch 2012). Adjusted training conditions exist for disabled youth (Tschanz 2021) and various programs of activation exist (Dahmen 2021).

In terms of inclusion and well-being, different school forms or paths in these countries represent distinct socialization environments (Zurbriggen 2016; Powell/Hadjar 2018). Stratified systems with special schools often lead to homogeneous, low-aspiration environments that may negatively impact disadvantaged students (Powell/Wagner 2014; Hadjar/Becker 2016). These contexts further stigmatization and reduce expectations, negatively affecting achievement and biographical agency (Pfahl 2011). While both have ratified the UN-CRPD, its implementation varies: Luxembourg ratified in 2011 yet has few explicitly inclusive schools in a complex multilingual education system with superdiverse student bodies and small class sizes; Switzerland ratified in 2014 and this gradually influences its federal system to harmonize, though challenges in valorizing diversity, driven by considerable in-migration, persist (UNESCO 2020).

The outcomes of differently institutionalized education systems on student subjective well-being (SWB) are compared across different tracks and grades (7, 8, 9) in Luxembourg and Switzerland: Hadjar and Hascher (2018) examined SWB differences across educational settings. Figure 1 shows average SWB scores, adjusted for factors such as gender, socioeconomic background, migrant status, and achievement, ensuring that the differences are more likely due to institutional factors rather than student composition or selection effects.

Figure 1: Students’ Subjective Well-being in Different Educational Settings in Luxembourg and Switzerland



Data source: School Alienation in Switzerland and Luxembourg (SASAL) database.

Within these countries, students’ SWB differs significantly between different educational settings, as shown by confidence intervals and post-hoc tests. In Luxembourg, the low-aspiration track EST-PREP differs significantly from the academic track ES in Years 7 and 9, even after accounting for student composition and achievement level. In Switzerland, a significant difference is found in Year 7 between students in the inclusive school track and those in the low-aspiration track. The decline in SWB and differences between Switzerland and Luxembourg are not significant within the confidence intervals, suggesting the impact of institutional settings.

Empirical Illustration of Young Workers’ Well-Being

Youth unemployment is notably high among disadvantaged and disabled youth. EU trends show that youth unemployment rates fluctuate around 16% in 2008 to 25% in 2013 and back to nearly 16% in 2021 (EUROSTAT 2021). Employment contexts for young people with disabilities vary widely, from specialized organizations to regular labor market jobs with minor adjustments. Analyzing 31 European countries using microdata from the rotating panels of the European Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) to examine how education and disability interact and influence STWT underscored that diverse pathways and STWT—exist even among the German-speaking countries of Austria, Germany, Luxembourg, and Switzerland (see Blanck/Brzinsky-Fay/Powell 2024).

In Luxembourg, VET absorbs many youth from low SES backgrounds and with migration experiences, but those with disabilities are less integrated due to lowered curricular offerings in special education and monolingual settings they attend in neighboring countries: this disadvantages them in Luxembourg's multilingual labor market (Graf/Tröhler 2017). In Switzerland, the implementation of activation measures is locally interpreted and mediated by institutional logics and situational demands (Dahmen 2021: 265). This leads to immense heterogeneity in individual pathways as well as in educational and occupational experiences.

These analyses show that young people with disabilities report lower SWB and job satisfaction compared to non-disabled peers. Some disadvantages stem from health issues, while others are substantially due to barrier-filled and discriminatory contexts as well as policies, including actions by social service professionals, that impact youth (Pfahl 2011; Blanck 2020; Dahmen 2021). As Dahmen (2021) emphasizes, many measures in transition systems, such as competency assessments, do not compensate for unequal school careers, but rather facilitate measures that legitimate 'cooling out' processes, shifting responsibility from institutional gatekeepers to individuals, who are then blamed for their difficult transitions.

Thus, further research must isolate the effects of specific kinds of institutional and organizational barriers that disable and (negatively) affect well-being; identify similar contextual clusters; and distill the relevant country-specific pathways of STWT—relying on panel data to adjust for individual heterogeneity and uncover the mechanisms driving these processes; ideally finding those factors that lead to success against the odds.

Welfare State Regime(s), Disability, and Disadvantage: Disparities in Education, Transitions, and Employment

Discursively and legally, inclusive education has become a global norm. It is supported by the broad recognition of encompassing human rights; however, implementation is challenged by the persistence of structures and cultures that pose myriad barriers to inclusion (Powell 2016). Paradoxically, inclusive education has been defined and implemented as the expansion of special education (systems), in contexts as different as Germany and Nigeria (Biermann 2022). Engaging student diversity to enhance learning and supporting each individual learner to reach their learning goals are age-old and continuously challenging tasks for teachers in schools everywhere. Across Europe, significant variation exists in the extent and quality of special and inclusive education, reflecting diverse institutionalizations evident in organizational settings and practices (Powell 2016; European Commission 2017; Köpfer/Powell/Zahnd 2021). Since the worldwide ratification of the UN-CRPD (2006–today), which clearly defines the right to inclusive education (Art. 24) throughout the life course, education systems increasingly face the challenge to develop inclusive cultures, structures, and practices by “de-institutionalizing” those that separate or segregate and thus usually stigmatize learners (Powell 2024). This contrasts with the Sustainable Developmental Goal (SDG) 4 to “ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning” (UN 2015), underscoring the necessity of considering permeability and pathways through and transitions across institutional and organizational boundaries.

The proportion of students classified as needing additional supports to access the curriculum has been on the rise for decades, paradoxically not slowed by the emphasis on inclusive education and ratification of the UN-CRPD (Blanck/Edelstein/Powell 2013; Biermann 2022). This growing group is of great interest due to their marginalization and the long-term effects of classification and official disability status on their life chances. National studies increasingly leverage important national longitudinal data on STWT and on the labor market inclusion of persons with disabilities (e.g., Reims/Schels 2021). Yet, comparative research on varying contexts remains rare, especially studies that address STWT as processes with sequences, with specific experiential qualities shaping identities, rather than measuring primarily inputs and/or outputs, e.g., shares of students in segregated special schools, public spending on “incapacity”, or education attainment rates (Blanck/Brzinsky-Fay/Powell 2024): Even among four German-speaking countries, we find important variation in STWT. More in-depth comparative and longitudinal studies, such as the PATH_CH-LUX project, are needed to understand the impact of institutional contexts in shaping STWT of persons with disabilities, especially analysis of processes shaped by the interaction of institutional, organizational, and individual characteristics (on Switzerland, see Dahmen 2021; Tschanz 2021). Transitions research should integrate domains that, despite being interrelated, are usually kept separate: a challenge extending from effective service delivery and supports to research on transitions that acknowledges historical dynamics, multi-level complexity, and contextual diversity.

As do education policies, disability policies vary considerably across Europe (Maschke 2008). Disability policy regimes consist of bundles of policies and institutions that structure complex educational, employment, and care arrangements. They govern disability and simultaneously affect disablement, the process of “becoming disabled,” in various spheres of life. Tschanz (2021) groups European countries in a disability policy typology that uncovers trade-offs between welfare and labor market integration or redistributive and rights-based policy approaches. Disability regimes combine three major components, with countries having different emphases: liberal (civil rights), conservative-corporatist (labor market integration), or social-democratic (social protection). Luxembourg and Switzerland are hybrids that reflect the liberal and conservative emphases instead of a balance of all three (as in Sweden, for example) (see also Dahmen 2021).

Among the most highly valued outcomes of welfare state regimes are participation in education and work and the resultant well-being. Hadjar and Kotitschke (2021) show in multilevel analyses using European Social Survey (ESS) data for 31 European countries that the type of welfare-state regime shapes SWB disparities and affects the persistent gaps between people with and without disabilities across numerous measures. While disability continues to be an under-researched axis of inequality (Chatzitheochari/Velthuis/Connelly 2022), it shows particularly clearly how certain groups do not have the same opportunities as others to acquire resources, to achieve instrumental goals, or to attain well-being. Contrasting levels, types, and qualities of participation in education, training, and employment bring about these persistent disparities. Welfare state regimes, and especially education and work institutions, shape SWB and explain important intergroup differences and individual trajectories in specific contexts and time periods. Individuals directly transitioning from VET into the labor market have higher SWB later in life than those who prematurely ended their training and did not return to formal education

(Michaelis/Findeisen 2024). People with disabilities demonstrate significantly lower SWB overall—and this is especially true for those living in conservative or liberal welfare states, including Luxembourg and Switzerland (see Hadjar/Kotitschke 2021). In an era of rising educational attainment and upskilling, the fortunes of youth with disabilities will emphasize risks faced by all those afforded fewer learning opportunities, including from low SES and/or migration backgrounds. This raises the issue of who legitimately should and does receive additional resources and needed support to succeed in education and training.

Distributive Dilemmas: Factors Affecting Educational Pathways and Subjective Well-Being

Education and social policies suffer from a “distributive dilemma” (Stone 1984), reflected in the trade-offs of providing additional resources and labeling certain characteristics, which often leads to numerous negative factors, including stigmatization, bullying, segregation, institutional discrimination, and poverty (Powell 2016; Chatzitheochari/Parsons/Platt 2016; Blanck 2020). This dilemma could be mitigated by the recognition of universal needs and of disability as a universal human condition and universalistic disability policy (Zola 1989). European countries with highly stratified and selective secondary schooling often maintain segregated or separate settings, which further increases the “not in education, employment or training” (NEET) risk faced by these disadvantaged and disabled young adults (Heisig/Elbers/Solga 2020; Blanck/Brzinsky-Fay/Powell 2024).

This relates to a widely observed paradox in international transitions research: Despite many employers providing more support to disabled employees than legally required, levels of successful inclusion into labor markets remain quite low. Young people with disabilities receive support for STWT from social service professionals who act as gatekeepers (such as HR professionals and social workers), yet this support often involves negative labelling effects (Pfahl 2011) and less successful integration (Blanck 2020). Ableist discourses also may lead disabled people and gatekeepers to have diminished expectations for labor market success, as many do in education.

Comparison of highly-segregated systems, such as Switzerland, with moderately segregated systems as in Luxembourg, and more fully inclusive systems, such as Norway or Italy, underscore that the European educational space is shifting from binary systems to the “continuum” model of differentiated settings—from complete exclusion via segregation and separation to integration and, finally, inclusion—implying qualitatively enhanced and diversity-oriented instruction of all students together in common classrooms; however difficult to measure (see, e.g., EASNIE 2020). The key challenges of inclusion in education persist: Providing common learning spaces and access to curricula for learners of different social and ethnic origins, different group affiliations, and abilities. Thus, a key policy goal is the creation of equalized conditions regarding the chances of acquiring educational qualifications that are coveted and/or considered essential in labor markets. One such prerequisite for achieving the stated objectives is encouraging experiences of schoolchildren and youth associated with strong biographical agency and high SWB, which has recently received considerable attention in research and policymaking. Indeed, inclusion should promote learning environments in which pupils can have positive

experiences, feel comfortable, and reduce stigmatization, which so often has negative consequences for educational careers and life chances (Pfahl 2011; Chatzitheochari/Butler-Rees 2023).

Outlook

In both Luxembourg and Switzerland, selective and stratified education systems continue to reproduce social inequalities, with current reforms failing to fundamentally address myriad barriers to inclusion. Yet, the planned comparative analyses are needed to reveal differences that matter, such as ideals of equity and inclusion, and resources, especially given Luxembourg's centralized system that emphasizes financial support in contrast to Switzerland's decentralized model that manifests significant variability in service provision. The PATH_CH-LUX project thus applies a mixed-methods approach to understand the diverse perspectives of disabled individuals, practitioners, and employers in both countries, who emphasize the need for effective governance and coordination across levels of education and between the institutions of education and employment to facilitate successful transitions.

The inclusion of disadvantaged and disabled individuals in education and employment systems presents significant challenges—and opportunities. The complexities of achieving efficiency, equity, and inclusion in this under-researched area highlight the continued need for comparative research—and for transformative change within welfare-state regimes. Implementing an overarching logic of inclusion continues to be challenging due to limited coordination between educational and social policies, as well as the lack of effective VET programs that could support successful transitions. School-to-work transitions for youth with disabilities are particularly fraught, often hindered by historical marginalization and structural and attitudinal barriers (explored in the vignette study and factorial survey of employers). While VET programs are essential to bridge gaps between education and employment (Tschanz/Powell 2020), they frequently fall short in addressing cumulative disadvantages. As inclusive policies increasingly align with human rights frameworks, overcoming institutional and cultural barriers remains critical. The well-being of disabled individuals is closely linked to their educational and employment experiences, and addressing negative labeling and stigmatization, often due to segregated or separate settings, is vital to enhance their life chances (Pfahl 2011). Moreover, social service professionals may be crucial in supporting transitions, yet in their role as street level bureaucrats, they also may contribute to negative labeling and reduced expectations (Blanck 2020). Continued research is essential to explore the impact of different contextual conditions upon these transitions and to ensure that policies actually foster more equitable and inclusive opportunities for all.

Ultimately, effective policies must address the interconnectedness of education, vocational training, and labor market systems to create inclusive and equitable opportunities for all individuals, particularly those with disabilities. Incremental adjustments are unlikely to secure comprehensive inclusive education and training opportunities; instead, transformative reforms are necessary to valorize diversity, create subjectivation processes with strong occupational agency, and increase well-being across the life course. Continuous fact-finding and debates are needed about principles and values of educational and social inclusion in relation to occupational non-

discrimination and equity, which translates into life course patterns with high degrees of biographical and occupational agency (Traue/Pfahl 2020) and sufficient well-being (Hadjar/Ko-titschke 2021). Our country studies and their explicit comparison will explore aspects of complementary, competitive or contradictory relations between education and employment and the lack of coordination across institutions, i.e., how early tracking and segregated special education often lead to segregated labor market settings, such as sheltered workshops. VET potentially offers crucial bridges and permeability; however, skill formation programs only partially compensate for accumulated disadvantages in these selective and stratified education systems.

In neither country do current educational policy reforms fundamentally address the characteristics of education and employment systems and the logics, such as segregation, that are key barriers to inclusion. Rather than transforming structures, cultures, and practices to valorize the diversity of students, which has increased with steady immigration to meet the needs of expanding, high-skill labor markets, skill formation regimes are paradoxically causing growth in classification as “having SEN” and segregation rates. Since selective, stratified schooling reproduces inequalities, educational policies and systems would need radical reforms to allow both vertical and horizontal permeability (Backes/Hadjar 2016: 439). Not inclusion, but rather continued separation and segregation continue to limit the learning opportunities for disadvantaged students and those with disabilities. Yet, some individuals do construct their own pathways into the labor market and succeed against the odds. It is from their biographical experiences, essential supports and services, and employers that we seek to learn how to advance inclusion and reduce persistent disablement in school-to-work transitions.

Acknowledgements

We thank the editors for their interest, support, and comments, and Lena Schürmann for her helpful review of the penultimate draft.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

We gratefully acknowledge the funding received from the Luxembourg National Research Fund (FNR) and the Swiss National Research Foundation (SNF) for the project “Pathways into the Labor Market of Young People with Disabilities in Switzerland and Luxembourg: Drivers of and Barriers to Successful Transitions” (PATH_CH-LUX) presented here.

References

- Althusser, Louis (1995). *Sur la reproduction*. Paris: PUF.
- Backes, Susanne and Andreas Hadjar (2017). Educational trajectories through secondary education in Luxembourg. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Bildungswissenschaften*, 39(3): 437–460.
- Blanck, Jonna M. (2021). *Übergänge nach der Schule als "zweite Chance"?* Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.
- Blanck, Jonna M., Christian Brzinsky-Fay and Justin J.W. Powell (2024). Behinderte Übergänge? Bildung und Behinderung beim Übergang in den Arbeitsmarkt in europäischen Ländern. *Zeitschrift für Inklusion*, 19(4), 1–25. Accessed 12/20/2024 at <https://www.inklusion-online.net/index.php/inklusion-online/article/view/803>
- Bonoli, Giuliano and Patrick Emmenegger (2020). The limits of decentralized cooperation: Promoting inclusiveness in collective skill formation systems? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 28(2): 229–247. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2020.1716831>)
- Bonvin, Jean-Michel and Stephan Dahmen (2017). The Swiss welfare state system. In Christian Aspalter (Ed.), *Routledge International Handbook to Welfare State Systems* (pp. 274–290). London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Jean-Claude Passeron (1970). *La reproduction*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.
- Burger, Kaspar and Robin Samuel (2017). The role of perceived stress and self-efficacy in young people's life satisfaction. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 46(1): 78–90.
- Bussemeyer, Marius R. and Christine Trampusch (Eds.) (2012). *The Political Economy of Collective Skill Formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carstensen, Martin B. and Patrick Emmenegger (2023). Education as social policy. *Social Policy & Administration*, 57(2): 109–121. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/spol.12888>)
- Chatzitheochari, Stella, Samatha Powers and Lucinda Platt (2016). Doubly disadvantaged? Bullying experiences among disabled children and young people in England. *Sociology*, 50(4): 695–713. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038515574813>)
- Chatzitheochari, Stella and Angharad Butler-Rees (2023). Disability, social class and stigma. *Sociology*, 57(5): 1156–1174. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380385221133710>)
- Chatzitheochari, Stella, Suzanne Velthuis and Roxanne Connelly (2022). Childhood disability, social class and social mobility. *British Journal of Sociology*, 73(5): 959–966. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12974>)
- Czedik, Stephanie, Lisa Pfahl and Boris Traue (2021). (In)capacité au travail? Organisation et fonctionnement des ateliers pour personnes en situation de handicap en Allemagne. *Alter*, 15(02): (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alter.2021.07.002>)
- DAB Panel Study (DAB): W1 - W8 [Dataset]. Universität Bern, Institut für Erziehungswissenschaft, Abteilung Bildungssoziologie. Distributed by SWISSUbase, Lausanne, 2022. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.48573/cf4p-6s72>)
- Dahmen, Stephan (2021). *Regulating Transitions from School to Work*. Bielefeld: Bielefeld University Press.

- Di Maio, Gina, Lukas Graf and Anna Wilson (2019). Torn between economic efficiency and social equality? Short-track apprenticeships in Denmark, Germany and Switzerland. *European Educational Research Journal*, 18(6): 699–723. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474904119869561>)
- EASNIE (2018). Evidence of the link between inclusive education and social inclusion. Odense, DK: European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education.
- EASNIE (2020). *Cross-Country Report 2020-2021*. Odense, DK: European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education.
- Eckhart, Michael, Urs Haerberlin, Caroline Sahli Lozano and Philippe Blanc (2011). *Langzeitwirkungen der schulischen Integration*. Bern: Haupt.
- Eurostat online—Youth unemployment rates, EU and EA (code: une_rt_m), Accessed 12/20/2024 at https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Unemployment_statistics#Youth_unemployment
- Findeisen, Sarah, Andreas Jüttler, Markus P. Neuenschwander and Stephan Schumann (2022). Transition from school to work – Explaining persistence intention in VET in Switzerland. *Vocations and Learning*, 15: 129–154. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12186-021-09282-4>)
- Goldan, Janka, Lena Nusser and Michael Gebel (2022). School-related subjective well-being of children with and without special educational needs in inclusive classrooms. *Child Indicators Research*, 15: 1313–1337. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-022-09914-8>)
- Graf, Lukas (2021). How country size matters for institutional change: Comparing skill formation policies in Germany and Switzerland. *Comparative Education*, 57(4), 474–495. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2021.1961354>)
- Graf, Lukas and Mathias Gardin (2018). Transnational skills development in post-industrial knowledge economies: The case of Luxembourg and the Greater Region. *Journal of Education and Work*, 31(1): 1–15. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639080.2017.1408954>)
- Graf, Lukas and Daniel Tröhler (2017). Skill development at the nexus of the French and German educational models: The case of Luxembourg. In: Tavis D. Jules and Ressler Patrick (Eds.), *Re-Reading Education Policy and Practice in Small States*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 133–147.
- Hadjar, Andreas and Edith Kotitschke (2021). How the welfare-state regime shapes the gap in subjective well-being between people with and without disabilities. *KZfSS*, 73, 501–525. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11577-021-00805-4>)
- Hadjar, Andreas and Rolf Becker (Eds.). (2009). *Expected and Unexpected Consequences of the Educational Expansion in Europe and the USA*. Bern: Haupt.
- Halvorsen, Rune and Bjørn Hvinden (2018). Youth, diversity and employment in times of crisis and economic restructuring. In Rune Halvorsen and Bjørn Hvinden (Eds.), *Youth, diversity and employment* (pp. 1–31). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Hascher, Tina and Andreas Hadjar (2018). School alienation—Theoretical approaches and educational research. *Educational Research*, 60(2), 171–188. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131881.2018.1443021>)
- Heidenheimer, Arnold J. (1997). *Disparate Ladders: Why School Policies Differ in Germany, Japan, and Switzerland*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

- Heisig, Jan-Paul, Benjamin Elbers, and Heike Solga (2020): Cross-national differences in social background effects on educational attainment and achievement. *Compare* 50(2): 165-184. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2019.1677455>)
- Heyer, Katharina (2021). What is a human right to inclusive education? In Andreas Köpfer, Justin J.W. Powell, and Raphael Zahnd (Eds.), *International Handbook of Inclusive Education* (pp. 45-57). Opladen: Barbara Budrich.
- Imdorf, Christian (2005). *Schulqualifikation und Berufsfindung*. Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Jenkins, Richard (1991): Disability and Social Stratification. *British Journal of Sociology* 42(4): 557–580. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/591447>)
- Kriesi, Irene and Jürg Schweri (2019). Types of education, achievement and labour market integration over the life course. *Social Inclusion*, 7(3), 58–64. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v7i3.2397>)
- Ludwig-Mayerhofer, Wolfgang, Reinhard Pollak, Heike Solga, Laura Menze, Kathrin Leuze, Rosine Edelstein et al. (2019). Vocational education and training and transitions into the labor market. In Hans-Peter Blossfeld and Hans-Günther Roßbach (Eds.), *Education as a Lifelong Process* (3rd ed.) (pp. 277–295). Wiesbaden: Springer. (DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-23162-0_15)
- Mayer, Karl Ulrich and Heike Solga (Eds.) (2008). *Skill Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Menze, Laura, Heike Solga, and Reinhard Pollak (2023). Long-term scarring from institutional labelling: The risk of NEET of students from schools for learning disabilities in Germany. *Acta Sociologica*, 66(3), 289–306. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/00016993221114257>)
- Michaelis, Cornelia and Sarah Findeisen (2024). Long-term effects of different VET-to-labor market transition patterns on subjective well-being. *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaften* 27, 393–419. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11618-023-01213-4>)
- Neuenschwander, Markus P. (1996). *Entwicklung und Identität im Jugendalter*. Bern: Haupt.
- OECD (2023). *OECD Skills Strategy Luxembourg*. Paris: OECD Publishing. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1787/92d891a4-en>)
- Ormel, Johan, Siegwart Lindenberg, Nardi Steverink, and Lois M. Verbrugge (1999). Subjective well-being and social production functions. *Social Indicators Research*, 46, 61-90. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1006907811502>)
- Otmani, Ihssane (2024). Tensions during the implementation of integration policy in Switzerland. *Sozialpolitik.ch* 1/2024: 1.5. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18753/2297-8224-4433>)
- Pfahl, Lisa (2011). *Techniken der Behinderung: Der deutsche Lernbehinderungsdiskurs, die Sonderschule und ihre Auswirkungen auf Bildungsbiografien*. Bielefeld: Transcript.
- Pigeron-Piroth, Isabelle and Christian Wille (2019). Le travail frontalier dans une optique comparative: contextes et enjeux. In: *Borders in Perspective – UniGR-CBS cahier thématique. Les travailleurs frontaliers au Luxembourg et en Suisse. Vol. 2: pp. 9–12.* (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25353/ubtr-xxxx-2824-db4c>)
- Powell, Justin J.W. (2016 [2011]). *Barriers to Inclusion: Special Education in the United States and Germany*. Abingdon: Routledge.

- Powell, Justin J.W. (2024). Persistent paradox? Die Institutionalisierung der Inklusion ohne Deinstitutionalisierung der Segregation. In: Rita Casale, Fabian Kessler, Nicolle Pfaff, Martina Richter, and Anja Tervooren (Eds.): *(De)Institutionalisierung von Bildung und Erziehung* (pp. 231–251). Frankfurt am Main: Campus.
- Powell, Justin J.W. and Jonna M. Blanck (2023). The Nexus of Dis/Ability, Education, and Social Inequality: Vocational Training and Higher Education in Germany. *Sozialpolitik.ch* 1/2023: (DOI: doi.org/10.18753/2297-8224-4029)
- Powell, Justin J.W. and Andreas Hadjar (2018). Schulische Inklusion in Deutschland, Luxemburg und der Schweiz: Aktuelle Bedingungen und Herausforderungen. In: Rathmann, Klaus and Hurrelmann, Klaus (Eds.): *Leistung und Wohlbefinden in der Schule: Herausforderung Inklusion* (pp. 46–64). Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.
- Powell, Justin J.W., Sonja Ugen and Ineke M. Pitten Cate (2024). Diversität, Gerechtigkeit und Inklusion im luxemburgischen Bildungssystem. *Bildungsbericht Luxemburg 2024* (pp. 16–21). Esch/Alzette: University of Luxembourg. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.48746/bb2024lu-de-2>)
- Ragin, Charles C. (1987). *The Comparative Method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ralston, Kevin, Zhiqiang Feng, Dawn Everington and Chris Dibben (2016). Do young people not in education, employment or training experience long-term occupational scarring? *Contemporary Social Science*, 11:2-3, 203–221. (DOI: doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2016.1194452)
- Reims, Nadine and Brigitte Schels (2023). Typical school-to-work transitions of young adults with disabilities in Germany. *Disability and Rehabilitation*, 44(20): 5834–5846. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09638288.2021.1948115>)
- Richardson, John G. and Justin J.W. Powell (2011). *Comparing Special Education: Origins to Contemporary Paradoxes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Sahli Lozano, Caroline, Stefania Cramer and Dshamilja Adeifio Gosteli (2021). *Integrative und separative schulische Massnahmen in der Schweiz (InSeMa) Kantonale Vergabe und Umsetzungsrichtlinien*. Bern: Edition SZH/CSPS.
- Samuel, Robin and Andreas Hadjar (2016). How Welfare-State Regimes Shape Subjective Well-Being Across Europe. *Social Indicators Research* 129(2): 565–587. doi: 10.1007/s11205-015-1125-0
- Sandel, Michael (2020). *The Tyranny of Merit*. New York: Penguin.
- Scott, W. Richard (2013). *Institutions and Organizations*. London: Sage.
- Solga, Heike (2014). Education, economic inequality and the promises of the social investment state. *Socio-Economic Review*, 12(2): 269–297. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwu014>)
- Sozio, Maurizio, Angelo Procopio and Robin Samuel (2020). Youth Survey Luxembourg. Technical Report 2019. Esch/Alzette : University of Luxembourg.
- STATEC (2020). Le Luxembourg en chiffres 2020. Luxembourg. Accessed 12/20/2024 at <https://statistiques.public.lu/catalogue-publications/luxembourg-en-chiffres/2020/luxembourg-chiffres.pdf>
- Stone, Deborah A. (1984). *The Disabled State*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Thelen, Kathleen (2014). *Varieties of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Thornton, Patricia H. and William Ocasio (2008). Institutional logics. In Royston Greenwood, Christine Oliver, Roy Suddaby, and Kerstin Sahlin (Eds.), *SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism* (pp. 99–129). London: SAGE.
- Thornton, Patricia H., William Ocasio and Michael Lounsbury (2012). *The Institutional Logics Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tomlinson, Sally (2017). *A Sociology of Special and Inclusive Education*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Traue, Boris and Lisa Pfahl (2020): Multi-perspective optimization. Umriss eines eigenständigen Optimierungskonzepts in den Bildungswissenschaften und der Sozialen Arbeit. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 66(1), 36–47.
- Traue, Boris and Lisa Pfahl (2022). What is subjectivation? In Sasa Bosančić, Frank Brodersen, Lisa Pfahl, Lena Schürmann, Tanja Spies, and Boris Traue (Eds.), *Following the Subject: Subjektivierung und Gesellschaft/Studies in Subjectivation* (pp. 25–44). Wiesbaden: Springer.
- TREE (2021). Transitions from Education to Employment, Cohort 2 (TREE2), Panel waves 0-2 (2016-2018) [Dataset]. University of Bern. Distributed by FORS, Lausanne. DOI: (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23662/FORS-DS-1255-1>)
- Tschanz, Christoph (2021). Real Distributive and Emancipatory Dilemmas within Disability Policy Regimes: Comparative Perspectives with a Focus on Switzerland. Dissertation, University of Fribourg, Switzerland.
- Tschanz, Christoph and Justin J.W. Powell (2020). Competing institutional logics and paradoxical universalism in disabled people's school-to-work transitions: Comparing Switzerland and the United States. *Social Inclusion* 8(1): 155–167. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i1.2373>)
- Wells, Thomas, Gary D. Sandefur and Dennis P. Hogan (2003). What happens after the high school years among young persons with disabilities? *Social Forces*, 82(2), 803–832. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2004.0029>)
- Zola, Irving K. (1989). Toward the necessary universalizing of a disability policy. *The Milbank Quarterly*, 67(2), 401–428. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0009.2005.00436.x>)
- Zurbriggen, Carmen L.A. (2016). *Schulklasseneffekte*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Zurbriggen, Carmen L.A., Martin Venetz and Chantal Hinni (2018). The quality of experience of students with and without special educational needs in everyday life and when relating to peers. *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, 33(2), 205–220. (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/08856257.2018.1424777>)