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Comparative political perspectives of adult education – subsuming to qualification & competence strategies or searching for new missions?

Paper at 6th Nordic Conference on Adult Education and Learning “Adult Education and the Planetary Condition” 25.-27.3.2015, Tampere, Finland

Introduction

This contribution reports about a project in Austria asking how the NQF should be considered/used for the development of non-vocational (NV) AE in a strategy for Lifelong Learning. Or putting the question more specifically: Can the NQF help for development of NVAE? Methodically the project is based on comparative review of experience about NQF and NVAE looking at policy documents as well as the academic literature. Because of its wide scale the project turned out somehow as an ‘unended work in progress’, as the policies and consequently the literature is dynamically progressing. At this stage the reporting is based on a search of 2012, and will be further updated based on new documents. What is meant by NVAE could also be named differently, e.g. the concept is used interchangeably also for general adult education, popular adult education, or liberal adult education, as the sector is named in different countries or cultures (the term ‘non vocational’ is considered as giving a kind of common denominator, to draw the distinction to vocational and directly employment related continuing education).

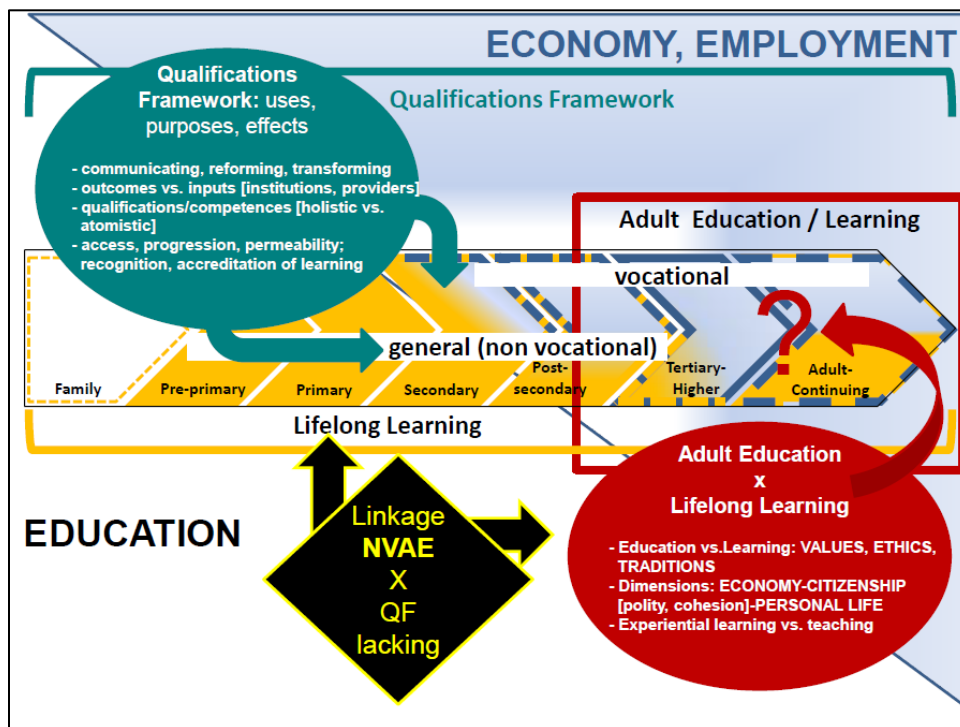
Questions and discourses

The main more general question at the background is: How can NVAE be developed and supported in a lifelong learning strategy? This not only includes questioning the role of the NQF but also asking which kinds of measures or strategies would be additionally or alternatively necessary. Basically, the review did not find material about the relationship NQF and NVAE, and generally

little material about NVAE was found. As one result the literature search found 2 discourses, not one: the relationship between the {NQF and NVAE} is actually addressed by two distinct bodies of literature (fig 1 illustrates the complex arrangement of the project):

- One discourse about {NQF and LLL}, in turn comprising two quite separate and different discourses, one that could be termed advocacy of the NQF in a more applied and policy related sense, the other including the critical academic literature about the meaning and impact of qualification frameworks; NVAE is covered only very marginally in these bodies of literature. The main topics are how the ‘outcome orientation’ and the new focus on the formulation and assessment of competenc(i)es would influence the development of education and training in a wide sense. Advocates point to the increase of effective learning and accessibility of education by qualifications frameworks, whereas the critical academic literature has argued that the basic mission of the new outcome orientation would undermine the institutional bases of education (termed the ‘supply side’ by advocates) and subsume the professional role of educators (termed ‘input oriented’) under the leading roles of policy makers and the enterprise sector representing the ‘demand side’.

Fig 1: Approach and topics of the research project



Source: own picture

- Another discourse about {LLL and NVAE}, that critically analyses how the new policy paradigm of Lifelong Learning would be related to the established meanings and discourses about Adult Education. LLL is mainly seen in a wider context of the ‘economization’ of society and politics in a neoliberal discourse that puts emphasis on the pragmatic and utilitarian purposes of employment related learning, and discards the wider educational missions of traditional adult education related to ‘enlightenment’ and its established social and political dimensions (whereby enlightenment would particularly also include reasoning about the purposes of the economy and the wider consequences of putting the imperative of economic growth over all other aspects of society).

The main linkage of the NQF to adult education is going through the newly proposed practices and frameworks of assessment and recognition of results of learning outside the formal education provision. Notwithstanding that general idea that the dominance of the documented results from formal education frameworks over informal learning is biased and questionable, the implications and effects of the assessment and recognition approaches are also put under question and are ambiguous in their effects on adult education. The emphasis on learning over education puts the role of educational institutions under scrutiny, and as some argue, undermines trust in the professional authority of the education institutions based on – sometimes fundamentalist – neoliberal preferences for the market over institutions (e.g., M.Young).¹ Clearly, if someone owns competenc(i)es which are needed for progression in education or employment and have been acquired outside educational institutions but are not certified, this should be recognized without any additional costs for ‘learning’ what is already there. However, the quite substantial costs of assessment are often underestimated (P.Werquin). The institutional separation of summative assessment on the one hand, and teaching-learning in educational programmes on the other, is also criticized for having not only positive consequences to education. Important issues are the methodological problems in assessment, possibly leading to reductionist formulations of competenc(i)es assessment practices, and the establishment of ‘teaching to the test’ practices by

¹ Young, M./Allais, S. (2009): Conceptualizing the role of qualifications in education reform. In: Allais, S./Young, M./Raffe, D. (eds.): Researching Qualifications Frameworks: Some conceptual issues. ILO Employment Sector Working Paper Number 44, pp. 5-22.

educators, which overall might lead to the paradox of better assessment of worse learning outcomes.

Structures of adult education and NQF policies

A basic premise of the research has been that an assessment of the (potential) effects of NQFs for NVAE can only be done reasonably if the basic structures of education are taken into account, or – in other words – that an interaction between NQF policies and the existing educational frameworks must be expected. This means that not only NQF policies must be analysed, but to in order to get a view of the interaction, the basic educational structures must also be identified and analysed. This premise has put an additional burden on the project, as it means that national discourses and policies cannot be taken as such as inputs for comparison and learning, but must first be understood on the basis of the underlying structures which are normally taken for granted in national analyses and discourses. Next, different approaches towards NQF policies must be taken into account, e.g., how much the frameworks are devised only to document the national structures, or to which degree they should have an impact on the change of existing structures. Some authors have expected that the establishment of NQFs would have an automatic impact on change if outcome orientation is taken seriously, as this would gear attention away from inputs towards results, and would also automatically give the learners and the stakeholders from the ‘demand side’ (i.e. employers) a stronger position vis-à-vis the providers at the ‘input side’ (educationalists).

A well-known issue in this context is that different conceptions of competence exist in different cultures, e.g. in the U.K. as compared to Germany. For the question of the project, of how NQF policies could support (or hamper) NVAE, the hypothesis was taken that the effects of NQF policies would very much depend on the existing strength of NVAE in an overall framework of education. The idea by Michael Young and Stephanie Allais (2011)² that the neoliberal policy

² Young, Michael/Allais, Stephanie (2011): The shift to outcomes based frameworks: Key problems from a critical perspective. In: Austrian Open Access Journal of Adult Education. Issue 14, 2011. Vienna. Online:

towards outcome orientation would be geared towards a weakening of the educational institutions by questioning their professional authority implies that this weakening impact would be less serious on strong institutions than on weaker ones. Their argument is based on the comparison of ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries, but can be extended to different sectors of education also: we can assume that the formal education system for the young is more strongly institutionalised than adult education everywhere, so effects of NQF policies can be expected to be different for these sectors. Concerning different sectors within adult education the question is more tricky, and also leads us to some basic appraisals: can we assume different degrees of institutionalisation of different sectors of adult education? Can we expect a certain relationship between vocational and employment related continuing education and NVAE? Is the latter as a rule more weakly institutionalised than the former? And how can we assess these relationships?

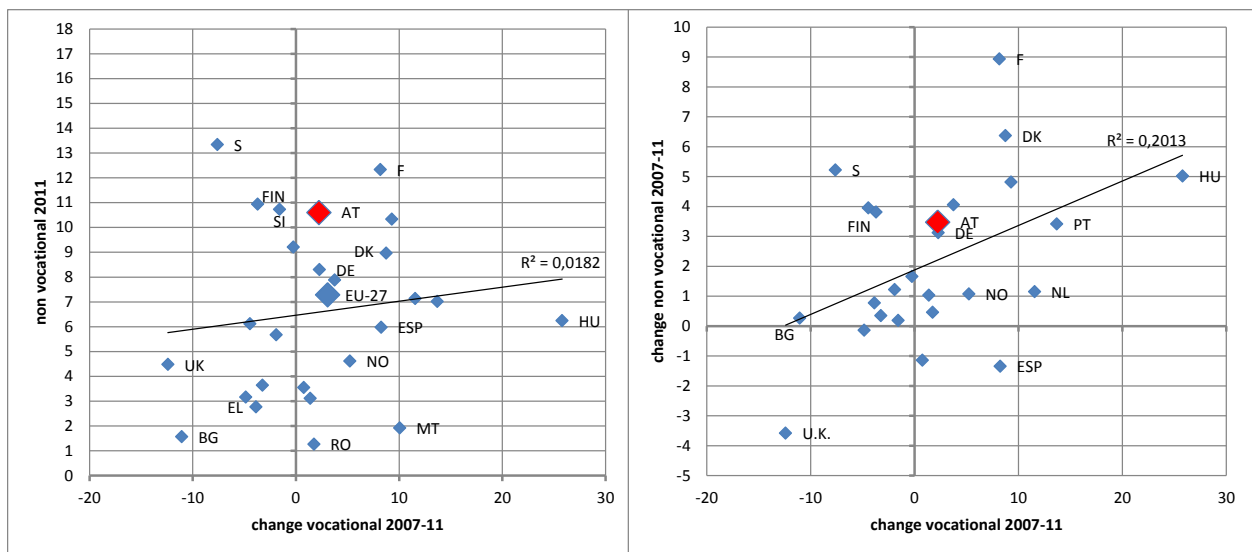
A basic premise in adult education has always been that it must be learner oriented because of its voluntary character. However, this is considered to have changed with the upcoming of the ‘education gospel’ that shifted the responsibility of updating and developing the vocational and employment related competenc(i)es to the individuals, promising them all kinds of gains from further education – so as a consequence continuing education is considered being less and less voluntary and more and more ‘compulsory’ in a sense of individual commitment. As this basic message of lifelong learning shifts the responsibility to invest in learning gradually from the employers to the individuals, who also have to take (at least parts of) the financial burden, attention also shifts to the expected outcomes, and the ‘demand side’ gains influence in continuing adult education. This shift is generally expected to have changed the weights in the overall adult education landscape towards the utilitarian vocational and employment related sectors and practices of provision. The emphasis on the NQF can be expected to reinforce this change of weights, as the main focus is on competenc(i)es as part of qualifications finally used and needed for employment.

How this development impacts on NVAE can be expected to depend on the strength of this sector in a national framework of adult education. From the Austrian perspective an expectation at the

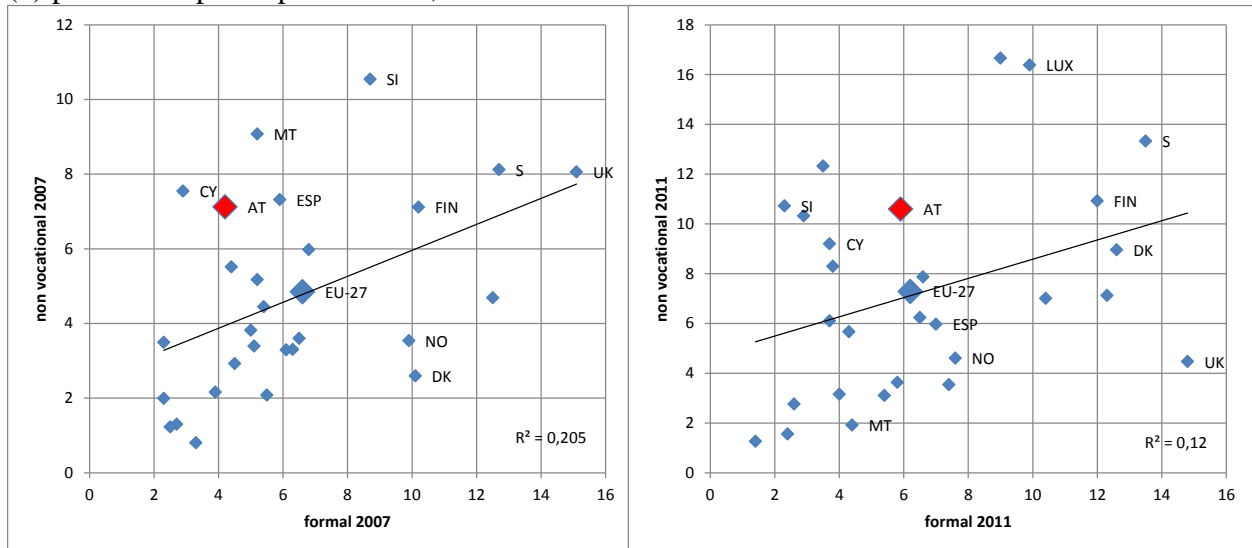
outset of the project has been that in the Nordic countries, where adult education is conventionally perceived as being stronger developed than in other regions, the resilience of NVAE would be relatively well established; the question was also, whether in the nations of the U.K., or in other Anglo-Saxon countries, where an established critical discourse about AE and LLL has taken place, the sector of Adult and Community education would show some resilience against the overall vocationalisation and economisation.

Fig 2: Participation and change of participation in vocational AE related to NVAE

(a) change of participation 2007-11



(b) patterns of participation 2007, 2011



Source: own calculations based on EUROSTAT (download March 2013 and May 2015)

An overview of the patterns of the different categories of adult education can be given at two points in time (2007 and 2011) based on the European Adult Education Survey (AES; see Figures A1-4 in ANNEX). First we can compare the development of formal and non formal adult education, and see not much systematic change. In formal AE participation is much smaller than in non formal AE, there is no systematic relationship between the two categories, and the change much more volatile in formal AE than in non formal AE. The participation in vocational and non vocational AE is not related to each other, whereas there is some positive relationship between formal and non formal AE. This does not indicate that the shift towards vocational AE would lead to a systematic decrease of NVAE. A look at the relationships between the dimensions of formalisation and vocationalisation shows some pattern. As most AE participation is taking place in non formal AE and in vocational AE these two are strongly correlated in 2007 and 2011; a weak positive correlation can be found between formal and vocational AE; however, NVAE is neither related to formal nor to non formal AE. This might indicate that more specific factors are at work in NVAE, or that the measurement of this dimension is less consistent. In sum a hypothesis that an overall stronger system of AE (represented by higher participation) would support NVAE is not really compatible with these data; if there is a positive relationship, it is very weak.

A closer inspection of countries shows that the participation in formal AE is quite unstable between 2007 and 2011 with only one third of countries lying at or near the regression line. The Nordic countries show quite different patterns of participation in 2007, with formal AE being consistently above average, but participation in NVAE differing. The U.K. with the highest participation in formal AE lies near the regression line with NVAE, and the countries with the highest participation in NVAE showing rather around average participation in formal AE in 2007 (Slovenia, Malta); in 2011 the highest participation in NVAE is related to high (Luxemburg) and low (Germany) formal participation. Thus, the participation rates at the indicators calculated from the AES do not give clear accounts of structures of AE in different countries; either the indicators are not good representations, or the structures are not stable.

This constellation leaves quite severe open questions for the overall purposes of the project of finding AE structures which could explain policies in NVAE and related to this NQF:

- high and rising participation in vocational AE is not systematically related with low or declining

participation in NVAE (fig 2a)

- more established patterns of AE, represented by high participation in particular in formal AE are very weakly related to higher NVAE, if at all (fig 2b).

Purposes of NVAE and NQF policies: why should a QF relate to NVAE?

Another way to approach the questions is to look more qualitatively at the purposes of NVAE and QFs, and to relate these to each other in order to find communalities and/or conflicts. The purposes of qualifications frameworks are distilled from a wide bulk of literature (see Lassnigg 2012; Cort 2010; Cort 2010; Bjørnåvold/Coles 2007/08).³ The following main purposes of QFs can be found in the literature:

(a) direct purposes of QFs

- Matching: relate education/training (supply) to skills/employment needs (demand)
- Credentialing: relate elements on supply side (programmes, modules, etc.) to levels and to each other
- Recognising, validating informal learning

(b) indirect purposes of QFs

- Outcome orientation: relate qualifications to learning outcomes
- Pedagogy/assessment: induce new modes of competence based education/training/learning

Asking if these purposes are relevant for NVAE, one must first concede that QFs are primarily related to qualifications which are in turn matched to purposes of employment and occupations.

³ Lassnigg, Lorenz (2012), 'Lost in translation': learning outcomes and the governance of education, in: Journal of Education and Work (JEW), Vol. 25, Issue 3, pp. 299-330.

Cort, Pia (2010) Stating the Obvious: the European Qualifications Framework is not a neutral evidence-based policy tool. European Educational Research Journal Volume 9 Number 3, 304-316.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.2304/eeerj.2010.9.3.304>

Bjørnåvold, J. and M. Coles. 2007–2008. Governing education and training; the case of qualifications frameworks. European Journal of Vocational Training, no 42/43 (double issue: 2007, no.3 and 2008, no. 1): 203–35

<http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/EN/Files/42-en.pdf>

Second, the purposes of NVAE are distilled from an EU wide study (EURYDICE 2007, p.35-36).⁴

The main topics can be summarised as follows (see the detailed overview in fig3):

- (a) Main *overall topics* of NVAE are social, cultural, and political matters, and also literacy, languages, and IT.
- (b) *Key competences*
 - (KC no.6) interpersonal, intercultural, social, civic competence(s)
 - (KC no.8) cultural expression
- (c) Examples of *initiatives*:
 - ‘adult learning for active citizenship’;
 - ‘citizenship in action’
- (d) *NGOs campaigning* for environmental protection; multiculturalism; social justice; women’s empowerment
- (e) *NGO-services*: individuals with a disability, literacy provision, cultural development, community development
- (f) Country examples:
 - study circles,
 - community learning,
 - citizenship...

If we confront these purposes of NVAE to the above mentioned purposes of QF-policies (matching supply-demand, credentialing, recognition and validation of informal learning, outcome orientation, competence based education), and ask how they fit, then the answer must be that the purposes clearly do not fit to each other.

⁴ EURYDICE (2007) Non-Vocational Adult Education in Europe. Executive Summary of National Information on Eurybase. Working Document (January). Brussels.

Figure 3 Topics of NVAE

Overarching topics

- **social** issues (including ageing, crime, environment, health, heritage, parenting and poverty)
- **cultural** matters (arts, crafts, cuisine, dance, languages, literature, media, music, theatre)
- **political** matters (community development, current affairs, democratic participation, history, international relations, law)
- Further fundamental topics
 - Literacy learning
 - Language learning: general foreign language learning; Language learning for immigrants
 - Information and communication technology (ICTs)

Key competences 6 and 8

- 6 KC: '*interpersonal, intercultural and social competences, civic competence*': 'all forms of behaviour that equip individuals to participate in an effective and constructive way in social and working life, and particularly in increasingly diverse societies, and to resolve conflict where necessary.' Civic competence 'equips individuals to fully participate in civic life, based on knowledge of social and political concepts and structures and a commitment to active and democratic participation'.
- 8 KC: '*cultural expression*' 'appreciation of the importance of the creative expression of ideas, experiences and emotions in a range of media, including music, performing arts, literature, and the visual arts'.

Initiatives (examples)

- 2001, *adult learning for active citizenship*
- 2004 '*Citizenship in Action*': funding of civil society, faith based, youth and cultural organisations, trade unions and family associations that promote active citizenship (learning for interculturalism, civic participation), significance for community-based non-governmental and civil society groups and organisations throughout Europe.

Non-governmental organisations (types and services)

- education providers;
- campaigning NGOs promote ideological aims (environmental protection; multiculturalism; social justice; women's empowerment)
- services to NGO- members or targeted education service delivery (individuals with a disability; literacy provision; cultural development; community development)

Country practices mentioned

- **Nordic countries, Germany**: explicitly recognise the role of non-formal NVAE in developing active and participatory citizenship and social capital and strengthening social inclusion and social cohesion; *study circles*: challenges of the local communities in which the study circles are located
- **Finland**, liberal education: the main mission of non-formal NVAE is to promote democratic values, active citizenship and social cohesion; achievement of personal growth, maturity and independence, understanding of social and human relations
- **France**: movement inspired by Christian, working-class and/or social principles: making education available to all, promoting citizenship and emancipating people through access to knowledge and culture
- **Greece**: parenting skills and volunteer responses to emergencies
- **United Kingdom (Scotland)**, Community Learning and Development (CLD): community-based adult learning, community capacity building and youth worth outside of formal institutions. *Community education* encompasses formal and informal learning opportunities, core skills including adult literacy, numeracy, information and communication technology.

Source: Eurydice 2007, p.35-36.

What can be expected from the NQF as a support to NVAE? If the purposes do not fit to each other

it is not easy to see what can be expected on the positive side. On the negative side two aspects can be brought forward: First the NQF policy is to some degree shaping the policy discourses about adult education, and does take energy away from explicit developing NVAE; second the application of the NQF to NVAE does subsume it under the instrumental logic of learning outcomes. More recently a change in the European policies/discourses can be observed by forcefully trying to apply the logic of the formulation and assessment of learning outcomes to the key qualifications (EU-COM 2012).⁵ Earlier the approach of the European Key Competences was observed by some as a broader approach towards the societal aspects of lifelong learning than the NQF policies (Hoskins 2008).⁶ European research focused on the broader societal implications of citizenship, however, more recent developments point strongly in the direction of measurement, extending this approach into the very personal non-vocational competences also. In this sense, the genuine topics of NVAE are pulled towards the utilitarian logic of vocational and employment related AE, so in sum, why should we expect that the NQF policy should help to develop NVAE?

Turning the question around: How to support NVAE?

One aspect of the question concerns how NVAE can/should reasonably be defined, and how it can/should be related to the other sectors of adult education in terms of policy making. How can we distinguish it from other forms of AE? Shall we distinguish NVAE as a separate sector and policy issue?

Currently most observers/stakeholders rather support subsuming NVAE into some kind of overarching hybrid AE. This reflects to some extent commercial interests: if there is a relatively small demand for NVAE, it is often argued that vocational AE could raise funds to be made

⁵ EU-COM (2012) COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT: Assessment of Key Competences in initial education and training: Policy Guidance. 20.11.2012, SWD(2012) 371 final. Strasbourg.
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52012SC0371&rid=1>

⁶ Hoskins, Bryony (2008) The Discourse of Social Justice within European Education Policy Developments: the example of key competences and indicator development towards assuring the continuation of democracy. European Educational Research Journal, Volume 7 Number 3, 319-330 <http://dx.doi.org/10.2304/eej.2008.7.3.319>

available for NVAE. A counter position can be formulated: because of the strong trend – at least in rhetoric – towards vocational AE, the non-vocational provision would come into a danger to be ‚crowded out‘ by the other more powerful sectors, if subsumed under one umbrella with them. Starting with the separate purposes of economic, social, political and cultural aspects of adult education we observe that all these purposes are commonly agreed as being important (e.g., all these purposes are included in the official European policy documents). However, it is also quite commonly agreed by observers that the economic and employment related purposes are very much predominating, and that the others are without similar support, and maybe on decline also (even if this common belief might not be supported so clearly by the available quantitative data).

If we reconsider the topics of NVAE detected by EURYDICE in the 2000s, we can find an overall characteristic of these purposes: they are to some extent ‚subversive‘, catering for those ‚in the shadow‘, being also outside of the mainstream politically – in short, most of these purposes are to some extent conflict loaded, and considered by advocates as being something ‚to fight for‘. This character of NVAE poses the question if there would be a need for a (new) mission for NVAE to support its development. Currently we can reasonably hold the strong impression that the overall discourse of AE and LLL is overwhelmed by the various functional (economic) imperatives related to technology and globalisation. We can take the ‚education gospel‘ as an indication for this impression. The social and political aspects are subsumed under the functional discourse in a double way, first by pointing to the increasing manpower/skill needs to be satisfied, and second by seeing employment as the main integration mechanism into society. However, there are also many indications that skills and employment are not enough for social integration/inclusion, many other aspects of society are necessary which can be supported by NVAE. At the same time citizenship and democracy are strongly under contest by influences of globalisation and the neoliberal mission of putting the market and the corporations over the state. These contradictions are reflected by the concepts of post-democracy and civil society.

Adult education does in its mainstream not react ‚subversively‘, but rather opportunistically, by trying to subsume the problematic aspects under the mainstream of skills demand by displaying the functional aspects of NVAE, and subsuming democracy under the market by commercialising services. The need for a (new) mission for NVAE can be based on the argument that the above

mentioned ‚subversive‘ purposes of NVAE are key for societal development and need an institutional base as well as financial means, however, to other conditions than the commercialised market and the new-public-management-oriented outcome guided policies can provide.

If we go back to the empirically observed wider societal purposes of NVAE, what could the mission of NVAE be and what could NVAE specifically do to support those purposes? A proposal for an answer to these questions concerning a new mission can be made by the two dimensions:

- support of transdisciplinary and
- support of knowledge production in society.

To make this a bit more concrete we can give some arguments and rationales. Knowledge and knowledge production is an important, contradictory and contested ingredient in societal practice (encompassing economic, political, social and cultural practices). It was historically at the roots of adult education, if we rely on the non-religious parts and sectors of it, e.g., enlightenment (‚Aufklärung‘) vs. unjustified beliefs, or the university extension , trying to bring science to the people, also somehow reflected in the term of the folk high school (Volkshochschule). However, a simple and one-dimensional notion of enlightenment has run into serious conflicts (‚Dialektik der Aufklärung‘, knowledge as element in power and dominance, ‚reflexive modernisation‘, etc.), thus NVAE lost this clear mission and various anti-movements developed (somehow this development might also be seen as a kind of diversion of its subversivity, e.g., by versions of esoteric or sectarian movements).

Since the 1990s new (and still contested) approaches to knowledge and knowledge production have emerged that somehow try to combine democracy with knowledge production:

Transdisciplinarity means a new kind of cooperative knowledge production by researchers and users by various kinds of a direct involvement of the users into also into the scientific production of knowledge. There are different concepts of this development, one is the rise of the ‚mode 2‘ as part of the new knowledge production (Gibbons et al. 1994; Nowotny/Scott/Gibbons 2003;

2006),⁷ other are concepts of problem oriented or use oriented science that stick closer to traditional views of science but also make much stronger relationships to users (e.g., Bechmann/Gorokhov/Stehr 2009; Stokes 1997; Stehr 2008).⁸

We must contend that all the observed purposes of NVAE to be processed imply or need knowledge, and they need not only distribution and passive ‚acquisition‘ of knowledge, but active participation, co-construction, etc., exactly what is meant by transdisciplinarity. However, transdisciplinarity is difficult to achieve, it needs room and resources on the one hand, and science is somehow reluctant to participate and is also under pressure and ‚rationalisation‘. There seem also distinct regimes prevail between the economy that provides room for transdisciplinary activities (innovation, technological development, etc.), whereas the public spaces where NVAE is situated (politics and policy, social and community development, environment, etc.) do not provide these spaces so much because they are more strongly under resource constraints. In particular the policy development is (increasingly) rather shaded away from the public, so this could be a mission of NVAE institutions, which is quite arguable and clear, seems at least to the author!⁹

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

⁷ Gibbons, Michael; Limoges, Camille; Nowotny, Helga; Schwartzman, Simon; Scott, Peter; Trow, Martin (1994) *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage [Introduction <http://www.schwartzman.org.br/simon/gibbons.pdf>];

Nowotny, Helga; Scott, Peter; Gibbons, Michael (2003) Introduction. ‚Mode 2‘ Revisited: The New Production of Knowledge. *Minerva* Vol 41: 179–194;

Nowotny, Helga; Scott, Peter; Gibbons, Michael (2006) Re-Thinking Science: Mode 2 in Societal Context. In: Carayannis, Elias G; Campbell, David F J, Hg., *Knowledge Creation, Diffusion, and Use of Innovation Networks and Knowledge Clusters: A Comparative Systems Approach across the United States, Europe, and Asia*. Westport: Praeger, 39-51 [<http://comparsociology.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Mode2-Science-Gibbons-Nowotny.pdf>]

⁸ Bechmann Gotthard; Gorokhov, Vitaly; Stehr, Nico, Eds. (2009) *The Social Integration of Science: Institutional and Epistemological Aspects of the Transformation of Knowledge in Modern Society*. Berlin: edition sigma.

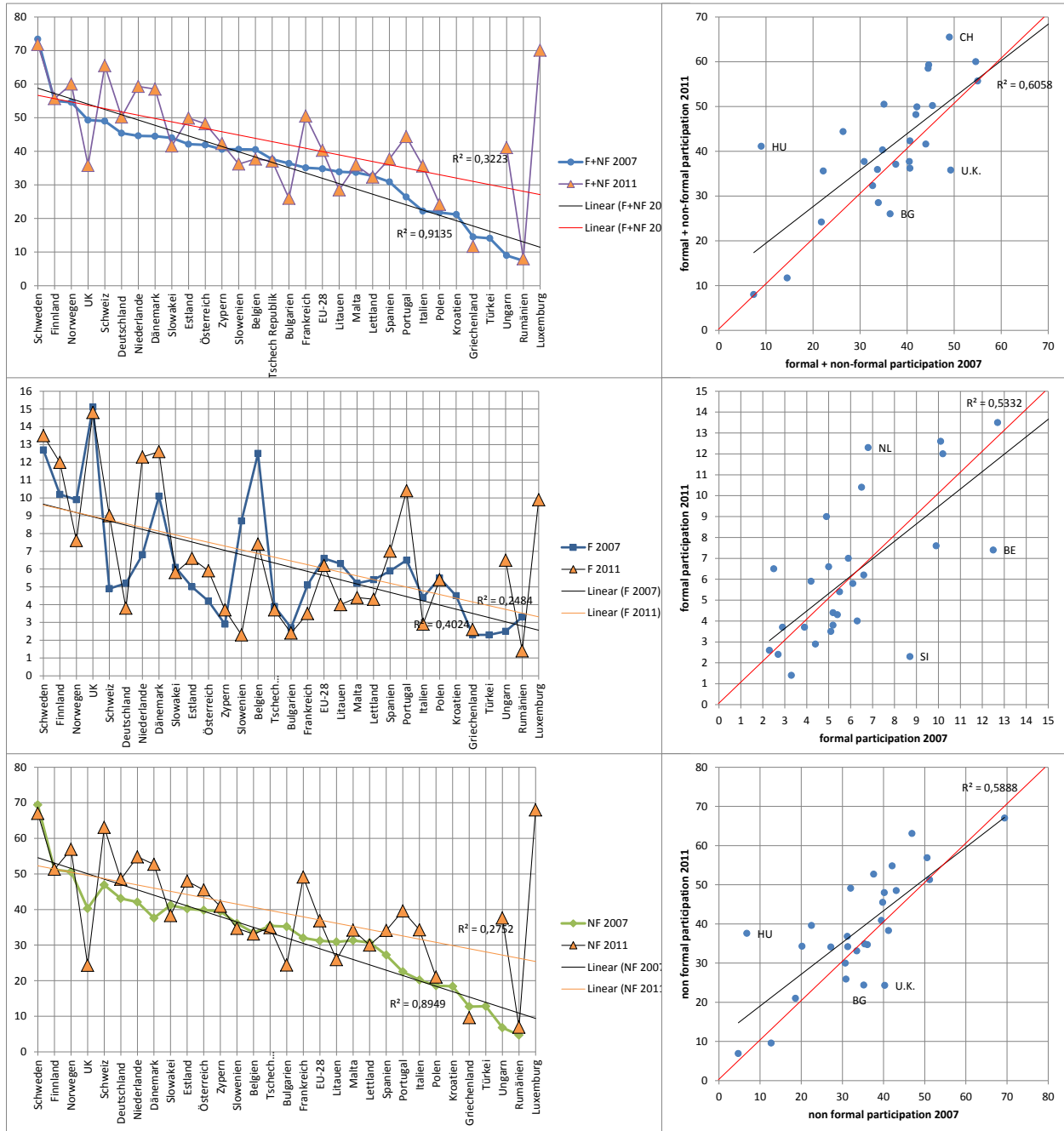
Stokes, Donald E. (1997) *Pasteur's Quadrant: Basic Science and Technological Innovation*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Stehr, Nico, Ed. (2008) *Knowledge and Democracy. A 21st Century Perspective Perspectives on Democratic Practice*. New Brunswick: Transaction.

⁹ Wilsdon, James; Wynne, Brian; Stilgoe, Jack (2005) We need to infuse the culture and practice of science with a new set of social possibilities. *The Public Value of Science Or how to ensure that science really matters*. London: DEMOS <http://www.demos.co.uk/files/publicvalueofscience.pdf>

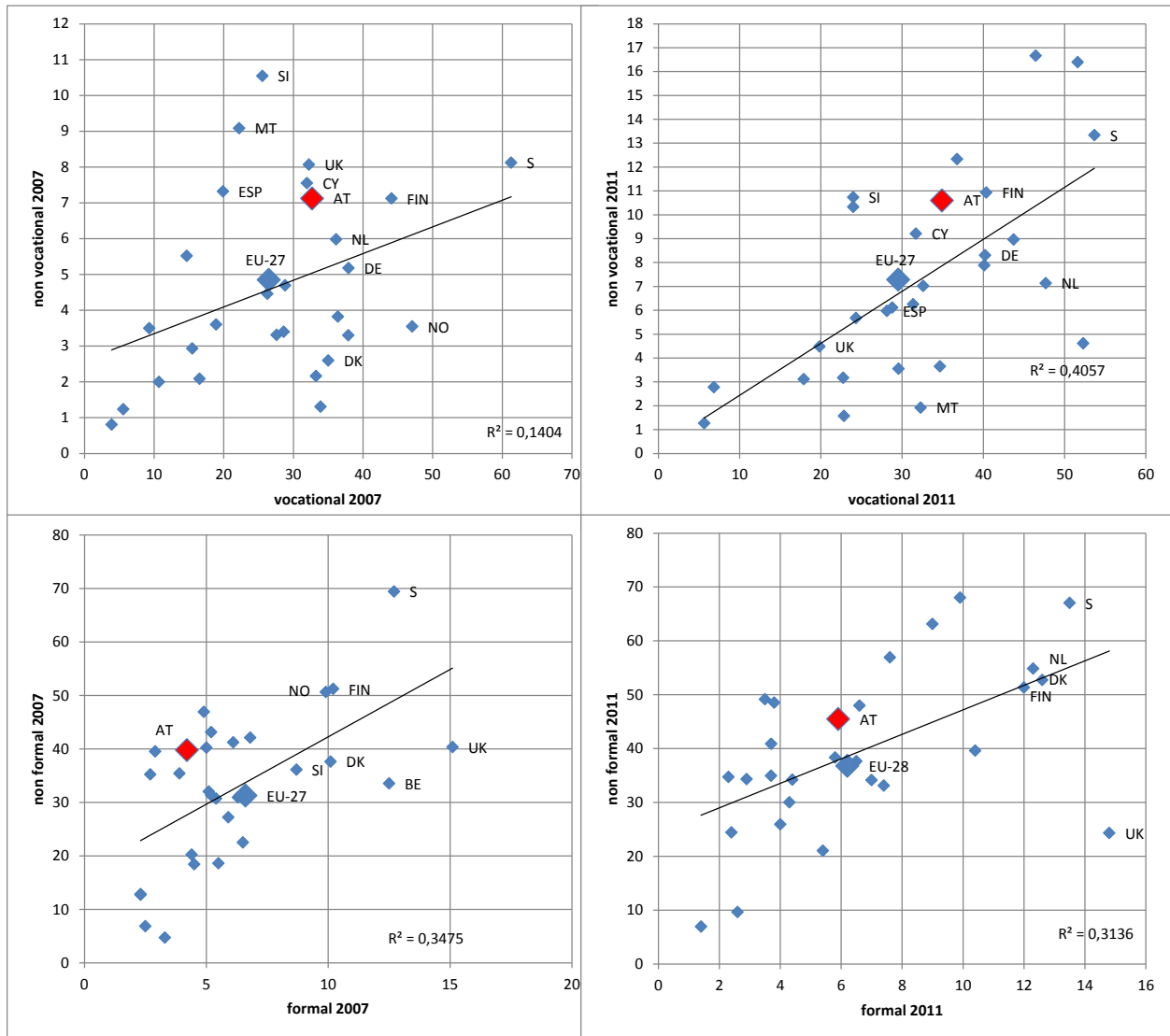
ANNEX

Figure A1: Participation in adult education 2007 and 2011 measured by AES, formal and non formal



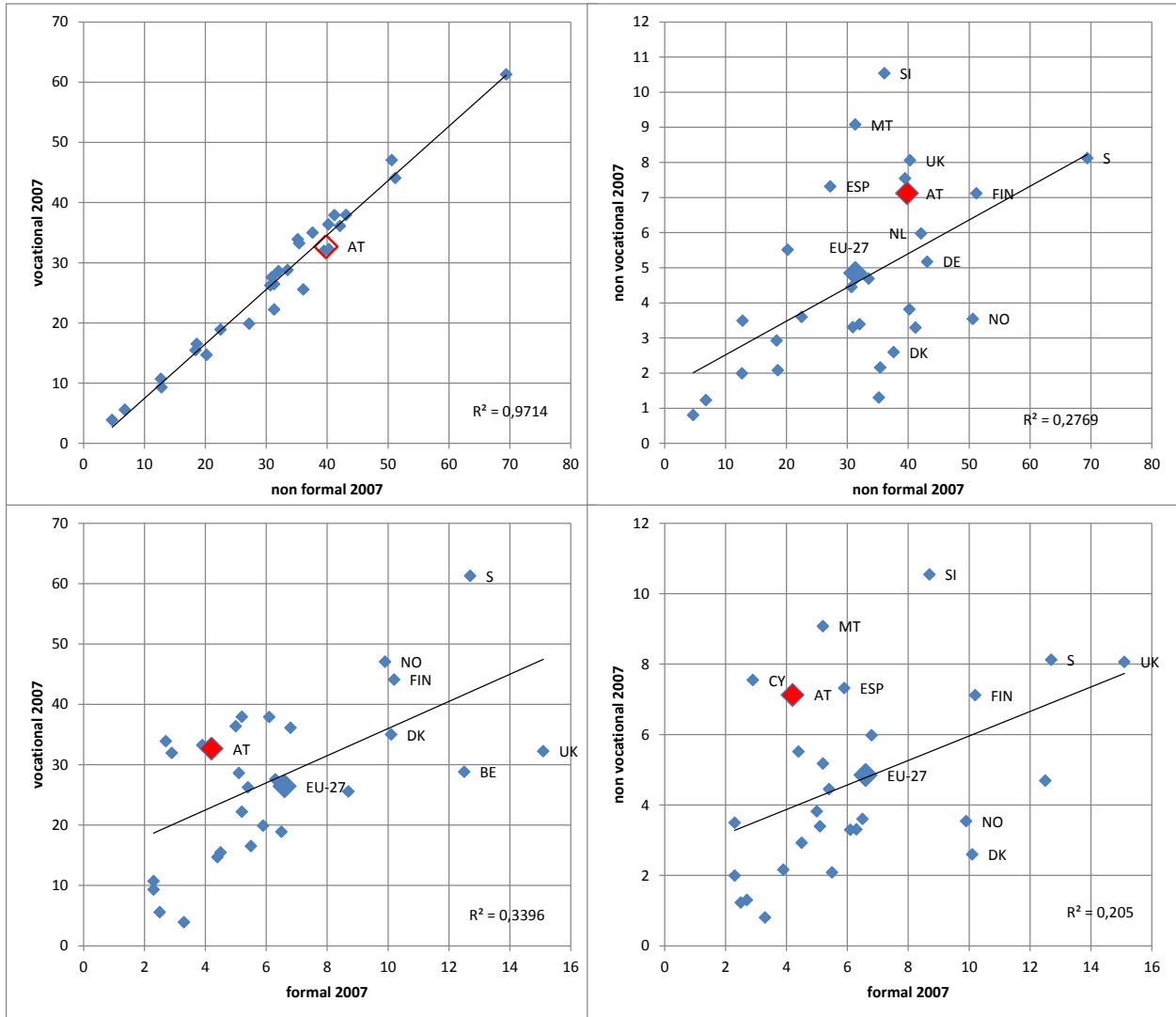
Source: own calculation and figure based on EUROSTAT (download March 2013 and May 2015)

Figure A2: Participation in adult education measured by AES, formal and non formal, vocational and non vocational, 2007 and 2011



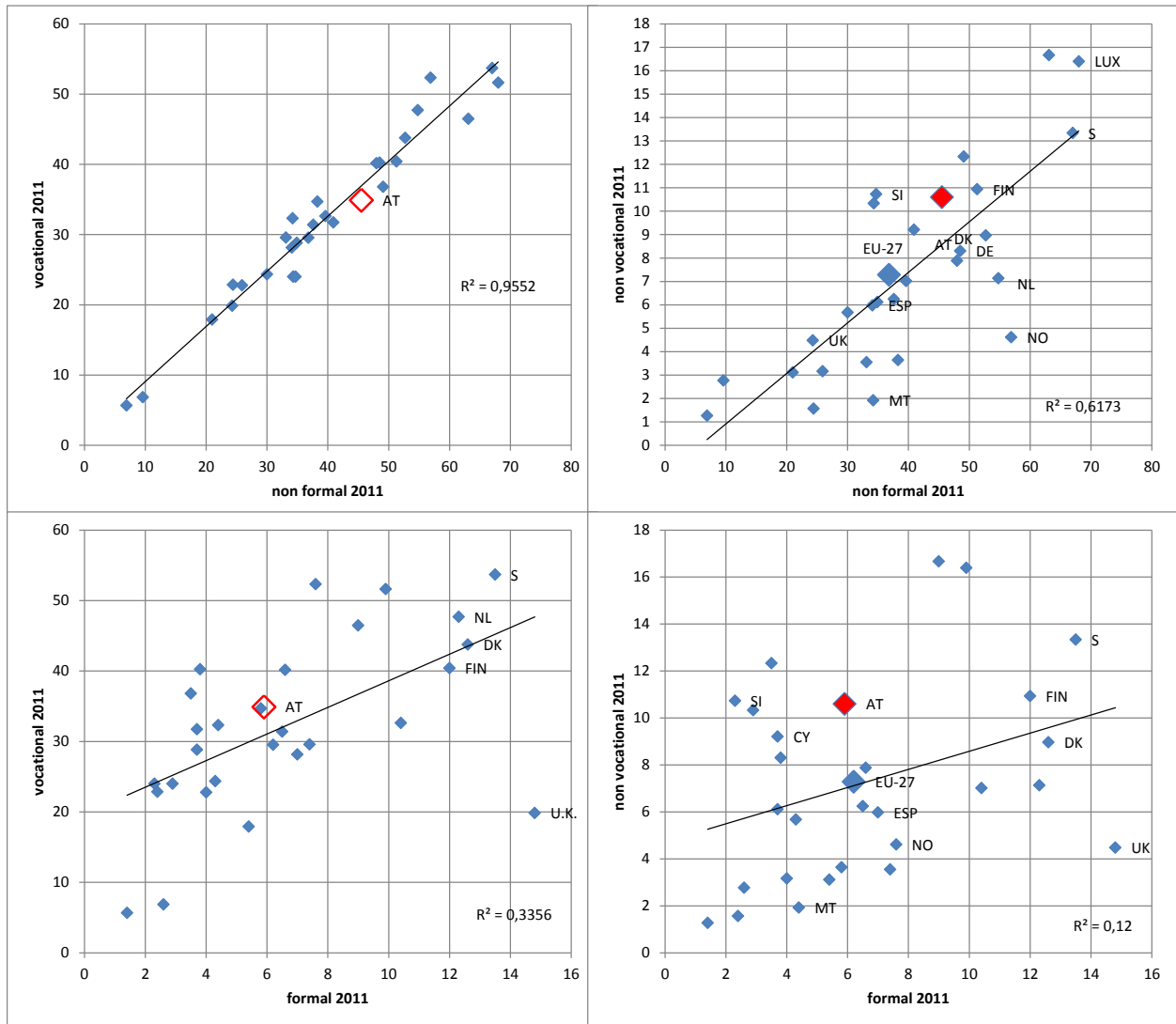
Source: own calculation and figure based on EUROSTAT (download March 2013 and May 2015)

Figure A3: Participation in adult education measured by AES, formal and non formal, vocational and non vocational, 2007



Source: own calculation and figure based on EUROSTAT (download March 2013 and May 2015)

Figure A4: Participation in adult education measured by AES, formal and non formal, vocational and non vocational, 2011



Source: own calculation and figure based on EUROSTAT (download March 2013 and May 2015)