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How will the principal strands of adult education co-exist?

The character and sustainability of formal, non-formal and informal adult education

## Introduction Education of adults

It is increasingly recognised that the terms *adult education* and *education of adults* have distinct meanings with the latter having a wider referent, even this is not always so ([Jarvis, 2004, pp. 44-46](#_ENREF_7)). Here the focus is on education provided for people in their adult years, generally understood to be the age above 18-20 although this varies. Within this arena education has many different strands and one might explore if these form different worlds that seem to coexist but perhaps expand and develop remarkably independent of each other. Within the arena, higher education (HE), is clearly by far the strongest one, but is also perhaps the most inflexible and sluggish. But we ask how the different strands are related and how do they influence each other?

There have been attempts to present an overarching unifying perspective under the umbrella of the lifelong learning discourse (see as examples, [Delors, 1996](#_ENREF_1); [Field, 2006](#_ENREF_5); [Saar, Ure, & Holford, 2013](#_ENREF_15); [Schuetze & Slowey, 2012b](#_ENREF_18)) which is meant to cover all arenas of education for adults. The general question is how the different strands and even different discourses will relate to each other and even to which extent they can be seen to form a whole when we consider the rhetoric or more importantly, the practice. The picture drawn in this paper is simple and crude and a host of important counter-examples can be given and complications pointed out that belie the general argument.

A decade ago, [Jónasson (2003)](#_ENREF_8) explored the development of upper secondary education in the Nordic countries during the 20th century. The paper concluded that the growth of academic programmes indirectly controlled the fate of the vocational sector, i.e. the development and growth of vocational education was to an important extent determined and certainly much influenced by the development of a different part of the system. By analogy, to what extent will the growth of HE influence or even determine the developments of other strands within the arena of education for adults. [Schofer and Meyer (2005)](#_ENREF_16) show the enormous expansion of higher education world-wide and the indications are that that it will continue to grow exponentially well into the 21st century. Will it affect, - or be affected by other parts of the multifaceted, formal or informal educational edifice that caters for adults?

In more general terms we may ask, how will the post-secondary arena expand and to what extent will the expansion and development of higher education control or affect the growth of other arenas of this sector? But the post-secondary arena is a particularly complex one and it is far from clear how many different sectors there are, and how independently of higher education, or of each other, their development will be. Thus the second question is, how many sectors are there and how to characterise each of them and their development. It is normally understood that higher education can be characterised as the system of higher education, to which the tools of institutional theories can be applied for analysis but it is not clear to what extent other sectors of post upper-secondary education can be characterised as a system and thus to what extent it can be said to have institutional characteristics. Are there many systems of post-upper-secondary education?[[1]](#footnote-1)

We will discuss sectors, which we call systems, but with a loose definition. We understand these to be different structures and will explore to what extent these will or should interact or impinge on each other. This is a part of the more general story of the fragmented field of education, but we will here use the perspective of the education of adults, of people (generally) over the age of (18-) 20, the exact age doesn’t matter. We will also point out that within each of the worlds we discuss there is a further division or fragmentation that we will allude to but very briefly.

Classification of educational provisions is difficult and the commonly used distinction between formal, non-formal and informal education has its serious problems but we will nevertheless try to start with this. It is also very debatable in what sense the different provisions should be called systems and how their boundaries should be drawn. We will interchangeably use the terms system, arena or a strand in order to underline how diffuse the terms are. But the point of the paper is not to present correct descriptions, but to highlight some important features of the development of education. In addition to the three strands just mentioned we will discuss briefly distance education which is perhaps the only educational strand that straddles all the different systems or structures and may gradually become an interesting mechanism to dissipate the boundaries between them.

## Definitional issues – different discourses

There are many conceptual or definitional issues to be dealt with ([see e.g. Jarvis, 2004, p. 46](#_ENREF_7)) in this arena. It is emphasised that the definitions presented here are not meant to be formal ones, as this is far beyond the reach of the paper, but just indicative ones with some allusion the discrepancies or variations in the available definitions. The discussion is foremost about how many different system can be discerned and how they interact rather than where their boundaries precisely are.

### Adult education

First there is the question of adult education. The problem is that there is far from a consensus on the referent ([Pont, Sonnet, & Werquin, 2003, pp. 23-25](#_ENREF_11)) and it keeps changing in different contexts. Table 1 indicates this lack of a clear definition.

Table 1. Parts of examples of definitions of adult education taken from a longer list ([Pont et al., 2003, p. 24, Box 1,](#_ENREF_11)).

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Canada:  | Adult education covers vocational training and general education. … However situations differ from one province to another.  |
| Denmark:  | … There is no one definition of adult learning but all facilities providing adult education courses are clearly identified; adult learners therefore can be said to be those who are enrolled there.  |
| Finland: | Adult learning covers vocational training and general education as well as formal and non-formal learning. … (The definition has been recently broadened.) |
| Norway: | … The definition therefore encompasses all settings, whether formal or not in which learning can occur … but not enrolled in a higher education facility.  |
| Spain:  | (Special provision) |
| Sweden: | … An adult learner is therefore someone who participates in some form of education provided in an adult learning facility …. On the other hand self-learners and those who learn in the work place or at university, for instance, are not covered by the definition. … |
| United Kingdom: | An adult learner is a person engaged in education and training outside the formal initial education system … |

One of the problems for adult education, and it is a serious one, is that it means fundamentally different things to different people.[[2]](#footnote-2) The definition varies ranging from referring to education for adults that is strictly outside any formal provisions over to referring to all education for adults whatever the systemic provision is, even though in some cases higher education is excluded. It is also interesting that in some cases there is an upper age limit. In the present paper the wide perspective is adopted as the paper is expressively aimed at noting how many different systems and discourses are within this wider arena.

### Formal, non-formal and informal learning

Then there are the terms of *formal, non-formal* and *informal education*. These terms are used here to refer to three different foci of the discussion, even though there are more meanings to be given to these terms and the boundaries between them are very diffuse. But the emphasis is nevertheless on the foci themselves and how far away they seem to be from each other and how clear the boundaries are after all even when there seem to be a host of arguments for the boundaries to be eradicated. *Formal education* is taken to refer to the system of education, such as upper secondary education and here, chiefly the system of higher education. But this varies, such as in the Eurostat definition, where it is noted that the formal system is “continuing to up to 20 or 25 years old” ([Eurostat, 2013](#_ENREF_4)). *Non-formal education* is taken to refer to various often highly organised educational provisions that do not give credits normally accepted by the mainstream educational system. *Informal education* refers to education that is not specially organised as education but may be structured in various ways to encourage different perspectives, or the acquisition of new knowledge or new cultures related to general or professional development. We will also refer to *distance education*, which in recent decades has been overtaken by the term *online education*, which is however not synonymous and the difference may be the most interesting sign of boundaries between systems becoming eroded. The reason to include this category is that it seems that it seems to open up a venue between different systems, where the MOOC’s are but one example.

The general pattern presented in this paper might be the schematic representation in Figure 1. The figure is meant to depict some of the arenas of the educational discourse, but not necessarily the relationships, as they are so varied and in many cases not known. These will be explored in the text. It is however not possible to present even a cursory overview over the discourses on each strand as these are vast and all of them require special in depth knowledge.

Lifelong learning

Figure 1. Schematic representation of important but different strands of education for adults.

Thus we must explore a number of different terms related to the adult education arena understood in its broadest sense, and find out where they fit into the general picture, which are parallel terms, which are overarching terms and which belong to another category. The terms in question are apart from adult education, lifelong learning, continuing education, professional development, work-place learning and perhaps distance education[[3]](#footnote-3) and on-line education; but of course also, the terms formal, non-formal and informal education (or learning or even systems). There is a tendency to discuss these as if they were, and perhaps should be, worlds apart, not necessarily connecting to each other – which is sometimes incredibly true, but only relatively rarely, justifiably so. But the main distinction seems nevertheless to be between the formal system of higher education and the other arenas.

Figure 2. A schematic figure showing a host of lively discourses and even systems sometimes attempting to enter the arena of Higher education with very limited, but perhaps gradual success. In a important sense these are outsiders to the HE discourse.

Table 2. Important terms related to post upper-secondary education.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Terms | Characteristics | System levelF(ormal), N(on formal), I(nformal) | Definition |
| Lifelong learning | Idea arena |  | Formal, non-formal and informal learning that reaches across the lifespan |
| Adult education | Arena | F,N,I |  |
| Continuing education | Arena | F,N  |  |
| Higher education | Arena | Formal | Also tertiary education, of which university is a subset |
| Work-place learning | Arena | (F),N,I |  |
| Formal education | Sector |  |  |
| Non-formal education | Sector |  |  |
| Informal education | Sector? |  |  |
| Professional development | Approach | N,I |  |
| Distance education | Approach | F,N,I |  |
| Recognition of prior learning (RPL) | Approach | F,N |  |

### Lifelong learning

Perhaps the most interesting but also the most difficult term is that of lifelong learning, a term that seems so transparent and simple to define but somehow eludes any clear definition. This is often discussed in detail ([Edwards, 2000](#_ENREF_3); [Field, 2006](#_ENREF_5); [Tuijnman & Boström, 2002](#_ENREF_19)) but the result underscores how diffuse or elusive the concept is. What is in focus here is not only the definition but what belongs to the arena of LLL, in particular to what extent HE is truly a part of the edifice of lifelong learning. In two recent volumes about higher education and lifelong learning two somewhat different sides of the relationship emerges. In [Saar et al. (2013)](#_ENREF_15), *Lifelong learning in Europe : national patterns and challenges*, the relationship between different sectors of education for adults is emphasised, but perhaps with the emphasis on the system apart from the traditional higher education. In a chapter setting the stage [Saar and Ure (2013)](#_ENREF_14)

argue that beyond a general theory of LLL systems, there is a need for multiple typologies in order to escape assumptions of a single economic trajectory for market economies and for their LLL systems. Equally, as for conceptualization of education systems, we need to look for demarcations of which institutions for parts of the systems. By following this research direction, LLL becomes less of a fluid concept or even slogan, particularly because it will then lead to theorization of how institutions beyond the traditional education systems are being mobilized for the purpose of LLL (p. 46).

Despite the general approach it seems that institutions or activities beyond the traditional education system are in focus in many of the chapters and even though the traditional higher education system is a part of LLL, it is also important to inquire how it will interact with other parts of the system, i.e. the parts alluded to in the quote above. Another volume [Schuetze and Slowey (2012b)](#_ENREF_18), *Global Perspectives on Higher Education and Lifelong Learners*, has the institutions of higher education more as a point of departure. But they note ([Schuetze & Slowey, 2012a](#_ENREF_17)) that the institutional reaction to the rhetorical and pragmatic call for a response to the LLL ideology has been sluggish:

Some type of institutions in the post-secondary system gradually changed to accommodate lifelong learners, but overall, higher education has been slow to adapt its mission structures and understanding of knowledge and learning – in short, its culture – to the demands for a more open, flexible and egalitarian system (p. 5).

In light of the above we suggest that it is important to inquire what is the mutual interaction between the different systems or institution of lifelong learning, but in particular how the institutions of higher education plan or think about how they will or may or should open up to lifelong learning and to what extent this opening up will be a part of their central operation, but not a marginal operation as it has been until know. Thus it becomes important to understand the general thrust of the development of higher education, but also to understand how it interacts with other sectors within the field of education of adults. There are a number of categories. Among these are

a) the opening up to older students where people can without barriers enter institutions of higher education at any level,[[4]](#footnote-4)

b) the idea of the open university (which allows people from outside the system to participate in higher education), [[5]](#footnote-5)

c) departments of continuing education (but these are often outside the normal purview of university education) even though they are organised and run by the institutions.[[6]](#footnote-6)

The conceptions suggested by [Schuetze and Slowey (2012a, p. 13)](#_ENREF_17) are useful for framing the most important questions or issues to consider, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Conceptions of lifelong learning, paired with conceptions of traditional higher education.



On the basis of the table it will be most interesting to look at the category number III, the type of programme. The other categories are changing but retaining the most important characteristic of a traditional university, the credentialing function. But a problem with the table is that does not include a number of the less formal or informal activities noted in a lot of the lifelong learning literature, e.g. in the important discussion by ([Field, 2006](#_ENREF_5)) and also emphasised in the volume edited by [Saar et al. (2013)](#_ENREF_15). Here the reference is in particular to various types of very informal learning and also to various versions of work place learning.

## Institutional character of formal, non-formal and informal education

## Characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of the three strands

### Formal education – the system of higher education

Formal education, for adults is principally the system of Higher education, even though some of upper secondary education reaches into this arena as well, again depending on definitions. Its development through the ages as been through various phases in different parts of the world but it seems to have a number of very important general characteristics in common.



Figure 3. Left panel shows the percentage of the 20-29 old cohorts registered in formal education in OECD countries. Right panel shows the percentages of 30-39 olds registered in formal education, part- or full time in a number of OECD countries.

1. Higher education is for adults and in some countries (see Table 4) the majority of students are above the age of 24 and in principle it is open to all age groups. In this sense it is truly an adult education institution.[[7]](#footnote-7)

Table 4. The percentages of different age groups attending tertiary education in the Nordic countries. Each column adds up to 100%.



2) Higher education provides both, professional education, in the sense of preparing people for certain professions, and academic in the sense of not preparing for a particular discipline but providing the students with a thoroughly grounded and broadly based theoretical education. But it is essentially pre-service in the sense that it is organised as to educate people before they enter a new arena, even though in practical terms this very often is not the situation. Thus having obtained a bachelor, a master or a doctoral degree is a precondition for taking on a variety of tasks, and vice versa, when one has obtained these degrees it is often implicit that one is no longer fit for some tasks, i.e. those that don’t require such a degree. The Bologna framework, expecting the 3+2+3 structure does not require that the corresponding degrees are taken in close succession but this is often done and often implicit in the discourse.

3) Higher education expands (seemingly exponentially) with a fairly steady exponent over a very long time, and it is now assumed implicitly or even explicitly that the expansion of HE which has led to mass education may lead to universal education in the not too distant future. An indication of considerable growth is shown in Figure 4.



Figure 4. The changes in tertiary educational attainment, showing an increase of about 1% a year on average in the EU21 countries and similarly for the OECD countries in the age group 25-34.

4) Higher education is a campus based enterprise event though there are interesting departures from this. Open or distance education have been offered for a long time within the formal system, but quite often within special institutions which specialize in such modes of teaching and learning. The discussion about MOOCS, which are essentially quite ordinary distance education courses, shows how alien non-campus modus operandi is to the system.

5) But most importantly higher education certifies academic and professional knowledge and thus retains an important monopoly of educational standards. An interesting effort to recognise prior learning is to an important extent couched in terms of credits given by the formal higher educational system.

But any educational provision that does not fit within these brackets is definitely outside the purview of mainstream HE. Be it continuing education that does not lead to a degree, professional development, or even distance education, that may lead to degree.

Thus, even though it seems both to be a massive and an evolving system it is in a very important sense a closed system which does not interact well or easily with other, organised (in-service professional development or programmes of continuing education) or informal learning structures (e.g. within firms or in the labour market, let alone leisure studies of various sorts). As for the other strands being discussed here its strengths are also its weaknesses. It has a long operational tradition which to a large extent determines its operational mode. These traditions have taken a long time to develop and gradually improve but at the same time they seem unduly difficult to change and adapt to the cultural, social and technological changes constantly taking place. The higher education edifice receives massive funds from the respective state funds in many countries and even if this seems to drawing back a bit it still receives funds that are, in absolute terms, at least one, if not two, orders of magnitude more than any other adult education provision receives.[[8]](#footnote-8) But this has at least two important consequences. The institutions must be very protective of their most valuable assets, i.e. the credit or degree giving powers. The nature of the credits or degrees is inter alia that any individual student can only have so much of them, and when they are not wanted anymore a very important incentive for further education is lost. It also it becomes a logistic problem for the institutions in many cases to fit non-credit based activity into their system. The administrative side is not the most difficult one, but rather finding ways to motivate the faculty to participate within their normal working time and in general to accommodate this within the culture of the institution. But another problem, and perhaps more serious in the long run is that the output demanded from students is remarkably standardised given the wide range of subjects, levels of education and cultures involved, not to mention new venues of working and delivering afforded by new technologies.

### Non-formal education – the system of continuing education in its broadest sense

The definition takes the formal system as a point of departure as it includes all organised education that is still not within the purview of the formal system. The common feature is organized provision of learning opportunities. Under this rubric we can place most of the discourses mentioned above, i.e. continuing education, distance education, professional development and work place learning and even adult and lifelong education even though we consider both of these more overarching terms, see e.g. Saar, Ure, and Holford ([2013](#_ENREF_15)) and White and DiSilvestro ([2014](#_ENREF_20)). Three issues will be raised here.

1. Issue one is about what strands which normally have their own platform should be included, see e.g. Figures 1 and 2, such as the areas of continuing education, professional development and work place learning.
2. The second relates to the strengths and weaknesses of this educational arena in general.
3. Strengths. The strengths of the non-formal sector is that its credential role is limited but may vary, and thus it does need to adhere to all the standards set by HE, such as admission criteria (even though these may vary within the formal system, viz. an *Open university* provision) or formality of course evaluation or assessment procedures, demands of academic qualifications of staff nor the form or length of provisions. The flexibility it affords is generally speaking far superior what is found under the aegises of the formal system.
4. Weaknesses. But there are a number of weaknesses related to the characteristics just mentioned but also others. The formal systems is in principle financed by the state, even though private actors are often relatively visible and there is an increasing limit to the extent the state actually supports, in particular higher formal education. But there is still a large difference between what is seen as a potential obligation of the state to foster (the formal system) and what is not (i.e. the non-formal system). But its uncertain place within a system of education is also a problem, so is the lack of institutional standing, with uncertain demand for professional expertise, sometimes a lack of transparency of qualifications but perhaps especially the formal standing of the qualifications or certificates given. Thus its strengths lie in it not being a rigid or inflexible institution or organization, which means that its strengths are its weaknesses.
5. The third relates to the interfaces of this strand to those of formal education on the one hand and informal education on the other and how do they interact? Which features take control? What are the important differences and how do they develop? It is of particular interest to specify the financial aspects (i.e. what does it cost and who pays) and the certification aspects (how does certification affect the different sectors or sub-sectors?)

## Informal education – organised education outside the system of formal education

Informal education can both be regarded as a provision and a feature of education. Here we will not dwell long on the very important point that informal learning may be the most important component of any formal or non-formal setting. Within all educational settings or systems informal learning will take place over and above any formal provisions that may be intended. Thus enormous amount of informal learning occurs within the arena of HE both among students and staff, but this does not affect the formal part of the system. Three issues should be raised here as in the section above.

1. Issue one is if there are any categories that have their own platform and should be included.
2. The second relates to the strengths and weaknesses of this educational arena in general.
3. Strengths. The strength of the informal sector is that it has no credential role whatsoever and it has no form either. The flexibility it affords is absolute in that it allows anything which works (and in fact also what doesn’t – but that goes for all the three sectors).
4. Weaknesses. But there are a number of weaknesses related to the characteristics just mentioned but also others. It has no place within the system, and no recognition except the general acknowledgement that one can learn a lot outside the system. The attempts to recognize this by using assessing competences or prior learning underscore this as a problem.
5. The third issue relates to the interfaces of this strand to the others. It has been suggested that informal learning is a part of both formal and non-formal learning but that doesn’t help much. RPL is perhaps the most visible connection between informal learning and the other sectors.

## Policy implications

A complex education system that has many different aims should have some essential features that help it to achieve its principal aims. A list of those might be different from a list that is composed on the basis of each strand. It would be interesting to see if these could be delineated and mapped onto the system as a whole. In very general terms it is desired to retain the strength of the current strands and minimize their weaknesses. It would also be desirable to reduce any weaknesses that stem from the relative isolation of each of these strands and their lack of interaction or any concerted action. Also their relative financial strengths should be discussed. Possible negative side effects of some their strengths such as class differentiation, gender inequalities, lack of inclusion, inertia or lack of responsiveness. Another side of this coin may be lack of proactive action, e.g. in the direction of new curricula, new educational cultures, new methods of teaching, use of on-line education, new perspective vis-à-vis professional development, all of which may been seen in some spheres but not others. Going through the literature, the policy analysis also gives a very strong impression of a fragmented discourse.

## Conclusion and proposed challenges for research

It has been partly explicit and very strongly implicit in the present account that HE as the stealthiest provider of education for adults expands and develops generally without much regard for any of the other adult educational strands. Nor does show much interest in the tasks they attempt to undertake. And it is not clear that it is generally regarded as an adult educational actor; and if this is so, why not – and will this really change? Nor does it see itself as an active participant in various non-formal provisions as those under the rubric of continuing education, professional development, work place learning or recognition of prior learning nor as a developer of informal educational activities as a part of its major programmes. This is despite its obvious place within the arena of lifelong learning. It is even open to debate if it should be a major operator of distance learning or on-line provisions. It is nevertheless conceded here that interesting and forceful counter examples contracting the above statement exist but these are still seen as marginal as compared to the massive operation of higher education.

To a certain extent higher education interacts with other arenas basically on its own terms and there are a number of examples of interplay with those. These examples are presented in the non-formal literature but not the mainstream HE literature. It needs to be explored to what extent the claims above hold water. It also needs to be established to what extent transversal discourses like that of lifelong learning and online learning (distance education) might provide bridges between the different strands or at least erode the boundaries between them or if other tools or discourses are likely to do this. It is also very important to know if informal learning is making inroads into HE, either as loosening up the structural chains holding HE squarely within its formal arena or by some mechanism of recognition of prior learning which may be a tool for opening up HE ([Halttunen, Koivisto, & Billett, 2014](#_ENREF_6)). Institutional theory has been used to explore the nature and development of educational institutions [H.-D. Meyer and Rowan (2006)](#_ENREF_9) apply institutional theory to the analysis of education and [J. W. Meyer, Ramirez, Frank, and Schofer (2007)](#_ENREF_10) to HE specifically. The question then becomes to what extent it becomes fruitful to consider the non-formal systems and even the informal arena from this perspective?

It is well-neigh impossible to present the separately well-developed but very different strands of the educational edifice together. Each owning its own discourse and venue to carry it out as if there was little need for presenting the wood for the trees.

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1. This is approached from various angles in the 2013 European Journal of Educational Research, (see this addressed from different perspectives in [Desjardins & Rubenson, 2013](#_ENREF_2); [Rees, 2013](#_ENREF_12); [Saaar, Ure, & Desjardins, 2013](#_ENREF_13)). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. This may be gauged by exploring the content of various journals (here informally), selected with the only constraint that they contain adult education or literacy or learning in the title, and no attempt is to construct an exhaustive list. In this group are e.g. [Adult Education and Development](http://www.iiz-dvv.de/index.php?article_id=121&clang=1) which seems to refer to the concept within the arena of non-formal education, similarly the references to adults in the *Journal of Research & Practice for Adult Literacy, Secondary & Basic Education*, similarly *in Adult education quarterly, Adult Learning, Adults Learning, Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, Journal of Adult Education, The Journal of Human Resource and Adult Learning, New Directions for Adult & Continuing Education (e.g. last issue 2013 with strong links with HE), New Horizons in Adult Education and Human Resource Development, Studies in the Education of Adults,* Also the *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, where the focus is the same as for others but seems to problematize the issue and more than is done in other places to reach explicitly across any possible boundaries into lifelong learning, work place education and professional development. Again *Studies in the Education of Adults* covers the different area of education perhaps more than the other journals, it is published by The National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. In the Dewey Classification system, the term distance education is placed under adult education (in the class 374.4) underscoring its original use outside the formal educational system. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. In the typology of adult learner presented by [Schuetze and Slowey (2012a, pp. 15-16)](#_ENREF_17), this would fit with groups ii)-vii). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. In the typology mentioned above, this would best fit with group i), even though this group may have other venues also. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. It is not clear what groups in the typology this caters for; it probably varies considerably between systems and even institutions. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. OECD suggests “It is estimated that 60% of young adults in OECD countries will enter tertiary-type A programmes during their lifetimes if current patterns of entry continue. In several countries, at least 70% of young adults are expected to enter these programmes, while less than 35% are expected to do so in Belgium, China, Indonesia and Mexico (Education at a Glance 2013, p. 292.). Note: The transition of mature students to higher education: Challenging traditional concepts? Studies in the Education of Adults. Spring2013, Vol. 45 Issue 1, p67-81. 15p. <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?vid=3&sid=98432c61-41d5-41a4-b95b-e8f15f4f1be3%40sessionmgr110&hid=120&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=aph&AN=89641810> [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. There are ample examples of questions of financing adult education that don’t refer to the formal system. http://www.iiz-dvv.de/index.php?article\_id=1477&clang=1 [↑](#footnote-ref-8)