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THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN IMPROVING THE LABOUR MARKET POSITION OF PEOPLE WITHOUT A SECONDARY-SCHOOL-LEAVING CERTIFICATE (A-LEVELS)

Abstract:

Access to education and training, and the quality of education, learning and knowledge have an effect on the competitiveness of a society and its economic growth. Therefore, creating the conditions for a knowledge-based economy and society are now commonly considered as goals to be achieved, the importance of investment into human capital is increasing, and lifelong learning as well as the development of competences required for the latter are becoming a priority. In this context, the need for and the role of adult education have also increased. Adult education can offer a way to correct the deficiencies of formal school education, it can complement insufficient knowledge, and it can provide retraining and further education. As a result, adult education contributes to the improvement of the individuals' labour market position and social status and has an influence on social and economic processes.

People who lag behind as regards their qualifications, abilities and skills may get excluded from society. People with educational disadvantages are often incapable of entering the world of labour, which entails a higher risk of poverty, since income inequalities are still fundamentally determined by educational attainment and the labour market situation. Adult education can provide an opportunity for unqualified, under-qualified and/or unemployed people to obtain or supplement missing or obsolete qualifications, to improve their skills and thus to acquire the "forms of capital" necessary for their integration into the labour market and society.

In the course of a study we would like to point out to what extent these people's participation in adult education can contribute to their (re)integration into the labour market in Hungary, and whether it is really a second chance for them.

Keywords:

labour market, adult education

An Overview of Adult Education from an International Perspective

Access to education and training, and the quality of education, learning and **knowledge have an effect on the competitiveness of a society and its economic growth**. Therefore, creating the conditions for a knowledge-based economy and society are now commonly considered as goals to be achieved, the importance of investment into human capital is increasing, and lifelong learning as well as the development of competences required for the latter are becoming a priority. In this context, **the need for and the role of adult education have also increased**. Adult education¹ can offer a way to correct the deficiencies of formal school education, it can complement insufficient knowledge, and it can provide retraining and further education. As a result, adult education **contributes to the improvement of the individuals' labour market position and social status** and has an influence on social and economic processes.

Due to the rapidly changing working conditions, there is now demand for a workforce that can be continuously retrained, developed, and that flexibly adapts to changes and is capable of renewal. Consequently, participation in further training might be necessary for highly qualified workers as well. Moreover, adult education can provide an opportunity for unqualified, underqualified and/or unemployed people to obtain or supplement missing or obsolete qualifications, to improve their skills and thus to acquire the "forms of capital" necessary for their integration into the labour market and society.²

¹ According to an encyclopaedia of adult education and training, adult education and training is defined as "the goal-oriented organized development of the personality of persons of full age and adults, directed at the achievement of specific goals." (Benedek–Csoma–Harangi 2002: 172) This field comprises two subfields: adult training and adult education. Adult education "is that subfield of adult education and training which mainly consists in the transmission and acquisition of knowledge." (Benedek–Csoma–Harangi 2002: 172) Adult training is "a form of education that focuses on shaping a person's skills and proficiencies" (Benedek–Csoma–Harangi 2002: 163), but it can also refer to "the professional education, further training and retraining of adults." (Benedek–Csoma–Harangi 2002: 163) In the following, we will use the expression 'adult education' uniformly, as a general term.

² The authors distinguish several areas of adult education based on different criteria. One of them is adult education within the formal educational system, which is oriented toward providing general or vocational training. In terms of the three stages of the formal educational system, this type of adult education operates on the levels of primary, secondary and tertiary (higher) education; and in terms of the system of teaching, the training can be performed through evening or distance learning courses. Another rather wide-spread sector is training outside the formal educational system, the largest field of which is training on the labour market in a broad sense, which is carried out within several organizational frameworks and is aimed at groups in different situations. One part of this sector deals mainly with the training of unemployed people in the framework of the system of labour market organizations established by the state. This activity involves unemployment-related re-training, including for career-starters who have just finished school and are looking for employment. The regional labour force development and training centres established in the 90s form one of the new organisational foci of this training field. Another significant area of training outside the formal educational system is on-the-job training, workplace education and further training that serve as a means to maintain and develop the active labour force. Some of these programmes are organised at the workplace, while others are training courses financed by the employers or the employees organised in different frameworks at different locations (by training companies, within programmes of labour force development and training centres, or even in the form of courses offered by formal educational institutions). (Tót 2007)

In the past, adult education within the school system had at least two functions. On the one hand, it had a correctional role in the sense that it responded to failures of the educational system that attends to the traditional age-groups. This function remained in place for a long time undisturbed, since there were no demands it had to meet of the kind that emerge in the context of the current, increasingly differentiated social structure. Later a formal adult education system was introduced with a

Naturally, education – and adult education in particular – is not just a question of economy and the labour market. It also has an effect on the development of an individual's personality, cultural integration and equal opportunities in society. People who lag behind with respect to their qualifications, abilities and skills may get excluded from society. (Pulay 2009) People with educational disadvantages are often incapable of entering the world of labour, which entails a higher risk of poverty, since income inequalities are still fundamentally determined by educational attainment and the labour market situation. (Harcza-Papp-Vukovich 2006) Unemployment can become a lifestyle for unqualified, unemployed or otherwise disadvantaged people and thus they might pass this cultural disadvantage down to the next generation (Koltai 1999). Adult education can play a dominant role in helping these groups that are lagging behind to catch up. (Koltai-Szép 2010) Although it does not solve the problems of poverty, discrimination and social deprivation in itself, it is capable of contributing to the reduction of these disadvantages (Koltai 1999), and thus can be an antidote to exclusion and a tool for social inclusion. This is because a successful adult education programme may have positive effects on employment and welfare indicators as well. (Pulay 2009)

Due to the significance of education and, more specifically, ***the significance of adult education, various strategies, programmes and recommendations are being put forward*** both internationally and at the EU level ***to broaden access to adult education, to increase the number of participants and to improve the quality and efficiency of the training.*** The OECD stated in 1996 that 20 % of adults with low levels of educational attainment and 100 % of the long-term unemployed should take part in retraining programmes every year. In addition, 40 % of the employees are to participate annually in training related to their jobs. According to OECD data, on average more than 40 % of the adults attended formal or non-formal training in the examined years (1995, 2000 and 2008), but in Hungary and Greece the rate of participation did not even reach 15 %. (OECD 2011) According to a survey carried out in the European Union between 2005 and 2007, ***the rate of people participating in adult education*** is 36 % on average, while this proportion is only 9 % ***in Hungary***, which is ***the lowest figure among the member states.*** The difference in participation is especially significant with respect to training outside the formal educational system, since this rate is 33 % in the case of EU member states, whereas for Hungary it is only 6.8 %. (KSH [Central Statistics Office] 2010) The Hungarian adult education data show a significant shortfall compared to the European countries with respect to both the employed and the unemployed. Besides the low participation rate, another criticism concerning adult education in Hungary is that different kinds of educational activity – on the one hand, training that aims to provide high-level qualifications which meet the requirements dictated by the competitive market, and on the other hand, educational and training activities the purpose of which is to help people who are disadvantaged or lagging behind to catch up – are not distinguished and separated adequately in systems that manage, support and measure these activities. (Koltai-Szép 2010) Moreover, adult education in Hungary does not adapt

supplementary/rehabilitative role for those who did or could not obtain the (necessary) adequate level of schooling at an appropriate age. (Mayer 2000) Besides its function of supplementing missing knowledge, adult education was assigned a vocational training and further training function as well. According to a frequently voiced opinion, the supplementary function of adult education has become secondary in the recent past. Adult education increasingly serves the needs of students who intend to follow up their studies, i.e. the former role has given way to retraining and further training functions. However, the role of adult education in offering a so-called second chance still remains strong. (Benő 1996)

well enough to the actual educational needs; that is, on the one hand, the educational supply is not aligned flexibly enough to the changing demand, and on the other hand, **among the people who are most in need, the proportion of those who have access to the educational system is not sufficiently large.** (Pulay 2009)

Who has participated in adult education after leaving school?

Consequently, people attending adult education programmes in Hungary are usually not the ones who would most urgently need to increase their qualification levels or to supplement missing skills. Firstly, the highest level of educational attainment significantly influences participation in learning outside the system of school education (KSH 2010), and therefore **it is less likely that people with low levels of educational attainment continue their studies in adult education than people with a university degree.** (Köllő 2010, Csaba 2010) Since further education is present most dynamically among those who have studied in higher education, it is the same people that can benefit the most from adult education who are also major beneficiaries of public and higher education. In this way, adult education actually increases the differences among social and employment groups instead of reducing them. (Kozma 2006) Secondly, **groups that can be more easily involved in education are overrepresented among people who participate in labour market training as well**, so among the unemployed, it is also mainly the more educated, younger and more motivated adults who continue their studies. (Szöllősi 1997) Labour market training is primarily aimed at people who had successfully finished secondary or vocational school, and it is not meant as a way to help people without a profession to find a job, but instead supports those who already have a profession but want to change careers; therefore it is not very well aimed as an active labour market instrument. (Consulting 2011, Csoba-Nagy 2011) Thirdly, **there are great territorial inequalities** not only with respect to education within the system of school education and to employment, but – obviously in connection with these – also **to adult education.** Participation rate in training outside the school system is lowest in the Dél-Alföld (5.6%) and Észak-Alföld (6.1%) regions (in the Eastern part of Hungary). (KSH 2010) The type of settlement where a person lives also plays an important role in their access to labour market training: people living in towns are more likely to participate in training courses than those who live in villages. With respect to the level of development of micro-regions, the chance of participation is bigger in the intermediately and highly developed regions than in the least developed areas. (Consulting 2011)

Considering this background, **people with a low level of educational attainment living in disadvantaged regions** or micro-regions have the least chance to be able to access adult education. In what follows, we try to analyse **to what extent these people's participation in adult education can contribute to their (re)integration into the labour market.** We will concentrate on the Észak-Alföld region, which is – according to the Human Development Index³ – the second least developed region of

³ Internationally, the Human Development Index (HDI) is used to measure and compare human development in each country, although its content and usefulness continue to be disputed. The United Nations Development Programme has been publishing the Human Development Index since 1990 with the aim to measure and compare the human development of countries around the world. The human development indices of countries and groups of countries are calculated based on the following factors: long and healthy life (life expectancy at birth), level of knowledge (level of literacy in the adult population's and the proportion of people who participate in the three levels of schooling – primary, secondary and tertiary education – compared to the appropriate age group – usually assigned weights

Hungary (Smahó 2010), and which probably exhibits the biggest gap between the demand and supply sides of the labour market. (Polonkai 2004)⁴ The INNOTÁRS research project of the Department of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Debrecen entitled "Employment and Job-Seeking Willingness in the Low-Employment Segments", which was carried out between January 2009 and June 2010, provided the framework for our investigation.⁵ It included **a questionnaire survey among persons living in the Észak-Alföld region who had not attained a secondary-school-leaving certificate (A-levels) and were between the ages of 16 and 64**. In the course of this survey, **we interviewed 991 people altogether**.⁶ The questionnaire emphasized the educational and career path of the respondent. By analysing the answers given to these questions, we will try to demonstrate the characteristics of people without secondary-level education that are relevant to adult education.

of two-thirds vs. one-third respectively for each level), and the standard of living (GDP per capita based on purchasing power parity in USD). (Smahó 2010)

⁴ The smallest proportion of the population is employed in the Észak-Alföld region in comparison with all the other regions, and the composition of the workforce in terms of educational attainment is somewhat worse than the national average. The rate of unemployment in this region significantly exceeds the national average. (Polonkai 2004) In 2009, the national average percentage of registered job-seekers relative to the economically active-age population was 12.8 %. The most advantageous region in this respect is the Central Hungarian (Közép-Magyarország) region (5.4 %), whereas the North Hungarian (Észak-Magyarország at 20.9 %) and the Észak-Alföld (20.2 %) regions are in the worst position. (Állami Foglalkoztatási Szolgálat [National Employment Service] 2010) One reason for the low employment and high unemployment rates is that the educational level of the unemployed falls significantly behind the national average. In Hungary, the educational attainment level of the population is lowest in the Észak-Alföld region. 46 % of the unemployed who are registered in the region had only completed primary school at most (the national rate is 42 %), 52 % of them had secondary-level qualifications, with 34 % having finished a vocational school, while 2 % of them were higher education graduates (the national average is 3 %). (Polonkai 2004)

⁵ The programme was carried out under the supervision of chief researcher Dr. Balázs Krémer, with the support of Nemzeti Kutatási és Technológiai Hivatal (National Office for Research and Technology; project number: INNOTARS_08-1-2008-0004). The general aim of this research programme is to provide a complex answer to the following question: "Why is the level of low-segment employment (and thus the employment level of the whole population) low, even though the opposite of this should be the case based on all aspects of the economic structure?" In other words, the research programme tries to reveal the characteristics of and reasons for the low rate of employment among people with low levels of educational attainment. The aim of the complex examination of the workforce was to identify those factors that influence or determine the degree to which the part of the economically active-age population that only attained primary-level education at most is interested and willing to take up employment.

⁶ The goal of the large sample questionnaire survey among the target group was, firstly, to uncover the relative frequency and structural significance of the "in between" situations between unemployment, employment and inactivity, and the labour market positions and career paths revealed through interviews. Secondly, it also aimed to test relationships, explanatory factors and models that were identified through the interview survey, and to statistically generalize these results. And thirdly, its objective was a comparative investigation of groups that differ with respect to their activity, which makes it possible to identify more precisely those explanatory factors that really determine the target group's interest and willingness to work. We had set ourselves the aim to poll 1000 people. The questionnaire, as regards its subject matter, aims to explore whole lifeworlds by measuring not only work-related strategies, but also the diversity of ways to secure one's living and possible educational disappointments. As a consequence, the size of the questionnaire is unusually extensive (48 pages); however, this also means that we can analyse numerous variables. The subjects were selected randomly in order to guarantee the statistical relevance of the data. We selected the municipalities that would be included in the sample randomly, with the help of a target programme (Telepbank). We set the number of interviews that were to be carried out in each municipality so that the sample would be proportional to the number of residents aged between 16 and 64 without at least secondary-level educational attainment in three counties of Hungary and with respect to municipalities of different sizes. In order to reach our respondents, we chose the method of "random walking" with the help of our methodology experts to select the households, which was complemented by the birthday method.

Of the respondents who were interviewed in the course of this survey, 44.9 % had participated or were participating in adult education. The significant difference between the national average figure that had been measured earlier and this number is explained by the fact that while the OECD data show the percentage of people aged between 25 and 64 who were participating in adult education during a given year, the data at hand reflect the respondents' participation in adult education during their entire economically active life path after leaving school. In other words, the reason for the difference is that whereas the OECD looked at a cross-section, our research investigated participation during the whole life-cycle up to the time of the survey; furthermore, the latter also included respondents who were younger than 25.

Out of the respondents, **people living in villages are present in adult education to a much lower proportion** (34.7 %) than people living in county seats and county boroughs (48.8 %), or in other towns (50.2 %). As regards the size of the municipalities, the tendency is that **the rate of people participating in adult education usually grows as the number of inhabitants increases**, with the exception of municipalities with 501–1000 inhabitants, where the rate is higher (50 %) and municipalities with 50,001–100,000 inhabitants, where the rate of people studying in adult education is the lowest (26.7 %).

The parents' educational attainment, qualification and position with respect to the division of labour within society are related to their children's educational results and success. Among those respondents who have not received a secondary-school-leaving certificate (A-levels), their mother/foster mother most frequently has an educational attainment of eight years of elementary school (51.5 %) and this proportion is also observable in the subsample of people participating in adult education (49.1 %). **The mother's level of educational attainment is correlated to the child's likelihood of participation in adult education.** The rate of participation in training courses is lowest among those whose mother/foster mother did not attend school at all (33.3 %), while those whose mother/foster mother completed grammar school are present at the highest rate (64.3 %). They are followed by those whose mother has a higher educational attainment (55.6 %) or a vocational or technical school qualification (54.3 %). We observed similar connections between the father's/foster father's educational attainment and the child's rate of participation in adult education. If we turn our attention to municipalities, the participation rate in courses is the lowest (9.1 %) among those participants who had lived in the capital during their childhood. This rate is much higher in the other types of municipalities and it is highest (50.4 %) among those who had lived in towns or cities other than the capital. **A further important factor in relation to participation in adult education is the kind of neighbourhood within the municipality the respondent had lived in during his/her childhood.** 65.2 % of those who had lived in a wealthy neighbourhood studied in adult education. By contrast, only 23.3 % of those who had lived in an area with poorer residents attended educational courses for adults.

Participation in adult education shows a close correlation with a person's highest educational attainment, i.e. **the higher a group's educational attainment, the higher the rate of participation in adult education.** The latter is below 10 % in the case of people who completed less than 8 years at school, but more than one-third among those who completed primary school, and even more than 50 % among those with a vocational or technical school qualification. We get a more complex picture if we take into consideration not only the schools which a person finished, but also those that he or she began. Thereby we can observe that **the schools that had been begun by a person play a very important role in their participation in adult**

education. 35.1 % of people with primary-level educational attainment participate in adult education, but among those who started attending secondary school after leaving primary school, this proportion is 45.5 %. Similarly, the rate of participants in adult education among people with vocational or technical school qualification is 51.7 %; however, among those who had also begun studies at a school that offers A-levels, the participation rate is as high as 81.8 %.

44.9 % of the 991 respondents of the survey have participated in adult education. 44.1 % also acquired a qualification in an adult education course. Typically (60.7 %), they participated in one training course, but some of them attended two, three or even more courses. Since every form of learning outside the formal education system is or may be significant for our research, we examined all types of courses. According to the "orientation" of adult education, we arranged the forms of training into two groups: those that develop general, common areas of knowledge or competences, and those that provide professional skills or skills related to a certain work activity. The general courses typically prepare for driving licences for motorbikes and cars or teach computer literacy skills, whereas professional training courses include a rather diverse range of professions, such as heavy machinery operator, personal and property security guard, shop assistant, store manager, tailor/dressmaker, etc.⁷ **30.7 % of the participants in adult education attended general courses, while 69.3 % of them took part in professional courses.** Most of them did not enter adult education via their employer or a job centre (this was only the case for 12.3 %), but in some other way, organised privately (54.4 %); however, employer's initiatives are also present to a significant degree (31.2 %). Where the number of courses attended is higher, these proportions shift, and the percentage of people who join courses thanks to their employer rises.

How much better is the labour market situation of people participating in adult education?

Most participants (45.6 %) decided to study in the hope of finding employment. Other reasons for participation are represented to a much lower degree, such as an obligation imposed by the employer or the possibility that the person could utilise the skill in everyday life (under 20 %), and the number of those is even lower who attend a course because it relates to one of their hobbies or because they are simply interested, or because they are being paid for participating. Only 14.7 % of people completing training courses believe that they had not benefited from the training, **55.5 % of them stated that they had gained an advantage in job-seeking or at their workplace** through it, and 26.1 % of them claimed that they had experienced its benefits in their everyday lives. The participants can make use of the professional courses during job-seeking and their professional activities to a greater extent (65.1 %) than of the general courses (46.2 %). However, for their everyday lives the general courses proved to be more useful (39.6 % of the participants in general courses had benefited from them in everyday life, whereas this percentage is 17.5 % for the professional courses).

We examined the respondents' general, practical, professional and language competences. Overall, people with a low level of educational attainment have the most problems with using the internet and writing a formal request or letter. At the same time, **the participants in adult education** have higher averages in every

⁷ In the questionnaire we did not define categories in advance. The interviewers recorded the name of each qualification mentioned by the respondent in their replies to the relevant question.

category, so ***their competences are stronger***. This could obviously be linked to our earlier result showing that the rate of participants in adult education is higher among people with higher levels of educational attainment and with better socio-demographic characteristics. However, it is also possible that the participants' competences had not been higher from the outset, but developed as a result of the courses. We analysed the practical competences in the same way and arrived at a similar outcome. With the exception of a few activities (sewing buttons, taking in dresses, cutting hair, bottling vegetables), there are significant differences between people who had participated in adult education and those who had not. ***The average of the practical competences is always higher in the case of people who had participated in adult education.*** The respondents' foreign language knowledge is very low; hardly any of them can understand, speak, read or write any foreign language. The largest number of people responded that they understood spoken English or German, but even these only constitute 8.2 % and 7.2 % of the total number of respondents respectively. In terms of language skills, a significant difference between the answers of respondents who have or have not participated in adult education is only observable for English and Russian, where the percentage of participants in adult education was higher.

A large percentage of participants of adult education were able to make a good use of the acquired knowledge and qualification on the labour market. Overall, only slightly more than one-quarter of them have never used the qualification they had obtained in adult education. ***One-quarter of them have used it occasionally; however, 44.6 % of them have worked with the qualification that they had acquired at a course for a longer period of time.*** We can also observe that a bigger proportion of people holding more than one qualification has worked in a field corresponding to their qualification for a longer term. This leads us to believe that the respondents who take part in more than one adult training course consider this carefully, and choose ones that will probably help them to find a job, i.e. one for which there is demand on the labour market. In many cases, it is the employer who obliges respondents who took part in more than one course to attend training courses.

According to our survey, 18.2 % of those who participated in adult education were required by their employers to do so, whereas for 27.9 % the employer paid for the course as well. Therefore, we assume that in these cases the employers invested into the training because they wanted to keep the participants employed in the long term. Taking into consideration these cases as well, the proportion of people working with a qualification that they have acquired through adult education is exceedingly high. Furthermore, only 31.8 % of those who have never worked with a qualification they have attained in a training course claimed that they have not benefited in any other way from it either; their majority, however, said they had found the qualification or the acquired knowledge useful during job-seeking and working (25.6 %) or in everyday life (40.8 %).

Examining the correlations between the qualification acquired in adult education and professional activity from a different perspective, we can observe that ***the more time has been spent working, the higher the rate of participation in adult education is in a group.*** Among those who have never worked, only 23.5 % have participated in adult education, whereas more than half of those did who have spent more than 75 % of the economically active-age period of their lives working. Moreover, ***the more courses the respondents attended, the smaller the percentage of those who had never been employed*** and the higher the percentage of those who had

spent more than 75 % of their active-age life working. Also, the higher the proportion of legally reported employment was within active work, the smaller the number of people who had not participated in adult education, and the bigger the number of those who had taken part in more than one course. Given these findings, the following result concerning the proportion of inactivity is unsurprising: the higher percentage of active-age life is taken up by inactivity, the smaller the rate of participation in adult education. Among those whose time spent unemployed is highest (100 %) within their active-age period, participation in adult education is lowest (13.5 %).

Conclusion: Development or Selection?

Overall, the employment indicators of those who have participated in adult education (currently, i.e. after the courses and in connection with them) are usually better than those of people who have not taken part in training. So this indicates that adult education as "development" has measurable effects. We have seen that a large percentage of people coming from disadvantaged regions and lacking a secondary-school-leaving certificate have taken advantage of training opportunities and that they profit from them as well, since more than half of the participants benefited from the courses during job-seeking or working, and many have been working with the acquired qualification in a longer term. As regards both their competences and their labour market positions, participants in adult education are in a better situation than people who have never taken part in it. The question arises whether this is due to the fact that it is usually highly motivated adults with better backgrounds and a higher level of education that participate in adult education, who are already in a more favourable labour market position even without adult education, or whether the participants develop – regardless of their backgrounds, education or ambitions – thanks to adult education, and thereby become more successful on the labour market.

What is more dominant: the selectional effect or the efficiency of adult education? We do not believe that there is a definite answer to the question whether adult education is efficient or not with respect to people with a low level of educational attainment. This is because we cannot treat people without a secondary-school-leaving certificate as a homogeneous group: from the perspective of participation and effectiveness, the question of who attends these courses (as regards sex, age, level of educational attainment, etc.) does make a difference. Furthermore, the chosen forms of training are not equally likely to lead to success, since different courses (with different durations, contents, etc.) cannot be attributed the same weight.

Nevertheless, we can conclude based on our survey that people who do not study as adults are primarily those with worse socio-demographic and socio-cultural backgrounds as well as the unemployed. In this respect, therefore, **more motivated adults with better backgrounds and higher levels of educational attainment participate in adult education.** Further research is necessary to establish the exact effect of the training courses on this group's access to employment and the extent of this effect. In other words, adult education helps improve the position of **disadvantaged groups**, but because of this selectional effect **it is exactly those people who need courses** supplementing missing basic competences and providing professional skills **most urgently that do not have access to services which could improve their labour market opportunities.**

Adult education clearly plays a role in social, economic and labour-market processes. It ensures a more qualified labour force and **can help groups that lag behind to catch up, provided that we succeed in stopping adverse selection**, i.e. the tendency that adult education further reinforces the educational inequalities that had

emerged in the school system. Adult education can mean social mobility for some of its participants. For this, however, **the educational forms** that are accessible for the unemployed **must take into consideration the demands of the labour market, and they should not only target people for whom successful outputs are likely.**

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