BARRIERS TO THE EDUCATION OF ADULTS WITH LITTLE OR NO EDUCATION WITHIN THE SLOVAK SCHOOL SYSTEM

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Abstract

Completion of one’s education in adult age is especially problematic for those who have previously only achieved little education and competence. There are several reasons why adults participate in lifelong education in such small numbers. The paper aims to identify and analyse the barriers that prevent adults with no or only primary education in the Slovak school system from achieving education, based on secondary analysis of the legislation and policies influencing second chance education at primary and secondary vocational schools in the Slovak Republic. The authors focus on the institutional barriers to second chance education at primary and secondary vocational schools that are analysed in the context of socio-cultural barriers to education of adults with little education and basic competences. As the outcome of the secondary analysis of the legislation and documents related to second chance education of adults with no or only primary education, such barriers were identified as the creation of cheap workforce, insufficient awareness, funding, and school leavers who cannot find employment.

Keywords: school system, second chance education, adults with no education, adults with primary education, barrier to the education

1. INTRODUCTION

In the labour market, adults with no or only primary education are groups with a higher than average risk of being unemployed and/or socially excluded. In Slovakia, the 2019 proportion of job seekers with no or only primary education was 28.65% out of the total number of job seekers (Unemployment – monthly statistics; Nezamestnanosť – mesačné štatistiky – December, 2019, Offices of Labour, Social Matters and Family (OLSMF)). A higher proportion of job seekers with no or only primary education was recorded in less developed regions of Slovakia with a higher incidence of marginalised Roma communities (cf. The Atlas of Roma Communities; Atlas rómskych komunít, 2019), in the regions of Central and, mainly, Eastern Slovakia. Specifically, the 2019 proportion of job seekers out of the total number of job seekers was 35.87% in the Banská Bystrica self-governing region, 36.5% in the Košice self-governing region and 36.5% in the Prešov self-governing region, in spite of these being the lowest recorded unemployment rates throughout the entire independent existence of Slovakia – 4.92% (Nezamestnanosť – mesačné štatistiky; Nezamestnanosť – mesačné štatistiky – December, 2019, OLSMF) and the support provided to less developed regions in the form of policies, documents, and strategies for lifelong learning, socio-economic and regional development, action plans for less developed districts, following Europe 2020 Strategies (Stratégia Európa 2020, 2010) and EU funding.

Secondary education has been the minimum requirement for succeeding in the labour market (Adults in Formal Education; Dospelí vo formálnom vzdelávaní, 2011). Completing secondary education is considered vital for adequate social functioning, fulfilling social roles culturally (from the gender as well as historical viewpoint) to adult age, regardless ethnicity or the position in the social stratification, especially regarding adults with little or no education and a low level of basic skills (Lukáč, Lukáčová, Pirohová, 2019, p. 517). In European countries, there are various models of education, enabling those who left their initial education early to achieve primary education or increase the level of their education in so-called second chance education (second chance schools).

Second chance education is defined as “a chance for adults to achieve, in a continued cycle, such type and level of education that is normally achieved in young age during the initial cycle of education [...]” (Švec, 2008, p. 225). In Slovakia, it is only possible to increase the level of one’s education in second chance education within the school system. There are several causes – barriers (institutional, socio-
According to Cross (1981, p. 98), institutional barriers are those “practices and processes that exclude or discourage working adults from participation in educational activities”. This definition can also be used in the context of unemployed adults. In andragogical concepts, the focus is on the education of adult learners and their needs (Knowles et al., 2005), as well as social, ethnic, gender, and personality differences among adults. In Brookfield’s view (1996, p. 379), “the differences in the class, culture, ethnicity, personality, cognitive style, learning patterns, life experience and gender among adults are much more significant than the fact they are adults rather than children”. In this context, institutional barriers cannot be separated from socio-cultural, ethnic, gender, situational, and individual barriers.

2. SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF THE LEGISLATION AND DOCUMENTS REGARDING SECOND CHANCE EDUCATION OF ADULTS WITH NO OR ONLY PRIMARY EDUCATION

The legislation, documents, and the database of second chance education providers, school education programmes aimed at adults with no or only primary education in the Slovak Republic have been subjected to a secondary analysis. The aim of the analysis was to identify institutional barriers to the education of adults with no or only primary education within the school system in Slovakia. The identified institutional barriers were analysed and put in the context of socio-cultural barriers identified and analysed in research projects aimed at the education of adult Roma from marginalised communities in Slovakia (Pirohová, Lukáč, Lukáčová, 2016; Pirohová, Lukáč, Lukáčová, 2019) and other research results of educating adults who have only achieved a low level of education in the school system (e.g. Desjardins, 2009; Rais et al., 2014; Christodoulou et al., 2018).

The background for the paper were the theories of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1987; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1997), culture of poverty (Lewis, 1975; Payne, 2010), and Bernstein’s language codes (2005). Apart from long-term, rather than incidental, low income in families, such barriers to education in adult age were identified and analysed that are related to the schemes of thought and behaviour, passed on from generation to generation, within the culture of poverty, as part of the ingrained form of the cultural capital of adults, such as focus on the present and a career understood as breadwinning. Such schemes of thought within the culture of poverty, born from the interaction with the social environment, are passed on from one generation to another and manifest in a low level of motivation to participate in education in adult age. Prevailing gender stereotypes have been identified, manifested in an unequal approach of men and women to education (Lukáč, 2015; Pirohová, Lukáč, Lukáčová, 2016).

Adults taking part in second chance education are generally expected to be able to study independently. Wood (1996) found out that a lack of self-confidence correlates with low readiness to study. Denny (1996) established that feelings of uncertainty, related to a low level of literacy and the fear of the unknown, act as barriers to the participation of adults in education. It is especially those adults with no or only primary education, moreover, members of an ethnic minority, who, apart from a low level of basic competences, also use a restricted language code in communication (Pirohová, 2019). According to Bernstein (2005, p. 32), “language is considered one of the most important means of initiating, synthesizing, and reinforcing ways of thinking, feeling and behavior which are functionally related to the social group”. Bernstein, in his studies and research, dealt with and confirmed the relationship between language, social class and success in school. In communication using a restricted language code, poor vocabulary is predictable and follows structured and cyclical rituals. Language codes “can be defined, on a linguistic level, in terms of the probability of predicting for any one speaker which syntactic elements will be used to organize meaning” (Bernstein, 2005, p. 58).

In the case of an elaborated code, the speaker chooses from a relatively extensive range of alternatives and, therefore, the probability of predicting the pattern of organising elements is considerably reduced. It could be said that, in communication within the process of adult education of Roma from marginalised communities, not only poor vocabulary in the Slovak language is problematic but also the particular
meaning of words reflecting local social structure and specific, rigid, ordering of meanings following the forms of social relationships, socialisation, type of education in the extended family and in a segregated community (Pirohová, Lukáč, Lukáčová, 2019).

In qualitative research on second chance education of Roma women, low ability to study independently as well as poor digital competences were identified (Pirohová, Lukáč, Lukáčová, 2019). The outcomes of the qualitative research cannot be generalised but can still be considered barriers to the participation of adults who have achieved primary education in second chance schooling; especially, if carried out in distance form.

3. SECOND CHANCE EDUCATION IN SLOVAKIA AND BARRIERS TO THE SCHOOLING OF ADULTS WITH NO OR ONLY PRIMARY EDUCATION

In Slovakia, second chance education, i.e. education of adults within the school system, is a type of education defined by school legislation.

In the system of primary and secondary schools in the Slovak Republic, second chance education is legislatively set out in Act No. 539/2008 on Upbringing and Education (School Act). Nevertheless, there is no mention of the term ‘second chance education’ in the text of the above act. The possibility to study at primary and secondary schools in adult age is guaranteed by the principles of upbringing and education as c) equality in the approach to upbringing and education, taking the educational needs of an individual and their part in the responsibility for their own education into regard, and f) lifelong education (§ 3 Principles of Upbringing and Education, 245/2008 Coll.). In the context of lifelong education, the corresponding act defines an option for adults to achieve primary education and increase the level of their education at primary and secondary schools in a part-time form of study, carried out in evening, part-time, or distance form (§ 54 Forms of Organisations of Upbringing and Education, 245/2008 Coll.).

Completed lower secondary education (i.e. completed primary education) is a condition for entering secondary education. In the case of those adults who have not completed primary education, there is the option to complete primary education concurrently with achieving secondary education directly at the secondary school in question. “In this way, one of the main barriers to achieving secondary education by those who were unsuccessful at primary school (in the studied environment, this mainly concerns members of marginalised, especially segregated Roma, settlements) was solved (Lukáč, Lukáčová, Pirohová, 2019, p. 519).

With regard to the group of people lacking vocational education, secondary schools can:

a) provide education aimed at completing primary school (lower secondary education) following §42 Art. 4 of the School Act: “for physical persons who have not completed lower secondary education according to §16 Art. 3 Letter b) organise education at that level of education which is completed by a commissional exam in all taught subjects apart from subjects with educational focus1;

b) provide education aimed at achieving the lowest level of secondary vocational education, i.e. (according to ISCED 2011) lower secondary vocational education. In the same category are so-called F-type programmes, offering their school leavers a ‘skill’ in the field, i.e. a certificate of the final exam. These programmes are primarily attended by students (including adults) with special educational needs. Such education can also be attended by individuals who have not completed the last year of primary school or are unable to prove they have;

c) education aimed at obtaining a vocational certificate or a school-leaving certificate proving the completion of secondary vocational or upper secondary vocational education.

Educating adults is, in the school system, also defined by work and employment legislation, if it concerns job seekers registered at Offices of Labour, Social Matters and Family. Second chance education for registered job seekers with no or only primary education takes place within schooling and

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1 Subjects such as Music, Art and Physical Education
preparation for the labour market; still, it does not provide the option to increase the level of education, “this, however, does not relate to the completion of education at primary or secondary school in those job seekers who do so for the purposes of obtaining a certificate of completing education at primary or secondary school in the final year of the respective school, following projects and programmes defined by §46 Art. 3“(§44, Art. 2, Act No. 5/2004 Coll. on Employment Services).

3.1 Policies influencing second chance education of adults with little education – creation of cheap workforce

The terms and course of second chance education of adults at primary and secondary schools in the Slovak Republic are influenced by whether or not the measures included in the documents regarding lifelong education, as well as policies of employment and regional development in Slovakia following the National Goals of the 2020 Europe Strategy for the Slovak Republic approved by the Slovak government in No. 386/2010 from June 9th, 2010 are implemented.

The most recent document related to lifelong education in the Slovak Republic is the Action Plan for the 2011 Lifelong Learning Strategy, (2012), which only includes one measure regarding education of adults in the school system – “to increase the interest of secondary schools in participating in the system of lifelong education” (2012, p. 4). The Working Group of ET 2020 in charge of adult education between 2016 and 2018 (Promoting Adult Learning in the Workplace, 2018) recommended that the education of adults in the workplace become a political priority, which should also be reflected in specific measures (2018, p. 23). Education of adults in the workplace can be carried out in a formal way, in cooperation with secondary vocational schools. Slovakia is one of those countries where the need to strengthen the measures regarding adult learning in the workplace has been declared. The Memorandum on Cooperation in Vocational Education and Training and Lifelong Learning between the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sports in the Slovak Republic and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic (2019) declares “cooperation between secondary vocational schools and employers in developing pilot projects for the purposes of increasing the ratio of practical training by employers and reinforcing the cooperation between secondary vocational schools and employers” (2019, p. 3). Regarding lifelong education, the Memorandum (2019) provides space for greater opportunities in educating adults with primary education in the system of secondary vocational schools in Slovakia and the Czech Republic. The text of the declaration, however, does not make it clear to what extent second chance education in the system of secondary vocational schools is supported.

In the period of the Europe 2020 Strategy, the trends in training and educating adults focus even more on the needs of the labour market and the necessary working skills than was the case when the Lisbon Strategy (2000) was in force. According to Borg and Mayo (2004), the EU discourse on basic skills is labour-market oriented and lacking Freire’s concept of critical literacy, which allows one to read the world.

The National Regional Development Strategy of Slovak Politics (2010) and Updating National Regional Development Strategy of the Slovak Republic (2014) have been formulated within the framework of European development policy until 2020.

The gradual decrease of unemployment rates in Slovakia from 13.50% in 2013 to 12.29% in 2014 (Nezamestnanosť – mesačné štatistiky; Unemployment – monthly statistics, OLSMF) varied in different regions. In those regions where the unemployment rates were highest for a long period of time, greater numbers of job seekers with no and only primary education were recorded when compared to the national average.

The uneven development is also manifested within the individual regions – in the disparity between their districts, especially in the Banská Bystrica self-governing region (BBSGR), Prešov self-governing region (PSGR), and Košice self-governing region (KSGR). As a reaction, the government of the Slovak Republic adopted Act No. 336/2015 on Support for the Least Developed Districts and a change and amendment to some acts defining the terms, system and forms of support to the least developed districts.

For the least developed districts, action plans were elaborated and approved by the Slovak government as “binding documents aimed at stopping the least developed district from falling behind, following the
fundamental documents of regional development support, other documents and recommendations of the government” (Act No. 336/2015, § 4, (1)). Adults with no or only primary education were identified as a risk factor in making the disparity between regions more prominent (Updating National Regional Development Strategy of the Slovak Republic, 2014).

With regard to lifelong education, the Integrated Territorial and Urban Strategies (ITUS) of Self-Governing Regions of Slovakia recommends the establishment of “centres for vocational education and training, also as a place for retraining the interested participants as part of lifelong education. Clearly, retraining is preferred” (ITUS of the Košice self-governing region 2015, p. 68).

Concerning those who left school early, there is a measure in the action plans for the advancement of less developed districts recommending the establishment of “training centres dedicated to education, or retraining, of adults that are primarily aimed at acquiring practical skills in a suitable environment as in line with the education programme and in cooperation with secondary vocational schools” (Action Plan for the Development of Kežmarok District 2015, p. 15).

Tasks and measures of lifelong education mainly concern retraining. With regard to job seekers with no education, action plans for less developed districts contain such terms as ‘training for simple professions’, or ‘cooperation with secondary vocational schools and employers’, which suggests an opportunity for one to complete the final year of their primary education as well as secondary education as part of training and preparation for the labour market, primarily at secondary vocational schools. Second chance education is, thus, mainly in less developed districts, understood as a means of preparation/training of adults with no education for simple professions. The education is fast, reduced to the training in necessary working skills, following the short-term needs of the labour market. The needs and potential of an adult individual are not important; what is key is qualification for the needs of the labour market here and now, which is claimed to be a factor for the development of the region and its districts.

“Being only given the opportunity to develop basic skills means that these groups cannot move beyond low-paid, insecure jobs, thus perpetuating. They are Standing’s (2011) precariat, a new class that ends up in precarious, low-paid or exploitative forms of work lacking fair working conditions” (Tuparevska, Santibañez, Solabarrieta, 2020, p. 13).

3.2 Insufficient awareness of second chance education

A lack of information about education is an institutional barrier to adult teaching. It is not only the inability of schools to provide adequate information about the opportunities of the adult education they provide; there is also a “failure of many adults, particularly the least educated and poorest, to seek out or use the information that is available” (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982, p. 137).

Access to information in second chance education is, therefore, closely connected to the level of education and the age of the adult person in question. The level of achieved education suggests the general motivation, direction and ability of the adult to seek out information. Since the majority of information about second chance education can be found online, the ability to search for information is closely connected to the digital competence of adults and, in the case of families with (extremely) low income, whether their households are equipped with the necessary hardware and software and have internet access. Owning a PC, laptop, or smartphone, and an internet connection might not guarantee the ability to seek out information about second chance education, especially in those adults with a low level of education.

Based on available data from the AES 2011 survey, Kešelová (2013) pointed out that access to information decreases with increasing age and decreasing level of education in adults. It follows from the latest available statistical data gathered in 2016 regarding access to information that, in the past twelve months, 21.1% of the asked adult Slovaks searched for information on possible further education. Out of them, more than 40% had a university degree; there is no 2016 information available about those people who had or had not completed their primary education (the last data were recorded in 2011 and stood at 6.4%) (Adult Education Survey, 2016).
Low interest in education on the part of adults is also given as a reason by schools for not offering courses aimed at completion of primary education. This might, among other things, be caused by a low level of awareness regarding the possibilities of education (Hall et al., 2019).

In their recommendations for making second chance education more effective, Rigová, Kováčová and Dráľová (2018) state the importance of inter-sector cooperation that would also lead to an increase in awareness about the possibilities of education as one of the main conditions for incorporating higher numbers of people with no or little education in second chance education. Apart from this, they have also identified the problem of insufficient spreading of information among people who lack education by those involved who come in contact with them (such as employees of labour offices, local social workers, etc.). Most commonly, these adults are in direct contact with the teachers at the school their children attend. If it was in the interest of the (primary or secondary) school, the most efficient way to find out information about the possibilities of furthering one’s education would be directly from the teachers.

3.3 Funding of second chance education of adults lacking primary education

In Slovakia, legislation provides those people who did not complete their primary education with an opportunity to finish primary school in a course of elementary education carried out by primary schools, or at secondary schools simultaneously with their secondary-school studies. From the data included in the Report on the State and Level of the Processes and Conditions for Organising Education Aimed at the Completion of Lower Secondary Education, 2018/2019 it follows that, among the providers of second chance education for adults with no education, those secondary vocational schools prevail which also offer 2-year F-type study programmes for adults with no education. These are aimed at (also adult) students with special educational needs and supported by a high normative amount per student, which makes them profitable for schools.

The quality of courses aimed at the completion of primary education is an issue. This has been addressed by the State School Inspectorate that claimed that secondary schools do not have sufficient personnel (regarding the teachers’ qualification) to achieve similar outcomes of the courses of primary education when compared to education at primary school. Moreover, the geographical position of secondary vocational schools is inconvenient (when compared to primary schools), which means recommendations are directed at the strengthening of the role of primary schools in providing the possibility to complete primary school in those whose initial efforts failed (Report on the State and Level of the Processes and Conditions for Organising Education Aimed at the Completion of Lower Secondary Education, 2018/2019).

Primary schools in Slovakia are evenly distributed in all regions, they are close to socially disadvantaged communities. In spite of that, the courses aimed at completing one’s primary education are only rarely offered by primary schools. According to Hall et al. (2019), one of the reasons why primary schools do not provide their unsuccessful students with a systematic return to school is the lack, or even loss, of financial benefits of such educational activities. In Slovakia, for students who do not attend school full-time, schools receive “a normative amount of 40% for a student taking evening classes compared to the normative amount of a student studying full time and 10% for each other student compared to the normative of a student studying full time” (Government Edict No. 630/2008, §4, (4)).

Courses aimed at the completion of primary education end with a commissional exam, which makes the 10% of the normative amount per student in part-time form rather unprofitable for primary schools when compared to a student studying full-time. Moreover, adult part-time students are required to co-finance their study expenses, which is improbable to expect of those adults who perform low qualification jobs or are unemployed, which makes their income, oftentimes, too low to cover their individual, or family, needs.

The possibility to finance the courses from EU funds is more frequently used by secondary vocational schools. A partial goal in the ‘Employment’ priority within the Strategy for the Integration of Roma in Slovakia by 2020 (2011) is “to also promote the increased employability of the members of Roma communities by means of increasing their level of education and the qualification of job seekers from Roma communities who have not completed their primary (ISCED 2) and secondary education (ISCED
3) – promote second chance education” (Strategy, 2011, p. 33). It is beneficial for Offices of Labour, Social Matters and Family to cooperate with secondary vocational schools in providing job seekers the option to complete their primary education and, at the same time, secondary education at the same secondary vocational school while providing education to (adult) students with special educational needs brings profit to the schools. The quality of the content and the achieved level of education are questionable.

3.4 Offer of programmes within second chance education – school leavers with no employment

Bartnett and Spoehr (2008) highlight the need to interconnect the educational programmes for adults with low qualification with their educational needs and interests; flexibility in education is also necessary and is key to relevant schooling of adults. One of the most significant barriers to the approach and success of education is a low level of basic skills (literacy and numeracy) (Volkoff et al., 2008) and, in the case of adults from marginalised poor communities, restricted language code used for communication (Pirohová, 2019).

According to the data provided by the Slovak Centre of Scientific and Technical Information (SCSTI), 438 secondary vocational schools (state, private, and church schools combined) provided secondary education in the school year 2019/2020. Even though some secondary vocational schools are gradually merged, the network of secondary schools is still considered sufficiently dense to provide, in most cases, optimum availability of secondary education. The content of the programmes at secondary vocational schools, as well as success rate in the labour market is sometimes questionable, since it is impossible to employ a ‘handy woman’, a ‘clothes maker’, or a ‘tailor’ in some regions. In their qualitative research on second chance education of women in the 3-year ‘tailor’ study programme, Pirohová, Lukáč and Lukáčová (2019) identified finding a job as one of the most dominant motivating aspects among participants in second chance education. It could be presumed that, if the study needs of the adults are not met, education can lose meaning, even if they started to realise its importance during their studies.

4. CONCLUSIONS

For the successful, education is an enriching experience which helps develop their abilities and control over their own life, even though this scheme is, in the period of postmodernism, harshly criticised (e.g. Liessmann, 2008; Keller, Tvrđy, 2008). Nevertheless, widening the offer of lifelong learning might contribute to an enlarged gap between those who were excluded from this process for various reasons or decided not to take part in it and those who are well educated (What Works in Innovation in Education: Combating Exclusion through Adult Learning 1997). The concept of equal opportunities is aimed at those participants of lifelong education who gain least from the education and, thus, their interest in it is the lowest. These are structural phenomena rather than individual intentions of individuals who fully and regularly increase their individual potential and purposefully form their professional career or personal characteristics as is expected in their dominant culture (Pirohová, Lukáč, Lukáčová, 2019, p. 44). The school system and the system of further education that follows always have a normative character, since education is a paradigm of one’s personal development and social advancement. According to Liesmann (2018), prevailing education aimed at competences has its risks. Nowadays, education and its outcomes are subordinated to the requirements of the labour market and the potential use of the acquired competences; anything that cannot be immediately used in the labour market is considered pointless. Second chance education, where vocational subjects dominate at the expense of subjects with educational focus, provides direct evidence.

This mode also reflects the priorities of policies in the Slovak Republic that influence lifelong education and prioritise training in work skills and retraining of adults with a low level of basic knowledge and competences at the expense of second chance education. ‘Creation of cheap workforce’ was identified as a barrier to second chance education of adults with no or only primary education and, at the same time, the key element intensifying the other identified barriers to second chance education, such as insufficient awareness, funding, or school leavers with no employment. It excludes adults with low income from the system of education, unless they are, paradoxically, unemployed, since, if employed,
they would most likely not find out about second chance education and, if interested, they would not be able to fund the expenses.

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