

IF PRIVATE SCHOOL IS SUPPORTED BY STATE, WHAT DOES IT MEAN, ACTUALLY, PRIVATE EDUCATION? COMPARATIVE STUDY AT EUROPEAN LEVEL

Laurentiu Mihai MIHAILA, PhD Student,
Valahia University, Targoviste, Romania, laurentiumihaila@yahoo.com

Gabriela Alina PARASCHIVA, PhD Student
Politehnica University of Timisoara, Romania, gabriela.paraschiva@student.upt.ro

Constanta-Valentina MIHAILA, PhD, Lecturer,
National University of Physical Education and Sports, Bucharest, Romania,
constanta.mihaila@unefs.ro

ABSTRACT: *In recent years a special attention has been paid to private education, various studies and documents of educational policy trying to cover both its funding formula and the way it is organized. All of them, on the one hand, stipulate the fundamental right to education of everyone and the role of the state, as a guarantor, in its preservation; and on the other hand, they highlight the effective contribution of the state as regulator and as a financier. Therefore, in the context in which the state finances, to a greater or lesser extent, private education, a question arises as to the very essence of this subsystem: what does “private education” actually means now? That is why, the present study performs an analysis on private pre-university education at European level, having as theoretical support the UOE 2020 Manual and using education and training EUROSTAT database. Providing an image of existing similarities and differences, the analysis shows that the situational range is much more diverse than the theoretical one established at the level of the UOE 2020 Manual; and that the private education is undergoing a process of transformation, from 2 perspectives - that of overall control and that of financing.*

Keywords: *private education, transformation, funding, overall control, state’s role*

JEL Classification: *H52, I28*

1. INTRODUCTION

As individuals, we are all practicing a clear demarcation between our private and our public life; and as parents, we all try to insert in our children’s minds a clear distinction between what is allowed, and what is not, outside the family walls, means in public spaces and situations. Carrying out a translational movement toward what surrounds us, we can see that “public” and “private” coexist in a variety of fields, from management to health care, transportation and even education; but sometimes with extremely fine boundaries, as is the case of public administration, mainly due to the increasing involvement of the private and/or non-governmental organizations and to the diversification of financial sources.

The first conventional distinction between private and public could be made according the ownership - while the private firms are owned by entrepreneurs, the public sector organizations are owned collectively by members of political communities.

Continuing on this path of distinctions, a bit more nuance could be added by another two elements that differentiate private from public: the purpose and the objectives - while the private firm's purpose is to make and to maximize the profit, the public sector organization purpose is to deliver nonexclusive (regarding their use) services and /or goods. But the dichotomous distinction between public and private begins to become blurred due to the increased number of private and/ or non-governmental organizations involved in public administration; therefore, between private and public, a third category has emerged – that of “hybrid” (as in the case of self-financing public organizations with partially politically autonomous boards or with fully politically autonomous boards; or, as in the case of public organizations that are not under the political control of the parliament, but this control continues to be done through public ownership and the appointment of board members).

Throughout time, comparative analyses were performed in order to highlight differences and similarities between private and public, regarding: general management (Boyne, 2002), waste management (Lu, Chen, Ho, & Wang, 2016), achievements/ performances in education (Rong'uno, 2017; Hussain & Awan, 2018), individual behaviour of workers (Monte, 2017; Hansen & Kjeldsen, 2018) and even morality (Hampshire, 1978).

The vast majority of theoretical and applied researches had concluded that the private area is more accountable, cost-effective, responsive to parents and other stakeholders' voices, and that a number of practices, methods, tools or structures should be transferred to the public area. However, analysing a series of researches published in last years, it turns out that the balance does not always tilt towards the private area to have increased performance or increased employee engagement. Thus:

- as regards performance, the innovation is stronger and more robust for public companies in external finance dependent industries, compared with the one in private companies – these public companies generate more patents, of higher quality and novelty than their private counterparts; the research has involved 1.717 matched pairs of private and public firms located in USA and used data between 1994 and 2004 from S&P Capital IQ and the National Bureau of Economic Research Patent Citation database (Acharya & Xu, 2017);
- as regards the affective organizational commitment, there is no significant sectorial (private / public) difference among Danish office workers; the research has involved 1.043 office workers in Danish organizations (all members of HK, one of the largest trade union federations in Denmark), out of which 697 were in public sector and 346 were in private sector (Hansen & Kjeldsen, 2018);
- as regards school systems general performance in PISA 2018, after accounting for per capita GDP across all countries and economies, it turned out that those with a large number of students in private education showed lower mean performance in reading, mathematics and science; in addition, as regards reading performance in PISA 2018, after accounting for students' and schools' socio-economic profile, it turned out that students in public schools scored higher in reading than students in private schools, in 19 education systems (OECD, 2020).

What caught our attention was not the difference in performance between private and public, but the very distinction between private and public in a field that arouses much interest and on which ultimately depends our future - namely, education. And that's because the realities of recent years show that the boundaries which separate the public and the private sector in education are not so clear now, as they were 30 years ago, for at least 2 reasons:

- Firstly, due to the increased implication of a great variety of stakeholders (parents associations, professional teachers associations, non-governmental associations, for profit firms) and to the diversification of financial sources, in public education;
- Secondly, due to the increased financial support from the State, in private education.

Are we practically facing a hybridization process? It seems so, but not just a classic one from public to private; a second process of transformation, but with the reverse direction, from private to state, has appeared.

That is why, we decided to perform an analysis on private pre-university education at European level, in order to have a clearer picture about the transformation of it. Although equally important, hybridization in the classical sense, namely the transformation of public education into one that is not so “pure” public, will be the subject of another analysis.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Any approach to analysis must start from the fact that the right to education of every individual is a fundamental one.

As it is clearly set from 1948 by the 26th article (paragraph1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) - “Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.” Means that, the State must / has the responsibility to provide free and compulsory primary education, with progressive implementation of a free secondary education.

In addition, as it is set by the 2nd article of the UDHR, everyone has this right “without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.” Means that, the State must / has the responsibility to provide education without any discrimination.

But, through the UDHR lens, what else does the right to education entail? The parents’ right to choose, as it is set by the 26th article (paragraph3) of the UDHR – “Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children”. Correlating this right with the subsequent provisions the Convention against Discrimination in Education, things became a little bit clear. As it is set by the article 2 (c), shall not be considered discrimination “The establishment or maintenance of private educational institutions, if the object of the institutions is not to secure the exclusion of any group but to provide educational facilities in addition to those provided by the public authorities, if the institutions are conducted in accordance with that object, and if the education provided conforms with such standards as may be laid down or approved by the competent authorities, in particular for education of the same level” (UNESCO, 1960). It means that:

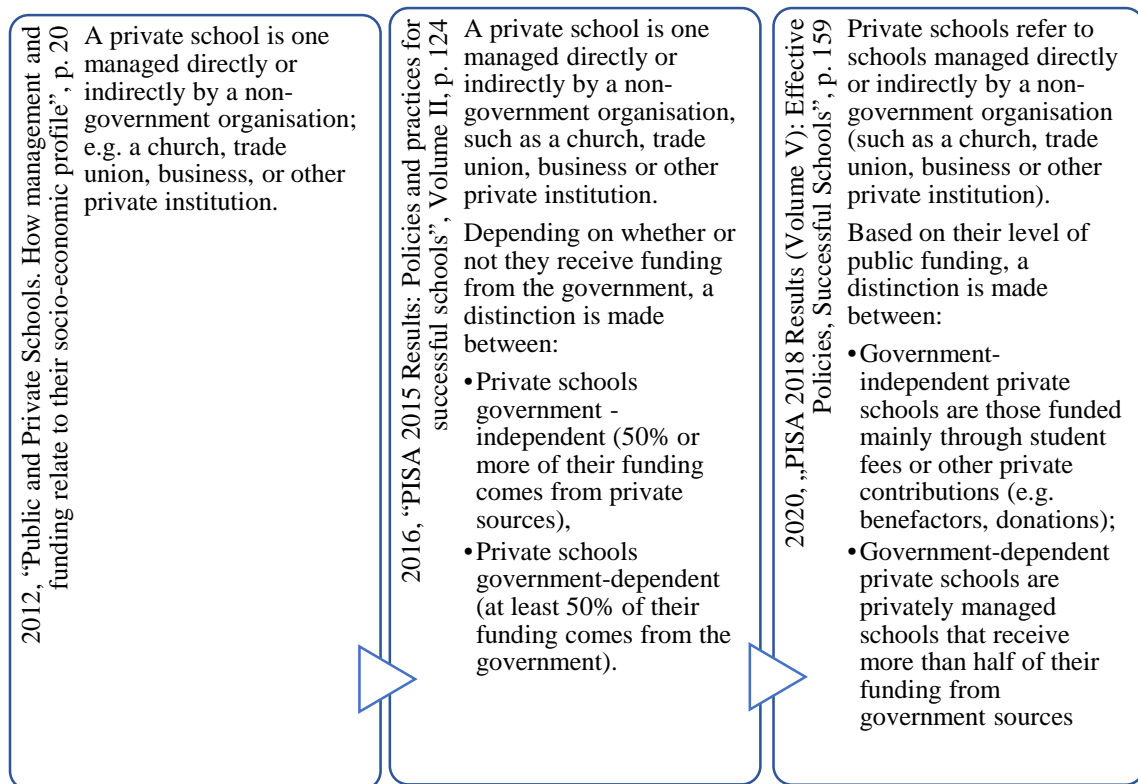
- Firstly, the State is obliged to allow private initiatives in education, but equally the State has no obligation to finance such private initiatives;
- Secondly, it is not forbidden for the State to finance private initiatives in education; if it decides to do so, it cannot discriminate based on race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status;

- Thirdly, the parents' decision regarding what is fit for their children – a public or a private alternative, is the prevailing one.

In such circumstances, is there a chance to have a public monopoly on education?

An answer could be found analyzing the reports published by Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) regarding the results in the PISA evaluations. During the whole period 2012 – 2020 the OECD perspective remains stable about what it means a public school; all the report refers to a public school as being one “managed directly or indirectly by a public education authority, government agency, or governing board appointed by government or elected by public franchise” (OECD, 2012, p. 20; OECD, 1016, p. 124; OECD, 2020, p.156). But as regards a private school, OECD perspective has changed over the years: Figure 1 – Evolution of a private school definition, according to OECD perspective, capture this change and indicates the document source.

Figure 1. Evolution of a private school definition, according to OECD perspective



As could be observed, OECD perspective starts by covering only managerial prospects; then includes very precise funding prospects; finally, OECD retains both prospects, but the financial one is no longer as strict as it was before in terms of funding.

This OECD terminological evolution on what means private schools/ private initiatives in educations is closely link with the general UNESCOs ‘prospect on education. Here we refer to the UNESCO’s document “Rethinking Education: Towards a global common good?” were it is recommended to change the view on education and knowledge, from public goods to common goods.

So, in a very diverse educational landscape, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Institute for Statistics (UIS), OECD and the Statistical Office of the European Union (EUROSTAT), shorter UOE, join their efforts in order to provide internationally comparable data on several key aspects of formal education systems. The UOE data collection is based on a conceptual background largely described and explained in a manual which includes concepts, definitions and classifications in education.

With a great variety of the identified country situations/ contexts, the updated version of the UOE manual (dated June 15, 2020) make a final conceptual distinction between a public and a private institution in education. As could be seen in Figure 2 – Public-private classification of institutions, used by UOE, classification is based only on management and on the overall control of the institution, regardless of the sector which provides the majority of the funding.



Figure 2. Public-private classification of institutions, used by UOE

An institution is classified as public if it is controlled and managed (UOE. (2020). “UOE 2020 Manual”, p 24):	An institution is classified as private if (UOE. (2020). “UOE 2020 Manual”, p 24):
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Directly by a public education authority or agency of the country where it is located or Either by a government agency directly or by a governing body (council, committee etc.), most of whose members are either appointed by a public authority of the country where it is located or elected by public franchise.	<input type="checkbox"/> It is controlled and managed by a non-governmental organisation (e.g. a church, a trade union or a business enterprise, foreign or international agency), or <input type="checkbox"/> Its Governing Board consists mostly of members not selected by a public agency.

And as for the overall control, it is decided with reference to the juridical entities who has the power to determine the general policies (e.g curriculum, the admission of students, staff and board members appointments) and activities of the institution (e.g opening and closure of the school, curriculum implementation, selection and dismissal of staff).

The updated version of the UOE manual make also a final conceptual classification of private institutions in education. As could be seen in Figure 3 – Private institutions classification, used by UOE, there are only two categories of such institutions - the government-dependent ones and the independent ones, based on two fundamental aspects - (1) core funding received from the State, with a threshold set at 50% and (2) payment / non-payment of teaching staff by the State.

Figure 3. Private institutions classification, used by UOE

<p>A government - dependent private institution is (UOE. (2020). “UOE 2020 Manual”, p 26):</p>  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> one that either receives at least 50% of its core funding from government agencies or, <input type="checkbox"/> one whose teaching personnel are paid by a government agency – either directly or through government 	<p>An independent private institution is (UOE. (2020). “UOE 2020 Manual”, p 26):</p>  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> one that receives less than 50 % of its core funding from government agencies and whose teaching personnel are not paid by a government agency
---	---

And as for the core funding, this includes only funds that support the basic educational services.

Therefore, having as background these updated classifications, the present paper is devoted to the analysis of private education at European level. It will be used the public information available within education and training EUROSTAT database and the 2018 image of the European educational landscape will be presented. The results highlight that the insertion of public funding into the private education area led to a blurring of the public-private distinction.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Methodologically, it was developed a desk research analysis on the following:

- terminological and conceptual evolution of terms between 1990 and 2020, in order to identify the updated conceptual distinction between public and private education and the updated classification of the private institutions;
- types of private institutions by level of education, in 35 European countries, using public information available within education and training EUROSTAT database (<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/education-and-training/data/database>).

As for education and training EUROSTAT database, the query targeted expenditure of the educational institutions by education level, type of institution and expenditure category. Therefore:

- As regards type of institution, they were made two selections: government-dependent private institutions and independent private institutions.
- As regards expenditure category, we selected option „all”, means the total amount of expenditure (including investments).
- As regards time frequency and period of time covered, the series of data have annual display, from 2012 till 2018.

Only the latest information, the most recent ones, i.e. those from 2018, were taken into analysis and were centralized; but in 2018, for the vast majority of education systems, compulsory education included only the primary and lower secondary education; therefore, we decided for further query to compact the information on level (s), depending on the

compulsory/ non-compulsory nature of education, resulting in 3 subcategories - Pre-primary education, Primary and lower secondary education, Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education.

- As regards education level, they were made three selections: Pre-primary education, Primary and lower secondary education, Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education.

4. RESULTS

As regards first category, that of government-dependent private institutions, the results for the year 2018 are presented in detail in Table 1, by country and level (s) of education. But the following must be considered: the information obtained was quantitative, expressing the level of education expenditures in millions of euros; however, from the point of view of this research, it is not the value of the expense itself that is important, but only the existence of this expense (as a proof of the permeability of the demarcation line between public and private); therefore, each time a value was identified at the intersection between a row (country) and a column (education level (s)), then this was highlighted by ticking.

Table 1. Government - dependent private institutions on European level (2018)

Country/ level (s) of education	Pre-primary education	Primary and lower secondary education	Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education
Belgium	✓	✓	✓
Bulgaria	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable
Czechia	✓	✓	✓
Denmark	✓	✓	✓
Germany	✓	✓	✓
Estonia	definition differs	✓	✓
Ireland	definition differs	not applicable	not applicable
Greece	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable
Spain	definition differs	definition differs	definition differs
France	✓	✓	✓
Croatia	not applicable	definition differs	not applicable
Italy	not applicable	not applicable	✓
Cyprus	✓	not applicable	not applicable
Latvia	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable
Lithuania	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable
Luxembourg	✓	✓	✓
Hungary	definition differs	definition differs	definition differs
Malta	✓	✓	✓
Netherlands	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable
Austria	definition differs	definition differs	definition differs
Poland	definition differs	definition differs	definition differs
Portugal	✓	✓	✓

Country/ level (s) of education	Pre-primary education	Primary and lower secondary education	Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education
Romania	special case	special case	special case
Slovenia	definition differs	✓	definition differs
Slovakia	✓	✓	✓
Finland	✓	✓	✓
Sweden	✓	✓	✓
Iceland	✓	✓	✓
Liechtenstein	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable
Norway	✓	✓	✓
Switzerland	data not available	data not available	data not available
United Kingdom	✓	✓	✓
North Macedonia	data not available	data not available	data not available
Serbia	data not available	data not available	data not available
Turkey	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable

Source: Authors own development, using education and training EUROSTAT database
(<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/education-and-training/data/database>)

Leaving aside countries for which data were not available all levels / all subcategories (Switzerland, North Macedonia and Serbia), as could be observed, there are similarities and differences:

- Countries whose educational systems include such institutions at all levels – Belgium, Czechia, Denmark, Germany, France, Luxembourg, Malta, Portugal, Slovakia, Finland, Sweden, Iceland, Norway and United Kingdom;
- Countries whose educational systems do not include such institutions, the national legislative provisions not allowing their existence / operation – Bulgaria, Greece, Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Liechtenstein and Turkey;
- Countries whose educational systems include private initiatives government dependent at all levels, but their definition differs from that of UOE manual – Spain, Hungary, Austria and Poland;
- Countries whose educational systems include such institutions in at least one subcategory; and for the rest, their definition differs from that of UOE manual – Estonia and Slovenia;
- Countries whose educational systems include such institutions in at least one subcategory, and for the rest, the national legislative provisions not allow their existence / operation – Italy and Cyprus.

A special case is the situation in Romania, which mentioned the existence of such institutions, but completed with 0 the level of funding; thus, there is a discrepancy between the definition and the level of funding, which cannot be 0; it is appreciated that, in the case of Romania, the definition was less understood.

As regards second category, that of private government independent institutions, the results for the year 2018 are presented in detail in Table 2, by country and level (s) of education; with the same considerations as in the case of first category.

Table 2. Independent private institutions on European level (2018)

Country/ level of education	Pre-primary education	Primary and lower secondary education	Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education
Belgium	✓	✓	✓
Bulgaria	✓	✓	✓
Czechia	not applicable	not applicable	✓
Denmark	✓	✓	✓
Germany	not applicable	not applicable	✓
Estonia	definition differs	✓	✓
Ireland	not applicable	data not available	data not available
Greece	✓	✓	data not available
Spain	definition differs	definition differs	definition differs
France	✓	✓	✓
Croatia	✓	definition differs	✓
Italy	✓	✓	✓
Cyprus	✓	✓	✓
Latvia	✓	✓	✓
Lithuania	✓	✓	✓
Luxembourg	✓	✓	✓
Hungary	definition differs	definition differs	definition differs
Malta	✓	✓	✓
Netherlands	✓	✓	✓
Austria	definition differs	definition differs	definition differs
Poland	definition differs	definition differs	definition differs
Portugal	✓	✓	✓
Romania	✓	✓	✓
Slovenia	definition differs	not applicable	definition differs
Slovakia	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable
Finland	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable
Sweden	not applicable	not applicable	✓
Iceland	not applicable	not applicable	definition differs
Liechtenstein	data not available	data not available	data not available
Norway	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable
Switzerland	data not available	data not available	data not available
United Kingdom	✓	✓	✓
North Macedonia	data not available	data not available	data not available
Serbia	data not available	data not available	data not available
Turkey	✓	✓	✓

Source: Authors own development, using education and training EUROSTAT database
(<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/education-and-training/data/database>)

Leaving aside countries for which data were not available at all levels / all subcategories (Liechtenstein, Switzerland, North Macedonia and Serbia), as could be observed, there are again similarities and differences:

- Countries whose educational systems include such institutions at all levels – Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Italy, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, United Kingdom and Turkey;
- Countries whose educational systems do not include such institutions at all levels, the national legislative provisions not allowing their existence / operation – Slovakia, Finland and Norway;
- Countries whose educational systems include private initiatives government independent at all levels, but their definition differs from that of UOE manual – Spain, Hungary, Austria and Poland;
- Countries whose educational systems include such institutions in at least one subcategory; and for the rest, their definition differs from that of UOE manual – Estonia and Croatia;
- Countries whose educational systems include such institutions in at least one subcategory; and for the rest, the national legislative provisions not allow their existence / operation – Czechia and Sweden;
- Countries whose educational systems include private initiatives government independent in at least one subcategory, but their definition differs from that of UOE manual; and for the rest, the national legislative provisions not allow their existence / operation – Iceland, Germany and Slovenia;
- Countries whose educational systems include such institutions in at least one subcategory; and for the rest, data were not available – Greece;
- Countries whose educational systems do not include such institutions in at least one subcategory, the national legislative provisions not allowing their existence / operation; and for the rest, data were not available – Ireland.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This research analyses private pre-university education at European level, through the lens of definitions and classifications of UOE 2020 Manual. The developed research lead us to the following conclusions:

- Ownership - most conventional distinction between private and public, has acquired new meanings; although the old meaning still exist, being related with who owns the school buildings and sites, an alternative meaning has arisen and became relevant – that of the overall control of the institution (in terms of general policies and activities).
- Government-dependent private institutions were identified in 18 European countries, out of 35 (counting for 51.43% of the countries) and private government independent institutions were identified in 20 European countries, out of 35 (counting for 57.14% of the countries); means that each of the two private alternatives depicted by the UOE manual are present in more than half of the European countries.

Taking into account the two definitions (for government-dependent private institutions and for private government independent institutions), results that, in at least 20

European countries, private schools receive governmental funds for their core activities. And this proves the transformation into something that is no more pure private initiative.

- Excepting Switzerland, North Macedonia and Serbia (and partially Liechtenstein) from whom no data were available, all the other European countries develop private initiatives in education, either in the shapes depicted by the UOE manual, or in different shapes; means that, private initiatives in education is present in at least 88.57% of the European countries.
- 5 countries (out of 35), for the first category and 7 countries (out of 35) for the second category were identified as having different private initiatives in education than the ones depicted by the UOE manual; means that, the range of private educational institutions is much wider than the one depicted by UOE manual.

Limitation of this study is given by two facts.

One fact is that the information for Belgium were delivered per country as a whole, not per community (German-speaking Community, French-speaking Community and Flemish-speaking Community); and a research through Eurydice database lead us to the information that there is no private education system in Belgium's German-speaking Community.

Second fact is that the information was indirectly disclosed to us, through the expenditure of the educational institutions by education level, programme orientation, type of institution and expenditure category. Therefore, it was not possible to extract clear information about the number of national private schools (from one category or another)/country, or about the enrolled students' number in such private schools.

And yet, although the magnitude of private education in Europe is impossible to determine with these data, what is important has been revealed – the insertion of public funding into the private education area led to a blurring of the public-private distinction; thus exceeding the hypothetical area, this research highlights the transformation of private education into something that is more or less private. What should we call this transformation? Shall we call it hybridization, but in the opposite direction to the classical one? Should we call it something else? This could be a distinct topic of discussion. But for this paper we decided to keep the existing terminology and to extend it also to the opposite transformation, from private to public.

In addition, we believe that another analysis would be needed, in order to identify what private schools had to give up in return for public funding. But this can only be done through a qualitative research, accessing the Eurydice network and the national descriptions provided by each country through it. In the next period, another research is scheduled, targeting the identification of freedoms still available of private schools that receive public funding.

REFERENCES

1. Acharya, V. & Xu, Z. (2017). „Financial dependence and innovation: The case of public versus private firms”. *Journal of Financial Economics*, Volume 124, Issue 2, pp 223-243, ISSN 0304-405X, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jfineco.2016.02.010>.
2. Boyne, G. A. (2002). „Public and Private Management: What's the Difference?“. *Journal of Management Studies*, 39(1), 97–122. doi:10.1111/1467-6486.00284

3. Hampshire, S. (ed.). (1978). „Public and Private Morality”. Cambridge University Press
4. Hansen, J. R. & Kjeldsen, A. M. (2018). „Comparing Affective Commitment in the Public and Private Sectors: A Comprehensive Test of Multiple Mediation Effects”. *International Public Management Journal*, Vol. 21:4, pp 558-588, DOI: 10.1080/10967494.2016.1276033
5. Hussain, A., & Awan, A. G. (2018). Comparison of the achievements of public and private secondary schools in district Khanewal Pakistan. *Global Journal of Management, Social Sciences and Humanities*, 4(3), pp 574-605.
6. Lu, W., Chen, X., Ho, D. C. W., & Wang, H. (2016). „Analysis of the construction waste management performance in Hong Kong: the public and private sectors compared using big data”. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 112, 521–531. doi:10.1016/j.jclepro.2015.06.106
7. Monte, P.A. (2017). „Public versus private sector: Do workers’ behave differently?”. *Economia*, Volume 18, Issue 2, pp 229-243, ISSN 1517-7580, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econ.2017.01.001>.
8. OECD. (2012). „Public and Private Schools. How management and funding relate to their socio-economic profile”, OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264175006-en>
9. OECD. (2016). „PISA 2015 Results: Policies and practices for successful schools” Volume II, OECD Publishing, <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264267510-en>
10. OECD. (2020). „PISA 2018 Results (Volume V): Effective Policies, Successful Schools”, PISA, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/ca768d40-en>.
11. Rong’uno, S.K. (2017). „A comparison of academic performance between public and private secondary schools in Wareng district, Kenya”. *British Journal of Education*, Vol.5, No.11, pp. 58-67
12. UNESCO. (1960). „Convention against Discrimination in Education”. The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, meeting in Paris from 14 November to 15 December 1960, at its eleventh session. <http://portal.unesco.org/>
13. UNESCO. (2015). “Rethinking Education: Towards a global common good?”, UNESCO Publishing, <https://unevoc.unesco.org/>
14. United Nations. (1948). „Universal Declaration of Human Rights”. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>
15. UOE. (2020). UOE data collection on formal education. Manual on concepts, definitions and classifications, 15 June 2020, MONTREAL, PARIS, LUXEMBOURG 2020